

MORAL MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING AT
PAÑÑĀSĀSTRA UNIVERSITY OF CAMBODIA

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MORAL MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING AT
PAÑÑĀSĀSTRA UNIVERSITY OF CAMBODIA

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my father-in-law, Dr. Sona Pen, for his *prum-vihear-thor* (the sublime attitudes of goodwill, compassion, empathetic joy, and equanimity) to everyone around him, especially the family. May his soul rest in peace.

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ABSTRACT

MORAL MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING AT

PAÑÑĀSĀSTRA UNIVERSITY OF CAMBODIA

by

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August 2013

SUPERVISING PROFESSOR: ANN BROOKS

This analytical case study sought to understand and build theories from Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC) educators' visions in supporting and implementing community service learning (CSL), the moral meanings of CSL experiences for the participating undergraduate students, and the CSL experiences that facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making. The study found that PUC educators' shared purpose was the cultivation of students' kindness to help needy Cambodian communities. Moreover, PUC CSL volunteers considered community service as an act

of kindness, an act of solidarity and connectedness, and an act of social change through the cultivation of kindness in the hearts of their families, their peers, and the people they helped. Furthermore, PUC CSL cultivated in volunteers such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (*metta* [goodwill], *karuna* [compassion], *mudita* [empathetic joy], and *upekkha* [equanimity]), *caga* (generosity), *amisa-dana* (donation), *dhamma-dana* (sharing knowledge and advice), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), and *kataññu* (gratitude, especially to parents). Thus, CSL can help solve Cambodia's societal problems of social inaction, violence, and corruption. The experiences that notably facilitated volunteers' moral meaning-making were community didactic drama and such culturally symbolic actions as participation in *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual, elderly gratitude ritual, and collaborative cooking.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CSL	community service learning
CSL Center	Center for Community Service Learning
CSLP	Community Service Learning Program
CST	Community Study Trip
ES professor	the Introduction to Environmental Science professor whom I interviewed
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KSH professor	the Khmer Studies and Cambodian History professor whom I interviewed
KYGM	Khmer Youth Goodwill Mission, an official PUC volunteer group advised by the KSH professor
NGO	non-governmental organization
PS professor	the Introduction to Political Science professor whom I interviewed
PUC	Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC) educators have imported service-learning pedagogy from the United States. How did they adapt the pedagogy to the Cambodian context? Service-learning in the United States has been applied using different models with different moral purposes. What were PUC educators' visions in developing and applying their own models? What moral meanings did service-learning experiences have for the undergraduate volunteers? What experiences facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making? Based on the experiences of the participants in this study, what could service-learning contribute to solving Cambodia's societal and community problems?

Researcher Background

During my years in the Ph.D. program, I kept thinking of ways education could help solve Cambodia's problems. Community service learning seemed promising, so I took it up as my final dissertation topic.

Reflecting back on my own community service experience, I began volunteering as a Rotaract Club of Phnom Penh founding member in 2000, and through that gained leadership skills and became more concerned about social responsibility. I still think about the children we served and how their lives have changed. We were grateful to Norton University, one of the first private Cambodian universities, for the rooms for our

meetings, induction ceremony, and other purposes. Yet, we were responsible for all operations and financing of the club. This experience was not, however, service-learning for academic credit.

Recognizing my tendency to be critical and my belief in social justice, throughout this study, I had to keep reminding myself to be open to my research participants' perspectives. In terms of identity, I have always considered myself to be Khmer although my grandfathers, who died during the Khmer Rouge genocide, were Chinese. And being Khmer, to me, is not restricted to ethnicity; on the contrary, it means having a Khmer heart and soul—having concern for other Khmers and Cambodia. As a modern Buddhist, I am skeptical about reincarnation, but believe in the importance of ethical discipline as a strength keeping me from the lures of selfishness. Again, I tried to understand the views of others, who may not share my identities or beliefs.

Background to the Study

Cambodia is a country of under 70,000 square miles surrounded by Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and the Gulf of Thailand. The 2008 Cambodian census asked about mother tongue rather than ethnicity. Out of the 13.4 million population, 96% reported Khmer as their mother tongue, 1.9% tribal, 1.5% Cham (Muslim), 0.5% Vietnamese, 0.1% Lao, 0.05% Chinese, 0.02% Thai, 0.02% English, and 0.06% other languages (ECLAC/CELADE, 2010). These percentages do not correspond to ethnicity proportions because, from my experience, many Chinese-Khmer descendants speak Khmer at home and consider themselves as Khmer. Over 80% of all Cambodians lived in rural areas, and 71% of working Cambodians were farmers in 2008 (ECLAC/CELADE). Nearly all manufactured products are imported. GDP per capita in 2010 was \$830 (National

Institute of Statistics, 2010b), and 53% of the population lived on less than \$2 per day in 2008 (The World Bank Group, 2012). Two thirds of the population “know how to read and write and understand the Khmer language” (ECLAC/CELADE; National Institute of Statistics, 2010a).

Brief Cambodian political, religious, and educational history. Native Khmers have always believed in animism, even today. A first-century temple wall inscription in Cambodia tells the legend of how the kingdom of Kampuchea (Cambodia) was named after a Hindu king who left his kingdom of Aryadesa, wandered, and married a *naga* (serpent) princess. Indian influence from the 1st century resulted in the new kingdom of Funan, of which Kampuchea was a vassal state. After Chinese influence in the 5th century, Kampuchea won independence from Funan and was called Chenla by the Chinese. Chenla King Citrasena took control of the larger kingdom of Funan at the very beginning of the 7th century (Majumdar, as cited in Soonthornpoc, 2005). Javanese domination in the 7th and 8th centuries brought Jayavarman II, who united Funan and Chenla as the Khmer Empire circa 802 and ruled as *Deva-raj*a (god-king in the early Hindu cult of Brahmanism) at the capital of Angkor (Peang-Meth, 1991; Soonthornpoc). In the 12th century, the empire was about three times Cambodia’s present size, and King Suryavarman II constructed the Angkor Wat Temple (Soonthornpoc), a world wonder and the symbol of Cambodia. King Jayavarman VII, who reigned from 1181 to 1220 (Soonthornpoc), and his family adopted Mahayana Buddhism, but the royal court rejected his affirmation, and Khmers’ massive conversion to Theravada Buddhism occurred from 1215 to 1400 (Forest, 2008) as local youths were ordained as novice monks (Kent & Chandler, 2008).

The Khmer Empire started declining in the early 13th century as the Siamese (Thai) began capturing the northwestern parts (Soonthornpocht, 2005). In 1431, the Siamese seized the City of Angkor and took away its residents (Soonthornpocht), including some of the best Khmer human resources. Successful invasions from the east by the Annamites (Vietnamese) began in the early 17th century (Peang-Meth, 1991; Soonthornpocht).

As Cambodia was weakened by endless invasions and Siam and Vietnam had suzerainty over Cambodia, France pressured King Norodom to request French protection, which began in 1863 (Osborn, 1969). The French introduced modern schooling, but only a fraction of the young population had access to the elite education (Ayes, 2000). Locally available education was provided for boys at local monasteries, where they stayed, served and studied Khmer literacy, history, national civilization, and Buddhist-Khmer ethics (Khoen & Keo, 2009). The French picked and crowned 18-year-old Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1941 (Soonthornpocht). During World War II, as Cambodians increasingly demanded educational expansion, enrolment boosted tenfold (Ayes). The protectorate ended in 1953 following Cambodians' rebellions and international diplomatic efforts.

King Sihanouk renounced his throne to win the first Cambodian election in 1955, took office as the chief of state of Cambodia, and called the era Sangkum Reastrniyum (populist society) (Ayes, 2000; Soonthornpocht, 2005). The prince Cambodianized the school curriculum by reforming content and developing nationalism. Educational enrolment increased from 432,649 in 1958 to 667,310 by 1962 (Ayes). During the Vietnam War, the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army used Cambodian territory

to attack U.S.-backed South Vietnam. In response, the United States bombed 0.1 million sites in Cambodia with 2.8 million tons of ordnance, more than all bombs dropped by the World War II Allies (Owen & Kiernan, 2006). In 1970, General Lon Nol led a coup d'état to turn Cambodia into the pro-American Khmer Republic, yet he was incapable of pushing back the Vietnamese invasion (Soonthornpocht). Pol Pot's communist Khmer Rouge, inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution and fueled by the U.S. bombardment, took over Cambodia in 1975, closed the country to foreigners, and ironically renamed the nation Democratic Kampuchea.

The Khmer Rouge forced the entire population into inhumane collective farming and irrigation and set out to kill all intellectuals and civil servants who had served Westernized ideologies and systems. Consequently, more than two million Cambodians lost their lives (Peang-Meth, 1991), and many others fled the country. Approximately 70% to 80% of educators were killed or left the country, and half of Khmer books and articles were destroyed (Ayres, 2000). The only education was communist brainwashing, which tried to eradicate religious faiths and the Khmer culture. The genocide left fewer elders to develop younger people's moral and social order, and even worse, the regime demoralized some of the surviving elders (Zucker, 2008).

In 1979, the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the Vietnamese forces pushed the Khmer Rouge to the jungle border with Thailand and took control of Cambodia. The socialist state granted people private property and quickly recruited surviving literate citizens to become teachers. Primary schools quickly enrolled 716,553 pupils, even though only 4,000 of 13,619 teachers had qualifications (Reiff, as cited in Ayres, 2000). Buddhism was permitted with state control over the *sangha* or

community of monastics (Kent & Chandler, 2008). Civic education focused on socialist citizenship, hatred of the Khmer Rouge, and communist propaganda against American imperialism. In 1985, Hun Sen was appointed Prime Minister (The Cabinet of Samdech Hun Sen, n.d.) when former prime minister Pen Sovann disappeared from politics. Civil war with the Khmer Rouge continued.

In 1992, United Nations peacekeeping forces entered the country to administer a national election the following year. King Sihanouk was recrowned, and his son's royalist party won the election. Yet, as Hun Sen threatened to partition the country, King Sihanouk decided to peacefully make him co-premier with Prince Norodom Ranariddh. After a coup d'état in 1997, the royalist party was broken apart, and Hun Sen won subsequent elections and remains the prime minister today.

In the new elementary education curriculum, moral education emphasizes respectful social behavior. For Grades 7-12, the morality and citizenship subject consists of six chapters: *knowing yourselves, interpersonal relations, sense of community, religions and cultures, Cambodian economic and social issues, and responding to world trends* (Clayton, 2005). However, in practice, public school students learn to accept bribery as the way of life. As public school teachers receive below-survival salaries, they make students pay for after-school test-preparation tutorials (Ayres, 2000). On a daily basis, "teachers deliberately cover only part of the standard syllabi during mainstream classes in order to promote demand for their after-school private lessons" (The World Bank, 2005, p. 65). The discrepancy between what the teachers preach and what they practice makes it difficult for young people to internalize moral lessons. The pedagogy that teachers of the ninth-grade morality and citizenship subject use is mainly going over

the textbook and asking students comprehension questions without discussing real-life situations and applications (Tan, 2008). In contrast, moral education was not simply a subject in traditional monastery schools; monks mentored students' behaviors and moral development beyond monastery compounds (Dy, 2004). To summarize, "while the traditional view of education sees the promotion of civic and moral values as the chief end of education, the contemporary view of education sees moral inculcation as a means to achieve 'modernisation' and 'development' for Cambodia" (Tan, p. 567).

Problem Statement

Two problems in the Cambodian society need attention: social inaction and power abuse. First, responsibility to the well-being of others in the Cambodian society is weak. Scholars disagree whether closely-knit local communities exist in Cambodia (O'Leary, 2006). Some argue that the Khmer Rouge destroyed people's social ties, while those who disagree notice rural community activities, mostly Buddhist celebrations in monasteries. However, there is scholarly agreement that mutual trust and voluntary cooperation have deteriorated, and development practitioners in Cambodia agree that the term "community" refers to the village in which they live (O'Leary). Cambodians' sense of responsibility to others outside their communities is even weaker. While most rural and many urban communities have little education and live in poverty, few educated professionals, successful businesses, and well-off people take action to improve the lives of disadvantaged communities, except when there is an unpredictable disaster. Even Cambodian development professionals themselves believe community development should be the responsibility of the local authorities (O'Leary). Unfortunately, impoverished people and their local governments have limited ideas and financial

resources to improve their own situations. Moreover, local authorities usually rely on decisions from higher levels of administration.

As described in the above section, traditional monastery schools focused on moral education, whereas modern schooling since the 1990s is aimed at economic progress (Tan, 2008). In the 1980s, Marxism was part of the Cambodian university curriculum. In the 1990s, when Cambodia switched to democracy, the free market economy was embedded in the curriculum. With the introduction of tuition charge at public universities in the late 1990s, higher education increasingly became a private good in the new Cambodian market economy, and the average tuition rate was almost twice as much as the average income per capita (Clayton, 2005). Except for several hundred students who receive scholarships, the vast majority of university students are those able to afford the tuition and, for those moving to the city, the living expenses. Thus, college education has become a private investment with the hope for well-paid employment. The present Cambodian society values competition for material wealth and does little for the underprivileged class.

Cambodia's massive higher education (77 institutions [Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, 2008] in a country under 70,000 square miles) curricula focus on academic specialization and human capital development for the nation. In the mid-2000s, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport reformed the undergraduate curriculum by introducing Foundation Studies (general education) in the freshman year while leaving the other three years major-specific. At the Royal University of Phnom Penh, the largest and most comprehensive university in Cambodia, the only morality-related courses in the Foundation Studies are Khmer Culture and Civilization and Introduction to Philosophy

(Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2012). While the whole university curriculum pays little attention to moral development, can service-learning develop students' concerns and motivate action for underprivileged communities?

The second problem is that some Cambodians make problems worse for disadvantaged people. Many rich and powerful Cambodians abuse their power. Cambodian institutions in which corruption occurs include all levels of the government, the judiciary, and legislative bodies (Nissen, 2008). The country was more corrupt than 153 other nations and less corrupt than only 24 others (Transparency International, 2010). Many Cambodians agree that civil servants, including public school teachers, commit corruption just "for the stomach" (to survive) because their salaries are below survival rates. Yet, opinions differ regarding corruption that is apparently beyond survival reasons. While many Cambodians condemn such wrongdoing, some educated individuals aspire to gain access to the lucrative positions. The Cambodian government has acknowledged corrupt practices and recently established the Anti-Corruption Unit funded by capacity-building assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2013). Still, the problem is more than legal; it has become a culture (Nissen) that is hard to change. Another type of power abuse is the use of violence by some officials or their family members against other people, particularly acid attacks on mistresses (Edwards, 2008), forceful possession of other people's lands, and violence against other drivers involved in accidents. Because powerful people who commit corruption or violence often receive no punishment, scholars call it "a culture of impunity" (Tan, 2008, p. 563). To prevent heated arguments, colleges and universities generally discourage discussion of religion and politics on campus, unless it is part of a

course. Corruption is a topic viewed as “political” in a sense that politics is taboo. It is unclear whether service-learning is able to pull potentially privileged people away from becoming greedy and violent.

Rationale for the Study

A large-scale review of literature in the field by Eyler, Giles, Stenson, and Gray (2001) has shown that service-learning has positive effects on college students’ sense of social responsibility and commitment to service. However, Shaddock-Hernández (2006) pointed out, “little research has been conducted viewing the educational impact of this pedagogy on diverse student populations. The majority of the scholarship focuses on the experiences of white middle-class students ...” (p. 67). No research has looked into Cambodian practice of service-learning. The effects of service-learning on Cambodian students are unknown.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore how community service learning is enacted and experienced in the Cambodian context, how it develops students’ concerns and stimulates action for underprivileged communities, and how it might discourage students from becoming greedy and violent.

Research Questions

The main research questions are the following:

- 1) What were PUC administrators’ and faculty members’ visions in supporting and implementing community service learning (CSL)?
- 2) What were the moral meanings of CSL experiences for the participating undergraduate students?

3) What CSL experiences facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making?

After data analysis, the third question was changed from “How had their life, school, and CSL experiences shaped such meanings?” to focus on CSL experiences and state the intent more clearly.

Definition of Terms

Definitions of service-learning vary (Eyler & Giles, 1999), but Ehrlich (1996) broadly defined it as “the various pedagogies that link community service and academic study so that each strengthens the other” (p. xi). Similarly, the PUC Center for Community Service Learning (n.d.) defines community service learning as a program or teaching method:

... that provides opportunity to students to practice what they have learned in the classroom and to apply the theory in the real world by working in their community and analyze the problem with practical thinking. After doing the service students are suggested to do the reflection on the activities that they have done in the community. (p. 1)

When PUC faculty, staff, and students used the term “CSL,” they normally referred to the Community Service Learning Program (CSLP) coordinated by the CSL Center.

However, this paper uses “CSL” to include both the CSLP model and the Community Study Trip (CST) model because they match the service-learning definition above. Both models will be elaborated in Chapter IV.

The term “morality” is translated in Khmer as *sela-dhor*, a combination of Pali words *sila* (virtue or ethical code) and *dhamma* (Buddhist doctrine). These terms will be further explained in Chapter II. The official Khmer Dictionary (Buddhist Institute, 2009)

defines *dhor* as “the state that supports beings” or Buddhist doctrine and defines *sela-dhor* as “manners, order” or “advice to do good deeds.” The first definition of *sela-dhor* resembles the definition of *so-jiva-dhor* (advice for good living): “living well, that is knowledge, order, appropriate respect in interactive affairs with others.” It is the “good deeds” meaning of *sela-dhor*, not the “socially appropriate behavior” one, that my study is looking at, although it is hard to separate the two meanings. To illustrate, present Cambodians associate *sela-dhor* with manners of conduct and speech (Hel, as in cited in Edwards, 2008).

To clarify the Khmer definitions while remaining open to the research participants’ perspectives, the word “moral” was defined as “doing good deeds for the good of oneself or others,” and this concise definition was stated in the human subjects protection consent forms (Appendix A). This definition excludes social norms, such as appropriate greetings. “The good of oneself” here does not mean selfishness; on the contrary, it refers to an individual’s freedom from present life’s and after-life’s punishments by avoiding harmful acts, including but not limited to Buddhist sins such as killing, stealing, sensual misconduct, ill speech, intoxication, and harmful livelihood. In addition to legal consequences during the lifetime on earth, each sinful act, according to Buddhist belief, will result in a specific torture in *norook* (Khmer word for *niraya* in Pali, which refers to hell for temporary torture). When individuals are merciful to living beings, full of integrity, full of sensual conscience, truthful, mindful, and doing work that does not cause harm, society will benefit. “The good of oneself” can be considered accumulation of *bon* (Buddhist merit) for a good or better life in the present or next incarnation. To collect *bon*, one can *twer bon* (perform rituals with monks) and *twer*

dana (give something to very poor people). These actions also offer social benefits. However, as I expected, the “doing good deeds for the good of oneself or others” definition did not limit my participants’ responses to Buddhist ethics. Any action the research participants considered good for themselves or others was analyzed. As a result, the research found various Buddhist and secular moral meanings beyond the Buddhist examples above. The definition of “moral” also covers civic responsibility, and the closest Khmer translation of “civic” is citizen of a country; therefore, the use of the term “civic” is limited in this study.

The verb “to serve” in Khmer (ស៊ើម) means “to do as ordered by persons or institutions of higher status” and is often associated with the work of house servants (អ្នកស៊ើម), traditionally treated as slaves (ស៊ើមស៊ើម). To avoid these conceptions, the word “service” in the Khmer language was borrowed from French as “séva,” probably during the protectorate. Thus, this case study must explore, as part of the second research question, what Khmer term(s) the Cambodian volunteers used in making sense of the foreign words “service” and “séva.”

Significance of the Study

This research will contribute to the improvement of the community service learning practices, the development of Cambodia’s educational policy, the service-learning and moral development theories, and potentially adult learning and education theories.

Practice and policy. This study will contribute to the improvement of CSL practices at PUC. All involved professionals will better understand how their practices

affect students, be able to reconsider their beliefs about CSL, and potentially, improve their practices to achieve their visions. The students themselves may better realize how important the CSL experiences are for their lives and careers. Beyond PUC, the research may inform other higher education institutions in Cambodia, the Ministry of Education, and the Supreme National Council of Education regarding the positive and unintended consequences of CSL and, therefore, assist them in making policies related to other service-learning or service-oriented programs. The Minister of Education, Youth and Sport (Kim-Han, 2009) and a Vice Chairman of the Supreme National Council of Education (P. Kol, personal communication, November 18, 2011) have expressed their commitments to establishing a national CSL center and policy for all levels of Cambodian education.

Theory and research. “Over the past decade, academicians have demonstrated a renewed interest in the role that formal education plays in the development of ethical standards held by college students” (Grimes, 2004). This dissertation will add an Eastern perspective, particularly the perspective of Cambodians and the Khmer culture, to theoretical discussions of service-learning, especially its moral purposes, effect on social responsibility, and impact on the commitment to service. Moreover, it will contribute to the moral development literature, particularly whether PUC CSL students are more oriented toward Kohlberg’s ethic of justice or Gilligan’s ethic of care and how these ethics resemble and differ from the Buddhist morality the students develop.

Chapter Summary

Curious about service-learning practice in Cambodian higher education and troubled by Cambodia’s societal problems of social inaction and power abuse, I

conducted this study in order to find how community service learning is enacted and experienced in the Cambodian context and how it develops students' concerns and stimulates action for underprivileged communities and reduces students' possible tendency toward greed and violence. Thus, this research seeks to explore and understand PUC educators' visions in implementing CSL, the moral conceptualizations of CSL experiences by Cambodian undergraduate students who participated in CSL courses, and the CSL experiences that facilitated the moral meaning-making.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The findings of this exploratory study will be conceptualized in relation to the service-learning literature, moral development theories, Buddhist ethics, and Cambodian moral values. The Venn diagram in Figure 1 depicts these four circles, which will help explain PUC CSL students' expressions of perceived moral meanings and their meaning-making worlds.

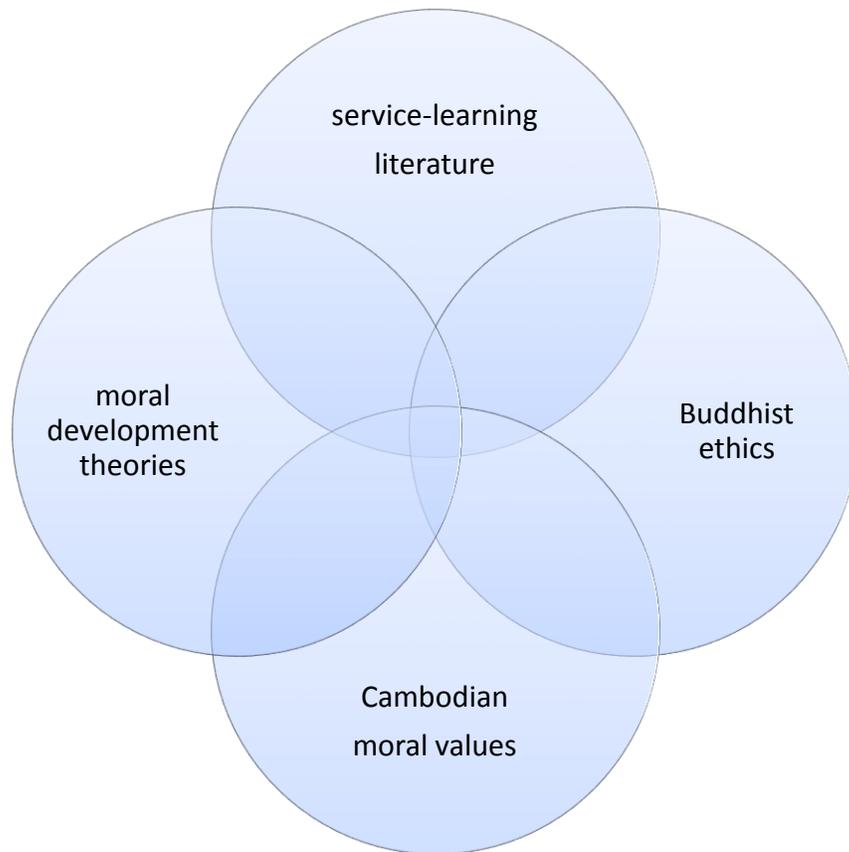


Figure 1: Literature Review

Firstly, service-learning is an educational approach originating in John Dewey's proposition that learning occurs through experience (Rocheleau, 2004). Each of the major service-learning types being practiced and discussed in the service-learning literature incorporates a moral or civic purpose. The purposes offer a framework for discussing PUC educators' visions of their CSL models. In addition, moral development outcomes indicated by service-learning research are discussed. Secondly, moral development theories provide a basis for comparison and contrast of what it means to be moral. Thirdly, Buddhism has been the dominant and state religion in Cambodia for several hundred years. It is embedded in virtually every aspect of Cambodian life (Cormack, as cited in Tan, 2008). According to the 2008 census data, 97% of 13.4 million Cambodians identified themselves as Buddhists, 1.9% as Muslims, and 0.4% as Christians. In Phnom Penh (where my study was conducted), 98% of 0.57 million youths between the ages of 15-29 were Buddhists, 1.4% were Muslims, and 0.6% were Christians (ECLAC/CELADE, 2010). Yet, many Cambodians point to the law of *kamma* (you get what you do, and the consequences occur across lifetimes) to blame their unknown past lifetimes for their present unfavorable living conditions, and those who study them view Buddhism as promoting passive conformity and sometimes apathy to social injustice (Tan). To fully understand PUC volunteers' views of underprivileged communities, Buddhist ethics need to be understood. Finally, in addition to Buddhist values, college students have most likely acquired Cambodian virtues from their families, communities, schools, literature, and the media.

Service-Learning Literature

Service-learning has strong philosophical roots. Plato and Aristotle believed that

the purpose of education is to develop good human beings. Locke and Kant emphasized moral character. Mill and Rousseau placed centrality on civic involvement. Proposing that learning comes from experience, Dewey moved community service from an educational purpose to a pedagogy. He also argued for the complement between moderate individuality and collectivity that individuals and society could benefit from each other when individuals take self-determined, rather than imposed, actions to solve social issues in a democratic process (Rocheleau, 2004).

This section discusses major moral and civic purposes of service-learning, the lack of service-learning and service-learning research in Cambodia, and moral development outcomes of service-learning.

Moral and civic purposes of service-learning. Speck and Hoppe (2004) divided service-learning into three *models* based on philosophical stances: *philanthropic*, *communitarian*, and *civic engagement*. The philanthropic model is characterized by its political neutrality in developing professionals with intelligent self-determination (Abel, 2004). In the communitarian tradition, people are assumed to be social beings, and the focus is building ties and responsibility to the community (Codispoti, 2004). The civic engagement approach aims for active local and regional civil societies necessary for strong democracy by fostering students' understanding of social issues and equipping them with democratic skills for social change (Watson, 2004). Furthermore, to deal with systematic causes of problems, "students and teachers need to examine issues of power, privilege, and oppression; question the hidden bias and assumptions of race, class, and gender; and work to change the social and economic system for equity and justice" (Cipolle, 2010, p. 5). This model is named *social justice* or *critical service-learning*.

Each theoretical stance of service-learning is plausible and can lend itself to the academic discipline and the faculty member's preference (Hoppe, 2004). Students also have orientations toward particular service-learning practices (Hoppe) or such *paradigms* as *charity*, *project*, and *social change* (Moely, Furco, & Reed, 2008; Morton, 1995). Each model is accompanied by a moral or civic purpose, which may influence students to develop particular moral meanings of their service-learning experiences. Out of the major *models* and *paradigms*, moral and civic purposes of the service component of service-learning include charity, social change or justice, and civic or social responsibility. Each is described below.

Service as charity. "Charity" means something different to different faiths or people. Morton (1995) learned from his colleagues and the literature that a Jewish notion of charity is anger and action against injustice; Catholics conceive of it as the path between the surrender to and the violence against evil, and it includes respect for other people's rights and demands acts of justice; and that to some Protestants charity is preceded by recognition of the goodness of every being. The Buddhist term for charitable giving is *dana* and generosity *caga*, both of which will be explained further in the Buddhist Ethics section.

Morton (1995) commented that charity generally means "the well-off doing service to the poor if and when they feel like it, and then only on their terms" (p. 25). In this sense, charity is "paternalistic or self-serving" or "without integrity" (p. 28).

Morton's college student survey, however, contradicted the negative connotation:

"Charity is a positive term for these students: a recognition of their obligation to help, and an expression of their recognition that our society affords them very few opportunities to

make a contribution” (p. 25). The supporting survey items included helping or providing direct service to someone less fortunate, fulfilling community needs, and making a difference. Moely et al’s (2008) questionnaire items under Charity Preference were “become involved in helping individuals,” “helping those in need,” “making a major difference in a person’s life,” and “working to give others the necessities that they lack” (p. 39).

Service as action for social change or social justice. Hoppe (2004) defined “social change” as “the impetus to address the ills of society through addressing systemic causes” and “social justice” as “bringing about a more equitable distribution of society’s wealth” (p. 139). Cipolle (2010) endorsed Colby and colleagues’ definition of “social justice” in terms of “social change and public policies that increase gender and racial equality, end discrimination of various kinds, and reduce the stark income inequalities that characterize this country and most of the world” (p. 7). Social justice attitudes are views regarding “causes of poverty and misfortune and how social problems can be solved” (Moely, Mercer, Ilustre, Miron, & McFarland, 2002, p. 18). A person may blame individuals for their misfortunes or blame an unjust system and public policy.

In Morton’s (1995) study, the smallest percentage (one fourth) of the 83 students preferred “advocating for social change” to directly helping individuals or a community (p. 25). Social change “comes about when otherwise ordinary people find ways to bring their values, their actions and their world into close alignment with each other” (p. 28). Moely et al’s (2008) items under the Social Change Preference scale contained “changing public policy for the benefit of people,” “contribute to social change that affects us all,” “working to address a major social ill confronting our society,” and “working to reshape

the world we live in” (p. 39).

One of Cipolle’s (2010) core components of her social-justice model for service-learning was the development of four elements of critical consciousness: “a deeper self-awareness, a deeper awareness and broader perspective of others and of social issues, and the potential to create change” (p. 9). Self-awareness included the understanding of one’s own privileged status, values, societal role, and social responsibility. When volunteers heard stories directly from people in poverty, they learned to take the perspective of others and become less judgmental and more sympathetic. Cipolle wrote, “As students inform themselves on social, economic, and political issues, they question beliefs and assumptions that no longer provide adequate explanations for reality” (p. 11). As a result, the volunteers may shift from blame-the-victim mentality to systematic thinking on the causes of issues. Finally, Cipolle stated, “Doing important work that has real impact on people and the community develops a sense of *agency*—the belief that you can make a difference. Students develop an ethic of service and adopt it as part of their identity ...” (pp. 11-12).

Service as civic or social responsibility. In a comparative analysis, Hatcher and Erasmus (2008) reported that the main goal of service-learning in the United States is “civic responsibility” linked to individual student learning outcomes, whereas the South African goal is “social responsibility” according to a set of competencies defined by a national policy (pp. 54-55). Yet, the American service-learning literature uses both terms almost interchangeably without clearly defining and differentiating them.

Research to understand social responsibility as an outcome of college service-learning was relatively new in 1994, and literature on the purposes of service and the

(American) National and Community Service Act of 1990 referred to “social responsibility” as “sustained involvement in community life” (Giles & Eyler, 1994, p. 330). Because it was unrealistic to measure people’s lifetime behavior, researchers had to rely on such short-term predictors of social responsibility as personal efficacy, a helpful attitude and commitment, and a less judgmental and more empathetic understanding of people and their problems. Giles and Eyler’s findings indicated an insignificant increase in personal efficacy but supported earlier studies that service-learning participants valued community involvement and social change more than before doing service. In addition, the students were inspired to become community leaders and see the importance of political involvement in solving issues, as opposed to the general college student tendency to withdraw from politics. Giles and Eyler’s quantitative and qualitative data agreed that, despite serving only a few hours a week for two months, most volunteers developed an empathetic consideration of the circumstantial causes of people’s hardship. The students’ negative preconceptions of disadvantaged children and their parents shifted toward positive perceptions of the people’s behaviors. Seventy-five percent of the college students believed their personal involvement with the clients to be the cause of their improved perceptions. All of the students who had and all but one of the students who had not volunteered the semester before the service requirement expressed their commitment to continue social service, and 71% of those who volunteered served in the same community. Analyzing student journals, Rice and Brown (1998) found similar self-reports of reducing assumptions and stereotyping, participating sensitively, taking the perspectives of others, and learning about themselves (personal growth). Likewise, Eyler, Giles, and Braxton (1997) and Vogt, Chavez, and Schaffner

(2011) found that service-learning students became more empathetic and open to other thoughts and new information.

Yet, the term “social responsibility” has also been conceptualized in other ways. Several college students who tutored mathematics to at-risk youths wrote ungraded essays at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the service-learning semester on what it means to be socially responsible. At the beginning, they gave examples of their helping others based on kindness or social obligation, such as helping someone out, holding the door for someone, volunteering, and giving donations. At the semester’s end, they reflected that their at-risk students were more socially responsible as their definition shifted to, in one tutor’s words, “working hard to improve yourself so one day you can be successful and give back to your community” (Zang, Gutmann, & Berk, 2007, p. 325). In other words, the youths “were making an effort to become productive members of society” (p. 334).

Service-learning in Cambodia. Sen’s (2008) study of college student civic engagement in Cambodia concluded that educational institutions, including higher education, and families play the smallest role in encouraging students to volunteer for non-profit groups or organizations. Regarding family influence, Sen’s questionnaire asked whether the parents had introduced the respondent to the possibility of volunteering for a group or organization. In summary, Sen pointed to the general lack of service-learning in Cambodian higher education.

In 2009, PUC and California State University, Fullerton organized a Southeast Asia Service-Learning Institute attended by four other Cambodian universities (Kim-Han, 2009). It is unknown whether those four universities established any service-learning

program afterward. PUC, on the other hand, has been implementing undergraduate service-learning since 2002.

One of the lessons Seponski and Lewis (n.d.) learned from engaging American students in a service-learning collaboration with Cambodian partners was that their projects needed to be more sensitive to the Cambodian culture. For instance, they should have come with a better understanding of the expectations of the Cambodian faculty, undergraduate students, and community. International service-learning practices such as this are not designed for the academic benefit of Cambodian college students.

Moral development outcomes of service-learning. Research on moral development as an outcome of service-learning focuses on moral reasoning, and “development” refers to reaching higher developmental or maturity stages measured by judgment in moral dilemmas rather than the process by which individuals develop their morality. Boss (1994) and Gorman, Duffy, and Heffernan (1994) found service-learning students’ moral reasoning score increased, contrasted to non-service-learning students, in the Defining Issues Test. Cram (1998) found a similar result using pre- and post-surveys. In contrast, other researchers did not find significant gains in moral reasoning (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Fenzel & Leary, 1997; Greene, 1997; Leary, 1994; Pratt, 2001). Bernacki and Jaeger went a little further to identify students’ moral orientation (justice versus care) and concluded that service-learning did not significantly affect students’ moral development and orientation but that service-learning students indicated in a Likert-scale questionnaire they had become more compassionate and sensitive. The researchers added that one semester might be too short for significant moral development

but that the students' perceived changes might lead to measurable development in the future.

Moral Development Theories

Structural theories of moral development (Killen & Smetana, 2006) are based on studies on individuals' reasoning or judgment regarding hypothetical or real-life moral dilemmas. On the other hand, Wainryb (2006) recommended from a contemporary cultural anthropology perspective, "the study of social and moral development in culture must attend to the many contexts of social life in cultures and to the varied ways in which individuals make sense of their experiences in those social contexts" (p. 231). This perspective helps conceptualize my study, which does not look for moral dilemmas. Yet, Kohlberg's ethic of justice and Gilligan's ethic of care will be helpful for comparison and contrast with my findings. For this reason, let me briefly describe both theories.

Kohlberg's six-stage moral reasoning theory once dominated the moral development field (Brabeck & Shore, 2003). The stages were harm avoidance, reciprocity, family and community obedience, societal obedience, and fairness (Brabeck & Shore). Looking to develop a moral development theory that better encompassed women's moral decision making, Gilligan conducted research interviews with women having gone through moral dilemmas on abortion and derived a three-stage moral development theory. At the *survival* level, the women had to give in to the everyday demands of her life. At the second level, women sacrificed their own needs in exchange for love or acceptance. At the top level of the ethic of care, *the morality of nonviolence* existed when women sought a decision that minimized hurt after consideration of sensitivity, compassion, *and* personal needs (e.g. ambition) (Gilligan, 1994).

Kohlberg and his theory were biased toward men and justice, whereas women had a distinct, yet non-exclusive, tendency towards care, relationships, interdependence, and contextual judgment (Gilligan, 1993). Nonetheless, the ethic of care “recognize[s] for both sexes the central importance in adult life of the connection between self and other, the universality of the need for compassion and care” (Gilligan, 1994, p. 29). Whereas Kohlberg’s ethic of justice emphasizes individual rights and equality, Gilligan’s ethic of care places value on interconnectedness (Nucci, 2008) and relational and interpersonal responsiveness (Gump, Baker, & Roll, 2000). “The moral person is one who helps others; goodness is service, meeting one’s obligations and responsibilities to others, if possible, without sacrificing oneself” (Gilligan, 1994, p. 6). She added:

The willingness to express and take responsibility for judgment stems from the recognition of the psychological and moral necessity for an equation of worth between self and other. Responsibility for care then includes both self and other, and the obligation not to hurt, freed from conventional constraints, is reconstructed as a universal guide to moral choice. (p. 27)

Without joining the debate whether gender differences exist in moral development (Brabeck & Shore, 2003), this study makes use of the ethics of justice and care in conceptualizing PUC CSL students’ moral development.

Buddhist Ethics

Before describing Buddhist ethics, the major Buddhist schools and movements are introduced.

Buddhist denominations. Theravada, the oldest Buddhist denomination, strictly abides by the sermons that the 500 highest monks recited and verified in their first

convention (Khoeun & Keo, 2009) shortly after the Buddha's death (Bullitt, 2012), and it focuses on individual salvation as the basis for a moral society. Theravada laypersons aim to perfect themselves by following ethical codes and accumulating *bon* (*kammic* merit) for their next lives, recognizing they probably will never reach enlightenment. The *sangha* (community of monastics) hold the authority of Buddhist teachings and rituals, and are the medium of *bon* for laypeople. Mahayana moved Buddhism toward addressing societal problems through *bodhisattvas*' (enlightened humans') devoting themselves to the liberation of all sentient beings. "In the Mahayana tradition, when one cares enough about sentient beings' suffering, one will be moved to vow to return again and again to *samsara* [cycle of rebirth and death] as a *bodhisattva* to help all sentient beings become free of suffering" (King, 2009, pp. 23-24). The Vajrayana sect is for those believing in their own and others' hidden enlightened qualities. The main goal is mental liberation as "one learns to experience the world from a rich and self-liberating viewpoint" (Diamond Way Buddhist Centers USA, n.d.).

Buddhist modernizing movements. To compete with Protestant missionaries, a nineteenth-century Siamese (Thai) monk named Mongkut formed a modern school within Theravada Buddhism that attracted the elite, and the reform soon spread to Cambodia (Forest, 2008). To reconnect with the Buddha's authentic teachings, Cambodian Buddhist scholars began their modern (systematic and rational) translations of canonical Pali Buddhist texts into the Khmer language (Hansen, 2008). The Pali texts were considered sacred, whereas the Khmer translations were printed in periodicals and pamphlets. "Their writings also exhibited new apprehensions of the individual as situated in history as well as in an inter-dependent collective or communal life", and one

of them, Okña Suttantabreyjea Ind, wrote an extensive ethical commentary on Cambodian society (Hansen, p. 43). In Cambodia, the new monastic order is called *Thommayut*, while the traditional and dominant one is *Mahanikay*.

To respond to globalizing forces and societal issues since the start of the twentieth century, many Buddhist individuals and groups have moved from individual perfection and enlightenment to freeing other beings from suffering. King (2009) calls these peaceful modernizing movements Engaged Buddhism, a term introduced by Vietnamese monk Thich Nhat Hanh during the Vietnam War. King clarifies that (Socially) Engaged Buddhism is not a new sect; on the contrary, it is social and political activism within all Buddhist sects throughout Asia and the West. For instance, Venerable Thich Nhat Hanh reinterpreted the five precepts as not just abstaining from the bad deeds, but also actively seeking to stop organizations or other people from committing them.

In 1992, Venerable Maha Ghosananda led the Dhammayietra (long walk to spread advice) for Peace and Reconciliation for one month to accompany scared refugees on foot back to Cambodia. The second Dhammayietra, in 1993, was to encourage Cambodians in civil-war areas to vote in the reinstated national election despite threats of violence. More than 400 people joined the 350-kilometer walk. The Dhammayietra has been organized annually since then to call for peace, ban landmines, raise awareness of the environmental impacts of deforestation, and reconcile between Khmer Rouge guerillas and the government. Maha Ghosananda clarified that taking social action was not new for monastics and that the Buddha himself had walked into a battlefield to reconcile fighting between groups within his clan (Santi, 2007). Layperson Heng Monychenda's Buddhism for Development organization uses "the *Dhamma* [Buddhist

doctrine] as a guide ... to achieve harmony between the individual, society, and the environment” and works to build self-reliance of communities toward their “economic, social, spiritual, physical and intellectual well-being” (Buddhism for Development, n.d.). These are just two examples of Cambodian leaders who may be considered Engaged Buddhists.

Sila. *Sila* consists of five ethical codes: five or eight moral training precepts for laypeople, ten precepts for novice monks and nuns, 227 monastic rules for fully-ordained monks, and 311 rules for fully-ordained nuns (Access to Insight, 2003). The minimum code for laypeople is *pañca-sila* or the five precepts, which practicing Buddhists voluntarily undertake in order to build their merits:

1. I undertake the precept to refrain from destroying living creatures.
2. I undertake the precept to refrain from taking that which is not given.
3. I undertake the precept to refrain from sexual misconduct.
4. I undertake the precept to refrain from incorrect speech.
5. I undertake the precept to refrain from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness. (Access to Insight, 2012)

During rituals at monasteries, Cambodians attending monks’ preaching recite each of the five precepts in Pali after the *achar* (elderly man who manages rituals).

The first three precepts are classified into Right Action, the fourth precept is under Right Speech, and the fifth is part of Right Livelihood (Access to Insight, 2003). The following definitions and details of each category are cited from English translations of Pali *suttas*, the Buddha’s discourses and sermons (Access to Insight, 2002).

Right action. After listening to a silversmith’s observance of some Brahmanic

(early Hindu cult) rites of purification, the Buddha taught him the purification of bodily, verbal, and mental disciplines. Pure bodily action is achieved as one abstains from taking life when “[h]e dwells with his rod laid down, his knife laid down, scrupulous, merciful, compassionate for the welfare of all living beings”; abstains from “taking what is not given [when] [h]e does not take, in the manner of a thief, things in a village or a wilderness that belong to others and have not been given by them”; and abstains from sensual misconduct when he:

does not get sexually involved with those who are protected by their mothers, their fathers, their brothers, their sisters, their relatives, or their Dhamma; those with husbands, those who entail punishments, or even those crowned with flowers by another man. (Bhikkhu, 1997)

Right speech. The Buddha lectured on Right Speech:

Monks, a statement endowed with five factors is well-spoken, not ill-spoken. ... It is spoken at the right time. It is spoken in truth. It is spoken affectionately. It is spoken beneficially. It is spoken with a mind of good-will. (Bhikkhu, 2010b)

Right livelihood. Making an honest living defines Right Livelihood. Five businesses that should be avoided are dealings in weapons, living beings, meat, intoxicants, and poison (Bhikkhu, 2010c). Four conditions lead to and maintain wealth in this life and, therefore, prevent the temptation to make a living dishonestly: (1) the achievement of persistent effort—becoming skillful and diligent; (2) the achievement of watchfulness—guarding and protection of wealth; (3) good friendship—association with and following those full of *saddha* (faith in the Buddha), *sila* (virtue), *caga* (generosity), and *pañña* (wisdom); and (4) balanced livelihood—spending less than one’s income and

neither extravagantly nor miserly (Thera, 2010). Likewise, to protect wealth from dissipating, one must avoid six channels: intoxicants, strolling at inappropriate hours, frequenting entertaining shows, gambling, evil companions, and a lazy habit (Thera, 2012).

Ethical reflection. *Ethical reflection* has been utilized to communicate Buddhist philosophy for a very long time (Hansen, 1999). Shortly after his enlightenment, the Buddha educated his son Rahula to reflect on any bodily, verbal, or mental act before, during, and after performing it: “This [bodily/verbal/mental] act I want to perform – would it lead to self-affliction, to the affliction of others, or to both? Is it an unskillful [wrong or impure] act, with painful consequences, painful results?” (Bhikkhu, 2010a). Such reflections focus on self-reflections, rather than critically evaluating other people’s acts.

Brahma-vihara. *Brahma-vihara* (*prum-vihear-dhor* in Khmer) refers to the four “sublime attitudes”: *metta*, *karuna*, *mudita*, and *upekkha* (Bhikkhu, 2011a). *Metta*, known as goodwill or loving-kindness, is the friendly disposition toward others and the wish for others’ well-being (Sokh, 2005). It is “the wish for true happiness” that can be directed to oneself or others (Bhikkhu). *Karuna* (compassion) refers to the sympathy for others’ physical or mental suffering, the willingness to give help, and the refrainment from causing harm; *mudita* (empathetic joy) is the joy for others’ happiness without envy (Sokh). Bhikkhu explained *upekkha* as equanimity that provides mental balance to the above three emotions. In his example, if you know someone with an incurable illness, equanimity helps you focus on what you are able to do to lighten the suffering. Similar to the official Khmer Dictionary, Sokh interpreted *upekkha* as avoidance of biases tempted

by love, hatred, ignorance, or fear.

Dana. *Dana* is the giving of materials or immateriality to needy people. According to Khoeun and Keo (2009), *dana* has two forms: *amisa-dana*, giving materials, and *dhamma-dana*, sharing ideas, wisdom, consciousness, or knowledge. The present-life benefits of *dana* are respect, fondness, and friendship. For the next incarnation, the material giver will have material abundance, and the immaterial giver will be wise. Khoeun and Keo added that the goals of *dana* in the present time are to reduce selfishness and share happiness with other people since the Buddha taught that just as thousands of candles can be lit from one candle without reducing its life and brightness, happiness is never diminished by sharing it with other people.

Caga. *Caga* is the generous disposition to give or mental departure from possessions, whereas *dana* is the act of giving and might come from a negative mind (de Silva, 2010).

Cambodian Moral Values

In addition to Buddhist ethics, there will be moral aspects mentioned by participants that come from years of education and socialization in Cambodia. In Cambodia, *sela-dhor* (morality) is taught everywhere—at home, in the local community, by literary works, at school, and by the media. At home and in the community, children learn to respect parents, teachers, and elders. In elementary school, pupils are taught to recite various kinds of morally didactic literature traditionally sung by popular poets. Moral education emphasizes respectful social behavior. For grades 7-12, the morality and citizenship subject consists of six chapters. The first four are:

Knowing yourselves covers purpose in life, integrity and intelligence, and building

capacity/knowledge. *Interpersonal relations* introduces students to the Cambodian traditional family, the kinship system and managing family conflicts. *Sense of community* addresses issues such as positive attitudes to neighbours and others, relationships and responsibilities, teamwork and qualities of a leader. In the chapter on *Religions and cultures*, each of Cambodia's major religions/cultures – Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam – is discussed ... (Clayton, 2005, p. 513)

The final chapters are “*Cambodian economic and social issues* and *Responding to world trends*” (Clayton, p. 513). Adult moral and citizenship education is often included in entertaining performances on television. Some monks speak about moral topics on radio broadcasts.

The following are some of the morally relevant characteristics of the Khmer identified by Peang-Meth (1991):

- *Intransigence*. As Theravada Buddhists, the Khmer are tolerant, accepting, agreeable, understanding, placatory, and harmonious. Yet, as Brahmanic (early Hindu cult) influence remains, they are uncompromising on important issues.
- *Power and class*. Khmer leaders seek absolute power and use tight control, just as *Deva-raj*as (god-kings) did. The traditional Khmer society is classified into royalty, high nobility, lower nobility, and common people.
- *Corruption*. In Buddhism, selfishness and greed pollute the person. However, those considering themselves god-kings demand gifts for favor.
- *Allegiance*. As leaders provide favors when needed, Khmer people are more

loyal to their leaders than ideologies.

- *Dignity.* Each member of the Khmer society is obliged to maintain family and national honor. Compromising means giving in. Emotions are personal and must be moderated in public.

Chapter Summary

For comparison and contrast with findings on Cambodian CSL educators and students, service-learning literature provides this study with American models and student outcome theories, and Kohlberg's ethic of rights and justice and Gilligan's ethic of care provide moral orientation theories that began in the United States. Buddhist ethics will help fully conceptualize the data and explain the findings in comparison and contrast to the American service-learning literature and moral orientation theories. The rest of data on morality will be explained by Cambodian moral values that CSL students may have acquired from schooling and socialization and that may or may not be Buddhist. Yet, this exploratory study is open for the data to lead to certain adult learning and education theories because, at this point now, no prediction can be made.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I describe the epistemology and theoretical perspective I adopted, the research methodology and the methods used, and the standards that justified the quality of this research.

Epistemology and Theoretical Perspective

I believe in social constructionism as an epistemology and constructivism as a theoretical perspective. Social constructionism emphasizes how people make shared meaning as a group; constructivism stresses how individuals construct different meanings (Crotty, 1998; Koro-Ljungberg, Yendol-Hoppey, Smith, & Hayes, 2009).

The meanings each CSL student made were constructed from their interactions with the community members, relevant non-governmental organization (NGO) staff, professors, CSL staff, other student volunteers, and the researcher. Recognizing the power relations and inevitable influence of the researcher on the subjects, I minimized such influence by avoiding asking leading questions. While limiting my influence on the students' meaning construction (described in the Justification and Quality Standards section below), I sought to understand both shared and individual meanings the students constructed from their experiences. These meanings were influenced by not only the interactions with other CSL stakeholders but also the culture that had shaped the students' lives by far.

Research Design

I conducted an *analytical* case study, one that not only holistically describes the case under study but also inductively analyzes data, defines conceptual categories, describes relationships among them, and strengthens or disputes prior theory (Merriam, 1998). The PUC CSL can be considered a case, defined by Merriam (1998) as “a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries” (p. 27). She defined a qualitative case study as “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (2009, p. 40). Because CSL at PUC is a unique case of service-learning applied in the Cambodian context, this research is carried out as a qualitative study of this particular case. The participating undergraduates, who are the main beneficiaries of the program, are the focus of this study. This case study has the three features Merriam (2009) identified: it examines a *particular* case; the report includes a *thick*, or complete, *description* of the case; and it may provide readers with new insights and meanings for solving a practical problem.

Sites. Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia was selected because it was the leading service-learning provider in Cambodia as it gave academic credit to community service learning and supported CSL structurally, financially, and favorably. Moreover, in the recent Southeast Asia Service-Learning Institute hosted by PUC, PUC CSL Program administrators and faculty worked with an American team of experienced service-learning faculty and professionals to provide training to administrators, faculty, and students from other Cambodian and Southeast Asian universities (Kim-Han, 2009). In addition to PUC, I visited all four NGOs in Phnom Penh that partnered with the CSL Program during the August-November 2011 term and one rural community in order to

observe the volunteers' activities.

Participants and selection. The student participants were 33 PUC Cambodian undergraduate volunteers doing CSL during or before the August-November 2011 term in five CSL courses: Introduction to Environmental Science, Introduction to Political Science, Introduction to Khmer Studies, Cambodian History, and Personal Growth and Development. Some of them were freshmen doing CSL for the first time, while others had been involved for multiple terms. The other participants in the study were the PUC President, four professors (including the President) who repeatedly applied CSL in the five courses above, a CSL Program (CSLP) administrator, and an Academic Programs Office administrator.

At first, I only knew of courses involved with the CSLP. Yet, I unexpectedly learned at the beginning of my data collection from a former colleague that instead of sending their students to the CSL Center, some faculty members on their own led their students on some CSL trips or encouraged them to organize such trips themselves in groups. They did so in their Introduction to Khmer Studies, Cambodian History, Personal Growth and Development, and Health Education courses. To collect diverse perspectives, I decided to add students and faculty members from the first three of these courses.

For rich data, I purposefully sampled undergraduates actively involved in community service activities during the academic term in which I was present. I identified some of them through my observation of their community service activities. Because my study purpose was to better understand the development of moral leaders, I also selected some students who had become leaders of CSL student groups. Using

snowball sampling, I relied on these leaders to select active members of their teams. After interviews with selected student group members, I conducted follow-up interviews with particular members who had provided important insights. The Introduction to Political Science volunteer selection was an exception. Because the professor did not apply CSL in the short academic term in which I was present, I telephoned several of his students who had volunteered in the previous term, and two of them accepted to be interviewed.

Data collection procedures. First, I introduced myself as a Ph.D. student at Texas State University and a former PUC faculty member. Then, I briefly informed each of the participants about the research and handed them the appropriate consent form (Appendix A). After giving them time to read and answering their questions, I collected all the forms from those who agreed to participate.

Data collection methods. The data for this study were collected by interviewing, observation, and document-mining.

Interviewing. Case study research does not prescribe a set of data collection and analysis methods, and therefore, allows for a variety of methods appropriate for the particular study because the focus is on the case, not methods (Merriam, 1998). The core data came from semi-structured one-on-one and focus-group interviews with 23 college students at places they felt were private enough for conversation, mostly at quiet cafés close to campus or in empty classrooms. Specifically, I conducted two one-on-one interviews with students, one focus-group interview with three volunteers, five focus groups of two, and two focus groups of four. Afterward, I telephoned two members of each focus group of four who had given insightful answers for follow-up interviews. The

Khmer language was used to preserve the cultural influence on meaning-making. Students identified themselves by names, pseudonyms, or assigned numbers each time they spoke. To understand the influences on students, I separately interviewed the CSLP administrator, the PUC President, and selected CSL faculty members. The only interview in English was with an American faculty member. All interviews were digitally audio-recorded. During the data collection period, I adjusted my interview guides to different types of CSL faculty and groups of volunteers. As a result, I developed ten interview guides (Appendix B).

As I observed community activities, I also collected data through conversations with students and site facilitators. In addition, I informally interviewed the Academic Programs Office and CSLP administrators regarding PUC CSL curriculum and policy. I had a conversation with the Khmer studies professor before interviewing him on another day. To obtain less *performed* (Riessman, 2008) data, the less formal interviews were not recorded; instead, I took notes of useful data during the conversations.

Observation. To have a better picture of community service activities, I observed as a non-participant and took notes of their interactions with the communities, their fundraising event, and posters on their community activities. The notes consisted of my perceptions, thoughts, and queries.

Document-mining. I obtained electronic and hard copies of students' writings, community service videos and photos, community and class presentations, and evaluations. The student writings included reports, community study papers, and reflection papers. I collected student evaluations from the CSL Center, where CSLP students returned their completed CSLP evaluation forms. To be aware of the

institutional and program context, I gathered all relevant documents, such as CSLP details and reports, course syllabi, and PUC policy statements.

Data management. Electronic data, including interview transcripts, were filed in my password-protected personal computer and backed up onto an external storage device kept at home. Non-electronic data were maintained securely at home. To preserve linguistic and cultural authenticity, data were left in the same languages in which they were gathered (mostly in Khmer and some in English) for analysis. A few people who had never attended PUC were hired to transcribe the Khmer interviews word for word. The data were managed with the assistance of HyperResearch 3.5 software.

Data analysis. In this analytical case study, I analyzed the data in three levels: coding, categorizing, and theorizing.

Coding. Chunks of data were labeled with *in vivo*, values, and process codes. Others were simply coded in clauses and nouns. Whenever a piece of language stood out, I *in vivo* coded it so I could better understand the informant's meaning-making world. Words deserving *in vivo* codes included language that was culturally specific, creative, emphasized, figurative, ironic, or repeated (Charmaz, 2006; Saldaña, 2009). Because this study is written in English, I either translated the quoted words into English, or when I found no equivalent English words, transliterated the Khmer words, which I then explained in English at the reporting stage. When *in vivo* coding was not suitable, I value-coded the data segment. Value codes "reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview" (Saldaña, p. 89). This type of coding is particularly useful for case studies "that explore cultural values and intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions" (p. 90). Data

describing actions or interactions were process-coded into phrases beginning with gerunds (Charmaz, 2002). In addition to all these three types of coding, I used clauses to describe data as close as possible (e.g. I like children) and used nouns for some concepts (e.g. appreciation by community). In addition to coding, I wrote memos on some codes.

Categorizing. In the second analytic level, first-level codes were conceptually grouped under each research question. Merriam (1998) recognizes that category names may derive from the participant's words, the researcher's interpretation, or prior-theory terminology. Some significant in vivo codes were raised to categories. Some codes were conceptually grouped and named appropriately based on the data contexts. When necessary, I would use terms from relevant literature, e.g. Buddhist or service-learning, to title other categories. Subgrouping, regrouping, and renaming occurred.

Theorizing. In the final stage of analysis, a model and theories were developed as I compared and contrasted the findings to the literature. It turned out that the theories were relevant not only to service-learning and Buddhist literature but also moral development, community education, and adult learning and education.

Justification and Quality Standards

The theories in this study are justified by triangulation, weighting the evidence, seeking alternative explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1998), and discussing my personal perspectives. Firstly, the Data Collection Methods section detailed how data sources (participants), types of data, and collection methods were triangulated to answer the research questions. Triangulation in constructivist research is not to determine which data tell the truth but to value different perspectives (Lincoln & Guba, 1986), which helps provide a holistic picture of the case under investigation.

Secondly, stronger data are told firsthand, from observation than statements and reports, and collected in informal and private settings (Miles & Huberman). All of my interviews and most observations were firsthand. The interviews were at quiet cafes, a private restaurant room, and four private offices. Thirdly, I presented alternative theories by discussing the findings with Western, Buddhist, and Khmer lenses. Fourthly, the reflexive statement in the Researcher Background section of the first chapter detailed my multiple identities (in the postmodern sense), community service experiences, and perspectives, and how they could influence this inquiry from topic selection to data interpretations and theorizing. Lastly, I requested the administrators and faculty to give feedback on my draft, but I realized member checking was impractical and unnecessary. It was impractical because the participants did not have time to review my fourth through eighth chapters, which I kept revising for improvement. It was unnecessary because I did everything I could to be open to their perspectives while defining morality and community service learning, designing research and interview questions, interviewing them, coding and quoting their responses, and theorizing.

Chapter Summary

This study was guided by the social constructionist epistemology and the constructivist theoretical perspective. I used an analytical case study as the methodology. Data were collected in during the August-November 2011 academic term from 39 Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia participants by interviewing and observation. Various types of relevant documents, including videos, were gathered. The interviews were conducted with 23 undergraduate volunteers and four professors of five CSL courses, the PUC Founder/President, and a CSL Program administrator. The interview

data were transcribed, and all data were coded and categorized in HyperResearch 3.5 software. Next, I developed and described a model and theories.

CHAPTER IV
COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING AT
PAÑÑĀSĀSTRA UNIVERSITY OF CAMBODIA

In this chapter, I describe the context of the PUC CSL and answer the first research question, “What were PUC administrators’ and faculty members’ visions in supporting and implementing CSL?” Then, I detail the implementation of two CSL models at PUC.

Context of Community Service Learning at Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia

In addition to high quality education that prepares students well for employment, Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia is a unique institution in terms of the importance given to Buddhist ethics, wisdom, social responsibility, and leadership, as apparent in its institutional motto, philosophy, and mission statements (Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia [PUC], 2010b, 2010c, 2010d). One of the University’s visions is “a world where those in government and in positions of authority exercise their duties responsibly with compassion to defend and protect the people they serve, especially the poor, elderly, destitute, needy women and children” (PUC, 2010c). To bring that world into reality, PUC has taken the lead among Cambodian higher education institutions in organizing community service learning for students.

In 2003, the University established the Center for Community Service Learning (henceforth, CSL Center) with a grant from the United States Agency for International

Development (USAID). Selected PUC faculty, staff, and students took training at California State University-Fullerton. One of the Center's goals is to develop in students the "sense of social responsibilities and commitment to public/human service" (PUC, 2010a). Participating faculty members send their undergraduate students to the Center, which coordinates service arrangements with partner NGOs through its Community Service Learning Program (CSLP). Participating courses have included freshmen Introduction to Environmental Science, Introduction to Political Science, and Introduction to Gender Studies courses and sophomore Logic & Critical Thinking course. Generally every semester, between 50 and 200 undergraduate students participate in CSLP by volunteering 15 to 28 hours to teach various subjects to abandoned children, children with HIV/AIDS, and orphans hosted by partner NGOs. The teaching is weekly. They are expected to reflect on their experiences. During the Summer (August 31 – November 20, 2011) term, two Introduction to Environmental Science professors sent their student volunteers to the Center for service arrangements with partner NGOs. The service requirement during the short term was 20 hours within 7 weeks.

In the other CSL model, several faculty members lead their students on some CSL trips or encourage them to organize such trips themselves in groups. The courses are Introduction to Khmer Studies, Cambodian History, Personal Growth and Development, and Health Education. The names for this model vary by course and context. One name, according to the Khmer Studies professor I interviewed, is "go down or gather to serve the community"—"to help or do something for the community without payment." All volunteers I interviewed use the word "help" instead of "serve;" however, many subconsciously copy the use of "go *down* [emphasis added] to the community" by

television broadcasts of government officials, as if the volunteers were of a higher status than the target community. An example of context-based activities in a Khmer Studies course is volunteers helping farmers harvest rice because it was a late harvest in the season while the sun was getting too hot for the rice to survive. During a recent flood, students raised funds and distributed food supplies to victims. A common activity is teaching some basic knowledge to children in remote areas with inadequate schooling or libraries. Health Education student volunteers persuade rural communities to adopt healthy behaviors. Because each trip in this CSL model includes a study component, volunteers used other Khmer names such as “field trip,” “study trip,” “community study,” “community study trip,” and “internship.” Henceforth, I will use Community Study Trip (CST) to distinguish this model from CSLP.

A major assignment of the Khmer Studies and Cambodian History courses is that the undergraduates go on a study trip to a rural community. The students form small or large groups of as many as 300 volunteers, choose communities to visit, and plan their own trips. The participants are supposed to study anything relevant to the courses, such as temple history, people’s culture, civilization, and living conditions. They should also share something in return for the knowledge about the local people they visit. The volunteers generally teach rural children general knowledge and health care and give them school supplies, which their parents can hardly afford. Some take donations to families or elderly people identified as the poorest in the village, especially families with a disabled member. In one case, a student group built a small house for an elderly woman. Recently, a group of students documented oral histories from elderly people in a village. Because students pay for the study trip themselves and some parents are

concerned about the safety, going on the trip is not mandatory. However, those unable to travel to the site must learn from participants, and faculty members encourage their students to participate by explaining the benefits and going on some trips themselves. Despite statistical unavailability, interviewees believe virtually everyone goes on the trip and those who cannot will take part in the group project in other ways, for example by donating clothes to the community.

PUC Educators' Visions in Supporting and Implementing Community Service

Learning

First, each educator's visions are described separately. Then, a theme across the educators' visions is summarized.

The PUC Founder. The Founding Father of PUC, Dr. Kol Pheng, was born and grew up in Cambodian rural life. His parents sent him to study at a *wat* (Khmer Buddhist monastery), where he learned basic subjects and Buddhism. He later moved to Phnom Penh. Years later, he received a scholarship to study in France. He returned to work in Cambodia and in 1974 received a scholarship to study finance in the United States. Because of the genocide targeting the educated, he did not return to Cambodia and later earned the American citizenship. He continued at the University of Missouri at Columbia for a PhD in economics. Then, he worked for the Public Utility Commission of Texas. After Cambodia's shift to democracy, he returned to Cambodia to found PUC in 1997 with other Cambodian returnees. During the coup d'état that year, the University lost most of its equipment. Dr. Kol re-established PUC in January 2000. He later took public office as the Minister of Education, Youth and Sport. He is now a Senior Minister and Vice Chairman of the Supreme National Council for Education. At PUC, he is the

Chairman of the Board of Trustees and current President.

The PUC Founder hoped to “restore the Khmer tradition of volunteerism and love for community.” He defined “volunteerism” as “an act of charity, generosity, helping others less fortunate at the moment.” He continued that the present civil society is based on volunteerism that is not from Cambodian people’s heart, implying imported Western concepts such as democratic participation and civic rights. On the contrary, “[កែវ]ជួយ គ្នា [Helpfulness] ... is the foundation of volunteerism in Cambodian society,” he said and gave an example of villagers helping a newly married couple manually deconstruct and move houses for 4 or 5 kilometers. The President theorized that empathy coupled with a “heart connection” between those fortunate to get higher education and less educated communities would eliminate corruption and power abuse in Cambodia. Therefore, he hoped “to weld *tik-chet* [heart/kindness to help] between [ordinary] citizens and អ្នកវិជ្ជា ជំនាញ [niak cheh deng or those with knowledge and social awareness].” He explained, “Some educated people blame poor people that they’re lazy. This is because they aren’t aware of [the causes of] social issues, such as the lack of education.” In other words, as PUC students later become servants of society, the spirit of connection to the community will help them better serve the needs of people and prevent them from abusing their power. The President did not want leaders to look down on people living in poverty. He believed that many rich people did not respect poor people because those well-off people “lack *metta chet* [heart/mind of loving-kindness].” He raised a traffic accident as an example. A high-ranking military officer’s luxury SUV was involved in an accident with

a poor man's cart. The officer got out of his vehicle to inspect its damage instead of asking the poor man whether he was hurt. Upon seeing the damage, the officer blamed the other man for not watching out for the approaching vehicle and shot him. The President told me, "As a result, their children lost both fathers—one dead, the other jailed." It all happened because of an illusion by anger, a Buddhist notion he referred to.

To push aside worldly illusions, one needs to develop *prum-vihear-dhor* (the Khmer word for *brahma-vihara* [sublime attitudes]):

- *Karuna dhor*—compassion or alleviation of suffering
- *Metta dhor*—loving-kindness
- *Mudita dhor*—happiness from your act of kindness or [empathetic] joy when others succeed
- *Upekkha dhor*—equanimity

The President added that only the first three attitudes were applied in PUC CSL, implying it was hard to achieve *upekkha*, a high mental state of concentration. He considered CSL as "planting the seeds of *metta chet* [as well as *karuna* and *mudita*]." With all the efforts, he also hoped peace would remain in Cambodia: when the educated and the well-off shared some knowledge and materials with the less fortunate, the latter would not see all members of the middle and upper classes as exploiters, as it had happened during the genocide.

In his own Personal Growth and Development course required for third-term undergraduate students, the President incorporates CSL as an assignment option: analysis of community profiles and issues as basis for community service. He does not provide students with a uniform framework, for he wants to encourage creativity.

A professor of Khmer studies and Cambodian history (KSH) courses. One of the professors of Khmer Studies and Cambodian History courses required for PUC freshmen has been implementing CSL at PUC since 2002, before the establishment of the CSL Center in 2003. One of his reasons is the development of students' practical experiences in addition to classroom learning. He got the CSL idea from his experiences as a student at Yale University and California State University—Long Beach. He noticed Yale business students implementing ideas in communities. In Long Beach, where the biggest Cambodian diaspora in the United States resides, he volunteered for Cambodian social service associations. Upon returning to Cambodia, he implemented community service with students at the Royal University of Phnom Penh. Later, as an adjunct professor at PUC, he applied CSL in his courses. He has received structural and personal support from PUC leaders and colleagues as many of them returned from American universities where CSL had been implemented. They all agreed on the “social morality strengthening” mission. The Khmer studies professor shares with the President a vision of Khmer society in which people of all classes love and respect each other despite their differences and a mission of connecting urban educated people with rural people living in poverty. During my interviews, their students recalled these as explicitly introduced in class. The two educators also share the traditional Khmer conception of *niak cheh deng* (persons with knowledge and social awareness) or ឃុំ ឃុំ ឃុំ (pañña-want, meaning wise persons or scholars) as those who, in Sopheap's recall, “don't just learn for themselves but learn for the whole community as well as the whole nation.”

The KSH professor said incoming college freshmen never heard of “to learn from communities, to serve communities” or “community service learning” at a university, but

“helping the village, helping the *wat* [Khmer monastery]” is common. Upon a *wat* request, village youth will dig a pond, build a road, and plant trees. As a pupil in the Populist Society era (1955-1970), the professor had had a “handicraft” weekend schedule: “cleaning the campus, planting and trimming trees, building roads or dikes, or harvesting rice for villagers.” Individual teachers implemented such a community service tradition, and specific activities were usually requested by the local *wat*, making the service a religious act: volunteers will get *kosal* (rid of unhappiness) or *bon* (*kammic* merit) in return for their service. The history professor contrasted the Khmer tradition to the American school curriculum inclusion of community service.

The professor introduced CSL model to students as “education about communities” through a process of “finding the itchy spots” (exploring the needs of communities) in order to prepare the “willingness” and capabilities “to scratch the itchy spots” (help the communities). Moreover, it is important volunteers communicate to the target community what the community’s needs are (e.g. lack of hygiene). The KSH professor added, “If the community recognizes their needs, it will allow us to help.” The professor believed his CSL model was “creating the future of youth with communities, that is learning for communities and communities are the schools for my students.” The American government provides social services, but the Cambodian government does not, “so we must create human resources for the nation ... human resources [who] know what to help communities with.” His rationale for career preparation for some majors is that each province has specific natural or cultural resources and by getting students to study rural areas they will be able to relate natural resources to businesses or cultural resources to tourism. Contrasting to the Khmer-Buddhist tradition of community service, the

professor argued his model does not promise volunteers the accumulation of *bon* (*kammic* merit). In a community speech, he defined “volunteering” as “doing [something] unconditionally, doing [something] without asking for any benefit, doing [something] that does not exploit others, [and] doing [something] with solemn willingness.” He continued:

Regardless of how small or big the program is, college students must be able to take actions upon their willingness in the perspective of nationalism and national culture. Preserving the national culture is an important thought, and doing nationalist tasks is a duty.

A professor of the Introduction to Environmental Science (ES) course. With commitment of a former dean, many environmental science faculty members credits CSLP participation. The ES professor I interviewed had been involved with CSLP for two or three years. He perceived a need for educational assistance from educated human resources: “If we, *niak cheh deng* [persons with knowledge and social awareness], didn’t go to help poor communities [like] orphans, who would help them?” He also recognized the career benefit for his students: “When they finish their work, the NGOs will give them certificates. When [the students] graduate and apply to the same NGOs, they’ll likely get the employment.” His hopes were that volunteers would learn teaching skills and about the real lives of the children:

I hope the students will learn how hard the orphans’ lives are. And ... if they never taught before, standing in front of students would make them nervous. So they would get experience in teaching [and] pupil management. As we know, children are like crabs in a large pan—putting them here, they’ll move there;

putting them there, they'll move here.

He added, "helping children is like helping develop the society."

As preparation for community service, the instructor said he asked his students to teach the NGO children what environment is and how important environment is, but he recognized the children's need to learn other subjects and, therefore, the volunteers' need to also teach those subjects. He said, "Before they began [teaching], I introduced them how to teach because I asked them to make teaching programs of what to teach." He allowed his students to raise funds in the classroom to buy school supplies for the children. Although the professor recommended the program to his students, participation in CSLP is voluntary. The course requirement for volunteers in his class was end-of-term group presentations on community work activities, and the tradeoff was the waiver of some examinations.

A professor of the Introduction to Political Science (PS) course. Shortly after the PS professor joined PUC, he came across the CSL Center and talked to the director. Then, he decided to participate in CSLP. He believed CSLP gave his students hands-on experience and helped them "get a better understanding about Cambodia and the community, the needs of the community." Contrasting to his community service experience while he had been a university student, the PS professor told me, "My feeling is that community service learning does relate to political science because in political science we're studying about politics, which we define in our class as the process of determining who gets what, when, and how in the society." In addition, his students "help the community" or "serve poor ... or underprivileged communities in a way that is beneficial to their future."

By the interview time, the instructor had been working with CSLP for four years. The professor told me participation was optional, but many of his students wrote in their reflections they were required to join the program as part of the course. Each volunteer group gave a presentation reflecting on their experiences instead of taking the final examination.

An administrator of CSLP. The administrator had joined CSLP at the beginning of the program as a volunteer because “Helping communities, doing useful things for communities as students, and especially the spirit of voluntary work to help communities was new to Cambodian youth.” He later became a staff member. According to him, the center and program was named Community Service Learning as a combination of course-irrelevant *community service* and course-relevant *service-learning*, and the practices also include both types. In his opinion, it would be a challenge for volunteers to connect their community work with the course.

Ideally, the CSLP administrator would like faculty members to be “co-educators” with the NGO site supervisors. Although the CSL Center places volunteer groups at NGOs, instructors ought to be aware of the placements and coordinate the communication between their students and site supervisors, especially when a problem arises, “because they know what they want their students to do.” In practice, after some instructors *send* their student volunteers to the Center, they seem to leave all the work and communication to the volunteers and the Center, which makes telephone calls to NGOs after the second or third week of community service to discuss volunteers’ behaviors and issues. The administrator, then, talks to volunteers if an NGO complains about them. Faculty authority is limited, however, because the Center makes the final placement

decisions even if instructors request particular NGOs for their students. The administrator argued the Center needs to ensure the NGOs are legitimate and apolitical.

The CSLP administrator believed community service gave “an opportunity for our Khmer people to help each other, especially building the spirit of volunteerism and building love, compassion, *metta* [goodwill], [and] forgiveness for each other.” He told me he had learned the concept of *metta* from the “*Dhamma* [Buddhist teaching] of sharing.” He added that community service “changes people” as in a saying he quoted in English: “If you cannot change the world, you can change someone’s world.” He also quoted Mahatma Gandhi’s “If you want to see the change, be the change”; American artist Elbert Hubbard’s “One great and strong unselfish person in every community could actually lead the world”; and John F. Kennedy’s “Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.”

Regarding the NGO children, the administrator believed their interactions with volunteers are “golden” and “silver opportunities ... to meet college students who are their youth role models, so they will think in the future they want to become college students, too.” He recalled visiting an NGO and asking scavenger children (children who scavenged the city dump for recyclable materials to sell) what they wanted to do in the future:

At first, they said they didn’t know because every day they picked garbage. But when they saw our college students with a lot of knowledge, they said ‘One day, ... I want to become a college student, a *pañña-want* [scholar], to have a good job, too.’

The interactions also give children previously abandoned by society “opportunities to be

close to [the volunteers] because [they and the volunteers] are people of the same blood, the same Khmer nationality, so [the children] won't feel abandoned [any more]." The children are "our next generation, our bamboo shoots."

Cultivating the kindness to help society. To summarize, all of the educators above shared a vision of cultivating the kindness to help the Cambodian society. The PUC leader envisioned a Cambodian society with people helping each other within and across communities—beyond kinship and friendship boundaries. Thus, through meetings and speeches, especially at fundraising events, he cultivated the faculty's, staff's, and students' kindness to help society. Then, CSL faculty and staff cultivated the students' kindness to help society.

The phrase “បណ្តុះ ទី កិត្តិ ជួយ សង្គម” (plant the seeds of or cultivate the kindness to help society) comes from the recurrence of interviewees' uses of the words “បណ្តុះ” (*bondoh*, meaning plant the seeds of or, less literally, cultivate), “ទី កិត្តិ” (*tik-chet*, meaning the heart/mind of kindness), and “ជួយ សង្គម” (*chuoy sangkum* or help society). As detailed above, the PUC Founder believed CSL aims to “*bondoh metta chet*” (cultivate a mind/heart of loving-kindness) and “weld *tik-chet* [heart of kindness] between [ordinary] citizens and *niak cheh deng* [those with knowledge and social awareness].” A few volunteers explicitly said their community actions came out of their *tik-chet* [heart of kindness]—there was neither coercion nor obligation. The KSH professor argues his students are “learning to help” communities. All volunteers use the word “help” instead of “serve” the community, and most of them consider their community activities as “helping the society.”

Implementation: Community Study Trip (CST) versus Community Service Learning Program (CSLP)

Based on the KSH professor's formula for CSL success, I compared and contrasted the implementation of his CST model with that of CSLP using data from all sources.

Willingness (of students). Professors using CSLP and CST models both told students CSL would give them experience for employment, but the KSH professor spent more time lecturing the moral duties of CST participation. He explained to me:

Because the freshmen do not have any community service experience, they do not know what volunteering is and is for, so I need to spend at least a week so they understand they are the spirit, people, and force of the nation—the spirit of the nation meaning they create ideas for the next generations, the people of the nation [meaning] they have to perform their capabilities thoughtfully for the nation, and the force of the nation [meaning] they have to use their labor.

The professor cited American quotes: “If it’s not you, if it’s not me, it must be we [who will do it]” and John F. Kennedy’s “You’d better not ask the nation how much the nation can help you. You’d better ask yourself how much you’re dedicated to your own nation.” He explains to his students if they do not ask themselves what they can do for Cambodia and pay taxes they will end up worried at retirement age because there will not be social security income or enough pension.

Thus, the KSH professor lectured to his students on historical Khmer heroes and parental sacrifice related to Khmer culture and morality, especially the Khmer “love for each other” he compared to ស៊ុម្រែក្រូច (sommel korok or stir soup), in which vegetables of

various, including bitter, tastes are stirred in a pot on a burning stove. He had used this analogy at a Yale University speech by changing the name to សម្លរសាមគ្គី (*somlor samakee*) or “solidarity soup” to illustrate Khmers’ solidarity despite differences: “[We] don’t discriminate to pull out the bitter [ones].” Likewise, his students come from all classes, including those who receive room and board from *wats* (Khmer monasteries) in Phnom Penh. He explains to low-income students they can help people with ideas and labor without spending much money while well-off students may contribute more financially.

Religious or secular goals? Contrasting to the traditional *wat*-requested service in return for *bon* (*kammic* merit), the KSH professor focused on secular outcomes such as capability development and academic learning. Yet, the capability outcome goes along the Buddhist “Rely on yourself” ethic, he recognized. “If you are happy [with a clean mind] to make people happy, you will be happy. ... you won’t be happy [if] you steal, rob, or borrow from others to *twer bon* [perform merit-making acts].” The former coincides with *mudita* [empathetic joy]. He educated his students and the rural communities his 3 L’s: be loved, be loving, and be wise in accepting love. The second L happens to resemble *metta* (goodwill). Regarding the third L, to contrast wisdom from lack of wisdom in accepting love, at a community he told a story that a farmer sold his farm to a giver just after receiving a small gift. He implied to the community that the gifts and knowledge his students shared were small and that the community need not return the favor.

Community support. Support from the university, parents, and local authorities is necessary for the success of CSL implementation.

University support. PUC vision and mission statements clearly indicate its societal purpose. PUC leaders encouraged faculty and students to do CSL and provide curricular and administrative support. The President himself applied CSL, in the form of CST, in his Personal Growth and Development course. The CSL Center gave freshmen orientation on its CSLP. The Academic Programs Office worked with CSL faculty to ensure volunteers receive course credit for their participation. Because the freshmen core curriculum included some CSLP and some CST courses, it was unlikely that any freshman went one year without participating in CSL. In fact, many students I interviewed had participated in both models.

Funding. In addition to their own contributions, volunteers raised funds from faculty, staff, and other students on PUC Phnom Penh campuses to support their work by classroom and hallway solicitations as well as large events. Fundraising events consisted of presentations, performances, and target community speakers before *and after* the services (e.g. photographs of built roads and budget reports). Events held after community service work tackled people's concerns for transparency and developed students' honesty. CSLP, on the other hand, was funded by a PUC budget.

Parental permission. In the Cambodian context, parental permission is necessary for students to participate in community service. Some parents did not want their children to do community service for safety reason, the lack of value on service, or irrelevance to students' majors. However, many students were able to convince their parents on the benefits of CSL participation. Their conversations with parents will be illustrated in the next chapter. As a result, the vast majority of parents allowed, and some even supported, CSL participation.

Site authority's support. Another type of permission necessary in the Cambodian context is local authorities, which usually suspect youth political activities. CST volunteer group leaders spoke about the necessity of convincing village chiefs and educational administrators. The village chief's permission can be accompanied by local police providing security for everyone during the occasion.

While the University and the parents were generally supportive of the CSL projects, recipient NGOs seemed to provide volunteers with little assistance other than orientation. Many CSLP volunteers had to teach NGO classes of mixed abilities. Tevy had to teach 6th through 11th graders, Kañña's class consisted of 4th through 9th graders, and Hua's group taught a class of 25 students aged 3 through 15. Even worse, some NGO staff members provided critical comments and little support. Hua told me her group received criticism repeatedly from the first day:

[The NGO staff member] wasn't satisfied with our [first] lesson plan and asked us to change [it]. The following week, there was a complaint. Another week there was another complaint. Sometimes while [we were] teaching, you know, kids made noise. [The staff member] asked us to make sure the kids were not making too much noise for the neighbors [classroom windows are open for air]. Sometimes we couldn't control it ... Sometimes when [the kids] answered [our] questions right, they were happy and shouted ... And he/she asked us why, for example, student A couldn't catch up. That's hard for us to do [our] work. And we couldn't manage all the students because the students had mixed abilities [and] some [didn't come to class regularly]. And at the end of class, [we] had to report in a difficult format.

Hua said the NGO staff member even secretly observed the volunteers: “My group leader said the NGO person sometimes secretly observed our teaching from his/her [window] above [the classroom].” Most volunteers in the group were upset with the negative feedback. Hua told me the frustration:

We don’t need anyone scolding or criticizing or demanding this and that too much. Sometimes, in volunteering we want to do useful and happy things. We don’t need the pressure to do this and that, not to do this and that, because we know what we teach has no [negative] impact.

To try to solve the problem of mixed abilities, Hua’s group divided up themselves and the class by grade. In another volunteer group, Tevy asked her students what mathematic topics they did not understand from the public school and needed supplemental instruction on. Still, many volunteers wished for similar-ability classes and pedagogical training.

Academic relevance. The KSH professor purposefully asked his students to go on CSTs to learn more about the subject matter and spoke about the community studies in his lectures. In the Khmer Studies course, students learned *prum-vihear-dhor* (*brahma-vihara*, the four sublime attitudes). When they helped people, they applied this broad concept. When they studied the lives of particular communities, it was also part of Khmer studies. In the Cambodian History course, students built a house for a poor elderly woman. This relates to the historical youth-volunteer housing project in the Populist Society era (1955-1970) that aimed at educating youth to help society. In short, the professor integrated CSL into his courses.

In contrast, whether community service was relevant to the course was not a

strong concern for most volunteers and the CSLP professors I interviewed. For them, the main purpose of service was to help others in need rather than to improve academic learning in the particular course. While the community study component of a CST focused on a course topic, the service itself was often a separate activity less relevant to the academic improvement. Service in the CSLP model was even less relevant to the course when little effort was made to connect the two. CSLP professors wished to see the connection but left students to figure it out themselves. However, none of the CSLP volunteers I interviewed were able to articulate any significant relevance of their community work to the course. Even the PS professor himself recognized, “When [my students] make the connection to political science [during their presentations], sometimes it’s a bit, it’s not that great, it’s a little bit tenuous.” The only activity relevant to the environmental science course that Punlok’s group took was asking the pupils to clean the classroom, whereas their teaching subjects were mathematics and English. When I asked the monk to choose between a course with relevant community work and a course with irrelevant community work, he answered, “I’d choose the course that relates to community [work].” Likewise, Tevy answered, “it doesn’t matter, as long as I have the time [to do the community work].” These students did not see themselves as having missed an opportunity to gain practical knowledge of the course content despite thinking they were gaining experience for employment.

Perhaps contributing to the difficulty in establishing strong academic relevance between the CSL experiences and the specific academic course, the CSLP administrator faced some constraints in volunteer placements. First, to avoid risks of institutional questioning by undergraduates’ parents and the government, he had to select apolitical

NGOs. Second, all volunteers he worked with were all freshmen, most with neither work nor volunteer experience. Third, when the CSL Center had sent some volunteers to teach adults, the young freshmen reported back to the Center that the adults were so unwilling to learn from them that some even mocked at them. Since then, the Center only placed volunteers at NGOs where they could work with children.

Faculty commitment. To implement CSL, faculty must have “the capability, willingness, and sacrifice,” said the KSH professor. He saw himself as having the academic expertise and the talent “as an artist” to “pull [my students’] willingness” to do service work. As mentioned in his background above, he had a lot of experience with community service in the United States.

In the Cambodian culture, teachers have profound influence on students: “It takes a parent ten times more to tell a child to sweep the house as a teacher to tell a student to clean [the classroom or a community],” the KSH professor illustrated. Furthermore, a willing faculty member ought to be passionate about CSL. CSL implementation means a lot to the KSH professor. He expressed his pride for learning from the United States “the timely utilization of young people in their community for their community justifiably” and adapting it to the Cambodian context. He said, “I want youth to have three duties: duty of age, duty of capability, duty of opportunity”; [which means] taking age-appropriate responsibilities and applying capabilities before they become outdated. The professor defends his CST model in that his volunteers provide help to people who have not been helped by others.

Just as seeds need water and sunlight to grow, volunteers need faculty guidance or advice. Two Khmer studies professors provided help to their students, whereas the CSLP

professors seemed to leave everything to the CSL center and NGOs. During my observation of Sal and Dara's community activity, I saw a Khmer studies professor with his students. Suggesting the commitment required, the KSH professor said he sometimes had to get up at 3 a.m. to travel to a rural area with his students. Each term his students are involved in 6 to 8 community activities. When the KSH professor could not lead his class on a CST himself, the Khmer Youth Goodwill Mission (KYGM) student group, to which he was advisor, often acted on his behalf. Sopheap's group had a hard time communicating with high school students, but experienced KYGM members turned the situation around:

It was hard in communication because we had similar age but different educational levels, it was my first time communicating to [strangers], and it was hard for the six of us to manage 30 of them. I lost control of the situation and became fed up with it. But later, there was coordination by KYGM [members], and [we] continued the work to the end.

CSLP volunteers are expected to seek help from faculty, the program administrator, and NGO staff when there is a problem. Although mixed-ability classes was a common problem, no volunteer asked professionals for help. The volunteers discussed within their groups and found some ways to deal with the problem. However, those methods were insufficient to solve the problem.

Management. As hundreds of his students each term participated in the community study trips, the volunteers had to make all communications and arrangements themselves from the beginning to the end because they needed to learn these skills although the professor gave advice from time to time. They also had to learn to make

their own decisions and take responsibility, including for their own safety. Volunteers managed themselves with a “management system by network”: hundreds of volunteers organized themselves into teams with leaders (“group monitors,” “class sub-monitors” and “class monitors”) who coordinated with each other, the professor, and local community authorities. The KSH professor was developing a Network for Development [class] directory that they could use even after they graduated. CSLP, on the other hand, was managed by a very small PUC staff in coordination with NGOs.

Chapter Summary

The PUC Founder hoped to “restore the Khmer tradition of volunteerism and love for community”; “weld *tik-chet* [heart of kindness] between [ordinary] citizens and *niak cheh deng* [those with knowledge and social awareness]”; and “plant the seeds of *metta* [goodwill],” *karuna* [compassion], and *mudita* [empathetic joy]. The Khmer Studies and History (KSH) professor shared with the Founder a vision of Khmer society in which people of all classes love and respect each other despite their differences and a mission of connecting urban educated people with rural people living in poverty. Moreover, the KSH professor promoted nationalist ideals such as solidarity and cultural preservation. Also, he utilized CSL to improve his students’ academic learning and employment skills. The Introduction to Environmental Science professor perceived a need for voluntary assistance from his students and recognized their career benefits. He additionally wanted his students to learn about the real lives of orphans. The three Cambodian educators shared the conception of *niak cheh deng* (persons with knowledge and social awareness) or *pañña-want* (wise persons or scholars) as those who, in a student’s recall, “don’t just learn for themselves but learn for the whole community as well as the whole nation.”

The Introduction to Political Science professor believed his students gained hands-on experience, developed a better understanding of Cambodia and community needs, and helped underprivileged children develop a better future. The CSLP administrator believed community service gave “an opportunity for our Khmer people to help each other, especially building the spirit of volunteerism and building love, compassion, *metta* [goodwill], [and] forgiveness for each other.” In addition, he learned from field visits to an NGO that the volunteers had inspired city dump scavenger children to pursue higher education.

The first difference between the CST and CSLP models is that CST students traveled once to a rural low-income community bringing the adults and children donations and often educating them on a moral or health care topic, whereas CSLP volunteers taught marginalized children an academic subject once a week at an urban NGO. Secondly, CST faculty was more involved than CSLP faculty in selecting community service sites, relating service to the course content, and guiding volunteers. Thirdly, CSLP was institutionally administered and funded and volunteers focused on teaching children, while CST faculty was self-funded when leading their students on the trips and volunteers relied on fundraising because they wanted to bring donations to needy communities.

CHAPTER V
MORAL MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY
SERVICE LEARNING TO VOLUNTEERS

In this chapter, I answer the second research question, “What were the moral meanings of CSL experiences for the participating undergraduate students?” The CSL volunteers can be said to be analogous to “seeds of kindness” continuously growing. During the process of community work, they developed new understanding, attitudes, views of their role in society, behaviors, and actions. As the students were growing, they cultivated kindness in the communities they serve, their families, and the college student community. All of these are detailed in this chapter.

New Understanding

Cambodians liken ignorance to “a frog in the well”—all it can see is that the outside world is as small as the mouth of the well. Volunteers believed they had moved out of ignorance and become aware of the bigger society. As in the monk volunteer’s metaphor: “If you want to know what the tiger is like, you’ll have to get into the tiger’s cave,” you need to get into a community to see its reality. Chheng Han had heard of poverty, but CST took him to see the reality in person. Srey Ka learned different cultures as part of the Khmer studies course when she visited different provinces. For example, in Mondulkiri province, she learned some tribal language and ways of life. Kañña was surprised to witness poor children with good clothes and education:

I’d thought the children wouldn’t have good clothes, yet when I arrived, it looked

like the children had good education because the NGO supports the children to go to private schools. When I arrived, I was surprised the children seemed to be doing well and everyone paid attention to learning and was well-behaved because when I arrived for the first time they respected me, they were happy to receive us. She also learned that the former garbage dump scavengers were 3 or 4 years behind in their schooling. Chomrong, Kañña's colleague, was surprised and happy when he saw in person one of his favorite pop singers at the NGO with around 20 fans and clothing gifts for the children: "I never thought Cambodian pop stars would help [poor people]." The monk was a little surprised to see the dearness of caregivers toward children at the NGO. While watching his presentation, the "mothers" sweetly asked the children to be quiet. They did not use rude addresses as he had heard in rural communities.

New Attitudes toward Others

Just as the Khmer words of compassion and love are often used together, *karuna* (compassion) and *metta* are often inseparable. "Essentially *metta* is an altruistic attitude of love and friendliness ..." (Buddharakkhita, 2010). Several of the volunteers described having left behind discriminatory attitudes and developed compassionate and embracing attitudes toward not just the people at the community they served but also people in similar situations as those. Punlok described his change from discriminatory to friendly attitudes:

I felt discriminatory at first because the trash smell [from the nearby landfill or the scavengers' clothes] was bad and the children [at the NGO] were not wearing clean clothes, especially some of them have AIDS or their parents have died from AIDS. But after a while, I felt close to them because I love children and felt pity

on them, seeing them without parents and living at the center with many other children, ... and my general knowledge told me the AIDS virus is not transmitted by touching but by blood. So I protected myself from touching blood, but I dared to touch the children [with AIDS] because I was happy they were so friendly when I got there.

He had a strong sympathy for the children's living conditions:

The first two weeks when I arrived, the children weren't ready for class yet.

What I noticed most was that the children were sleeping on the floor [without even a mat], lying next to each other. It looked miserable. The NGO lady would wake them up. You know, you wouldn't be happy being woken up.

He said he had used to view scavenger children as hopeless, but now he believed they could learn for a better future:

I used to [see] scavenger children who didn't go to school and sniffed [addictive] glue. It looked horrible, not [for me] to be get close to. But when I came to teach here, they're scavengers but they want to learn ... and friendly, so I think children can change ... they ask me a lot of questions, their future will be bright.

Hua had never even thought of asking street children any question, but after CSLP participation, she began to ask them friendly questions:

One day, I was walking with my friend(s) to buy a bag of [sliced] mango near the Night Market. While we were walking back, a street child walked to us and asked, 'Sister, can I have your mango, please?' I didn't give, but I asked, 'How many brothers and sisters do you have, sweetie? Do you go to school?' They said I asked too much and walked away.

Nevertheless, this experience would not stop her from asking other street children the same questions, she told me. In the elderly gratitude ritual, Sophy felt as if the seniors had been her own grandparents: “We received knowledge from them, so we showed our gratitude by giving them some items and bowed to the ground three times, respecting them ... and friendly to them like our blood relatives.”

New Views of Role in Society

CSL led students to take new perspectives of their societal role such as to contribute to society by helping others, to work together for a common goal, to be helpful citizens, to commit to helping others, and to choose moral careers.

Society needs me. Muni had never thought there were poor children only two or three kilometers from the developed City of Angkor, with thousands of tourists visiting the world-famous ancient temples every day:

[J]ust outside the developed area, the school I went to is an NGO school, not a public school, meaning there are lots of shortages. ... the pupils didn't even have enough school supplies. ... [Reality] was different from what I'd thought ... [then] I wanted to help my society, which I'd used to think without me it could still develop.

Sal commented on the lack of generosity by the affluent:

In the present society, the rich is getting richer; the poor is getting poorer. The gap between the two is very big. We see the present situation. Uncles who are *cyclo* [three-wheeled rickshaw pedaled by a driver at the back] drivers are only able to earn each day for each day's food. Almost no one rides their *cyclos* [outdated public transportation]; they can hardly earn enough money for their rice

pots. But children of the rich spend hundreds of dollars in a month, or even in a day. Sometimes their meal costs \$1,000 just one family dinner. But they never think about taking \$1,000 to help, let's reduce it to \$500, they won't even eat with \$500 and keep \$500 to help poor children without money to go to school. That's the problem of the rich-poor gap.

This social reflection implies the need for generous actions by him and other volunteers. Sal himself had been working on his goal to be an outstanding banker; however, after witnessing poverty he felt selfish for not sharing his time with poor people and studying their needs. He still wants to be a full-time banker and teach English part-time at a private school, but he wants to help communities on weekends.

“We have solidarity [in helping communities].” Cambodian children learn the proverb of solidarity: “A bunch of chopsticks is unbreakable.” The KSH professor taught his students the metaphor of “solidarity soup.” Those having participated in the elderly gratitude ritual talked about their solidarity in cooking the “solidarity soup” and making the event possible. Although the classes filled three buses, Neary said that everyone got involved in one team or another: donations, sweeping, ice cubes, water, pots and pans, stove fire, soup, barbeque, rice, mats, music, ushering, etc. In another event, 200 volunteers may seem abundant, but they were to teach basic hygiene to 400-500 children aged 1 to 6. They divided themselves into small groups, each responsible for 20 children. In another class, Muni could not forget the CST cooperation with PUC students of the Siem Reap campus; the friendship had lasted since. Knowing the lack of capacity to help communities alone, many former CSL participants with similar interests formed groups to continue community service.

“We lighten the government’s burden.” Neary, as well as Sophy, regarded their work as assisting the government: “The royal government cannot see everything. So we, the youth, must share the work ... We must help so our society will progress, walk forward, step forward.” This perspective echoes the Khmer studies professor’s and CSLP administrator’s citations of John F. Kennedy’s “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.”

I want to help more when I can. Bora said, “When I graduate or have a job, I’ll be able to return to help [the children] more than while I’m studying.” Hua, who is working for a company and dreams of her own business, has a thought: “when my business is successful is when I’ll have solid donation, and I’ll divide some profit for myself and some for society.” This determination is realistic due to her commitment to Junior Chamber International Cambodia. In the Clean the Beach trip a month before the interview, she and other volunteers educated high school and other college students in a seaside city on the impacts of dirty beaches, the reasons for beach cleaning, and the benefits of volunteering. The next day, they and some of the local students collected litters from five beaches. There were also tourist contests and recognition for the cleanest seaside businesses.

I’ve changed my career aspiration. Rotana wants to be a teacher now after realizing the benefits of teaching children:

Before, I never wanted to be a teacher because I wanted to have some other jobs when I graduate. But when I went down to teach and saw all the children, I thought teaching has a lot of advantages because it can give knowledge to myself and others ...

I've resolved to have a moral livelihood. Although CST experiences did not change Chariya's goal to work for an NGO so she can help people directly, they contributed to her resolution to lead a moral life:

After seeing the living conditions of people in distant regions, I myself learned to think about my future ... So I have to make plans and set clear goals for my life: what to do so I can live in the so-called high standard, and help them, too.

She defined her "high standard" of living as:

we have a level of education, we have a clear occupation, we have the right income, we have living morality, our occupation does not [negatively] affect others, our income does not come from exploiting others, exploiting others' labor.

In short, it's living appropriately, and it can be said having success in life.

New Behaviors and Actions

CSL volunteers changed their behaviors and took up actions to help communities. Some became more social, diligent, and economical. Most considered their service as contribution to helping the Cambodian society when they provided people with necessities, shared knowledge and advice, spent their time and money for the social cause, and continued community service even without academic credit. They also cultivated goodwill and compassion in the served communities, their families, and the college student community so that the cause could be pursued more fully and sustainably.

"I've changed." Some students with reserved personality have become more social after being challenged to use their interpersonal skills for community work. Srey Ka has to relate to people through her friends in order to raise funds for community projects. Some volunteers have become more matured and changed their lifestyles.

“I’m hard-working now.” After his first CST, Muni began doing household chores: “Living with my big uncle/aunt, I never did any housework. Returning from the community, I asked to move to live with my mom, and I started helping my mom, such as sweeping, cooking rice, or something I never did before.” Also, he studies harder now.

I’ve changed my lifestyle. Chariya told me she and her friend have learned to save “because we mostly go down to poor communities. Sometimes it’s like what my friend said, before she/he would leave cold [cooked] rice alone, but after seeing remote living conditions she/he now eats even cold rice.” Dara has reduced his spending by 40% and kept this amount for community work:

Before I kept money for my own spending and comfort only. Now, going down to communities I know a lot. I’ve cut down; I used to spend \$5, [but] now I keep \$2 to help others. That means I think about others, not just myself like before.

Sal used to play a ball sport as a way to release stress; now he enjoys his time at communities.

“I’m helping the [Cambodian] society.” In lieu of “service,” Cambodian volunteers considered their work as “helping the society” or, less broadly, “contributing to helping the society.” The word “society” here refers to the Cambodian society at large. “Serving” in the Khmer language (ស៊ើម) has a negative connotation that the servant is of a lower status or a housemaid (អ្នកស៊ើមផ្ទះ). Although the Cambodian society is not as classist as in the past, the large economic gap between the rich and the poor makes it unrealistic to ignore inequality. For example, an elderly woman told Neary she appreciated that the volunteers “could lower” themselves to poor people like her.

“Service” in Khmer also implies duty. None of the volunteers spoke about their community work as a civic responsibility or obligation. Even those who regarded their work as “lightening the government’s burden” did not call themselves citizens providing “service” to the country but citizens “assisting” the government in a country in need of human resources.

Volunteers provided help to society in many ways: giving materials to needy people, sharing knowledge, encouraging young people to keep learning, spending time and money to help communities, and continuing to help others.

We’re giving material aids. It is common practice for the volunteers of both CSLP and CST to take necessary school supplies to children. However, some CST volunteers gave children and adults packaged food, second-hand clothes, other necessities, and even cash. In one project, a large class built a house for an elderly woman.

Noticing the lack of community resource mining (e.g. not involving local youth in the hut building with PUC students), I asked the KSH professor whether it is moral if served communities perceive that help must come from outsiders. I did not expect this question had anything to do with the complication of “giving” in the Khmer language. The professor argued that what the volunteers do is “neither donation nor helping, but learning to help, learning to use their capabilities.” Even when volunteers give school supplies to the rural children, they teach the pupils a topic first and then ask them comprehension questions before handing them the small gifts. That way, the professor and the volunteers believe they are “rewarding” and not “donating to” the children. During my observation, however, many students did not get a chance to answer the few

questions, but everyone received the “reward”—perhaps for their participation and presumed learning. The professor argued that donation is large-scale, “open, public, and institutional.” Building a house for an elderly woman, he illustrated, is “assistance, not donation” because the volunteers intentionally left the house unfinished for her daughter to complete. Another Khmer term he used is “sharing the sorrow of the rural folks.” The terms have to be carefully used because “donation” has often been associated with political donation to buy votes. One of the volunteers, Dara, also warned me of the language:

We use *tik-chet* [kindness or] *cadeaux* (French word for gifts/presents). We don’t use ‘distribute donation’ because usually ‘donation’ is a lot. Like [when] the Red Cross uses ‘donation distribution ceremony,’ it’s right. But we are college students, not having enough salaries to spend ourselves; we use *cadeaux*. The word *cadeaux* means encouragement and reward for children ... ‘donation’ is for promoting something or when there’s a disaster.

Another volunteer uses “souvenir *cadeaux*.” Nevertheless, many volunteers I interviewed used “donation” in its literal sense of “giving.” Sal cautioned against the use of Buddhist term *dana* for giving because Cambodians often associate the term with the giving of cash to panhandlers:

[Our giving] doesn’t mean ធ្វើបុណ្យអោយទាន [*twer bon* and *dana*] to others, but we use our willingness to help the children. Using the words ‘អោយទាន [*dana*]’ would be bad to hear. It’s similar [and] other people generally think of [our gifts] that way, but we don’t. I regard all [the children] in equal status to me.

We're sharing knowledge, ideas, consciousness, or wisdom. This type of giving is called *dhamma-dana* in Buddhism. Although volunteers did not use this Pali term, many of them used common Khmer phrase “offering knowledge” and Soriya regarded teaching as *dana*. The most common examples are that CSLP volunteers teach children English while CST volunteers teach children personal hygiene. However, many educators and volunteers also try to develop local children’s and adults’ willingness to help their own communities and other people. The immediate and potential effects of these endeavors will be discussed in those sections.

We're encouraging children to learn. In addition to sharing some academic or general knowledge with young students, the volunteers believe they have inspired the young people to continue education. The monk believes his group has inspired the children to learn:

I want to learn; they also want to learn ... While they are poor, [drowning and] want you to throw a branch for them to hold onto [or] a hand to hold onto, if they see us enthusiastically care about them, their mindset will be better: [they’ll] want a skill [and] more strongly want to learn.

At another NGO, neighboring children have joined the volunteers’ class so they can learn, too. At a community in Siem Reap province, Muni and 300 other PUC volunteers taught 600-700 pupils “what they need to do to become [college students] like us.”

Sal believes giving school supplies to pupils conveys to them they are not neglected and helps them learn:

[F]irst, we help lighten their living conditions, such as giving [note]books ... toothpaste ... That means we help reduce pressure in a period. For what? So they

won't think now that they're poor why there's no one helping them. The rich and the poor are distant from each other. I don't want that. I don't want the children to have that thought. That's how I help them. That kind of help is like we give them knowledge. They get the [note]books to write on. Those in first grade didn't have notebooks. Getting the notebooks, they can learn. So that's helping them to get more knowledge. ... I don't want them to walk in ignorance, whether they're in the city or the countryside. When we have knowledge, we'll be able to manage the family living condition.

I'm spending time and money usefully. A few students are happy about their use of resources to help others. Chariya thinks, "We can spend little time [but] we can help others a lot and learn from others a lot, too." Dara uses savings from his meal expense to help communities.

I'm continuing to help others. Most of the volunteers I interviewed continued community work after their first experience.

We formed groups. CSL experiences were so profound that many volunteers formed groups, some with friends from other universities, to continue community service without course requirement. Youth For Change and Khmer Youth Goodwill Mission had the KSH professor as their advisor. Students for Community was advised by a PUC-affiliated NGO school supervisor. Some other groups do not have names at their early stage.

We returned to "our" communities and/or helped other communities. While many volunteers, as large classes or smaller groups, visited different places to learn about and help different communities, some returned to the same communities. Once every

two or three weeks, Sal's group visited an urban NGO it was committed to. Having built relationship with the children, they would not "abandon" the community. Two years after Dara's first help given to a village, he led a large Khmer studies class there:

In 2009, I saw the pupils' living conditions and promised to them I would try to look for sponsors to help them. When I had an established group and the support from a Khmer studies professor and other professors at PUC, I [convinced the Khmer studies professor] to go down to that school ... Back in 2009, I didn't really have a group; my classmates and I collected our money and went there together, so there was no leader. Now, we're going with leaders [and] supporters.

We planned more projects. Chariya planned to go back to a village in the next semester with more assistance. She and the volunteers who had been to the village with her were going to raise a fund from the people they knew outside PUC for a clean water well or water filtering buckets. In addition to class fundraising, Sophy and Neary were going to gather more volunteers from their class to teach the children to whom they had taught a song at the urban orphanage:

We must announce in the classroom who wants to join as members of the same group or a new group. [All of us] must take turns by week going [to the orphanage]. We must arrange that way to help them because it looks like we can't expect or imagine what their future will be like. So whatever capability we have, we must help them with it.

When I asked how many volunteers they needed, Neary firmly answered, "I don't think about how many because I think regardless of how many my plan will go forward anyway ... even if there are only Sophy and me."

I'm cultivating others' kindness to help society. During their own growth of kindness and social contribution, the volunteers developed similar goodwill in the communities they helped, their parents, and their peers.

We're cultivating children's kindness to help society. Several volunteers regarded themselves as role models for children to help others. Tevy believes the children she teaches at the NGO will grow up helping other disadvantaged children, too:

[As] humans, generally when [they] experience hardship, later they'll think they don't want others to experience the same, they'll be compassionate, too. So sometimes [when] they have knowledge, later they can use the knowledge to teach children of the next generations [or] give money or sponsor something for the next generations like them before.

Likewise, Soriya shares the hope of "planting the seeds of human resources [who] will help others." Dara wants the children he helps to think, "Elder brothers are still college students not having [full-time/well-paid] jobs and enough salaries, yet they have kindness to do [the community work]." He continued:

So the children in the communities will realize that in the future they will continue the [community] work, following our behavior. [Our community work] reminds the children to study hard so in the future they'll become like us or even better than us. So that's suitable for my goal of train children to have the willingness or kindness to help each other.

Sal, Dara's colleague, explicitly taught the children, "When you're able to help others with something, you ought to help. What for? For our whole society." When I asked these children to define "morality," one of the teenagers mentioned "the ethic of sharing"

and that you can always help people without waiting until you have some level of capacity: even when you are unable to help someone, you can *help* look for someone else who can help.

We're cultivating adults' kindness to help their own community. At one time, when an elementary school did not accept the service offer, the KSH professor told his student group leaders to approach the secondary school across the street, which welcomed the offer. When the large group of volunteers arrived and carried out the event, the elementary school principal came to watch and asked, "Why don't you come to my school, too?" This is a strategy the professor and his student leaders use to educate local authorities in accepting help.

The villagers who came to watch the volunteers teaching children basic hygiene and giving out school supplies praised them with amazement as Dara heard, "Some youths choose to come to not only share their knowledge but also spend money to help all the children!" Sal added, "And we also hope what we do to poor communities, such as giving [note]books and pencils, [the adults] will try to develop themselves and motivate their children to learn." In a sense, the volunteers acted as role models to inspire the low-income parents to consider higher education for their children. The KSH professor contended such recognition would "create a connecting point between children's capabilities and parents' efforts so there will be a flow of help because we cannot help them every day."

I'm cultivating my family's kindness to help society. Sopheap's elder brother participated in CST and encouraged her to do the same. When she began as a PUC freshman, she readily volunteered for CST. Dara was able to convince his mother to

support his community work. At first she said, “What? To help what? You can’t even help yourself!” He replied:

I can’t help myself yet, I’m still spending your money, mom, but I have one thought: if I spent the money uselessly, wrongly, it’d be useless. I spend this money in the right way. I take a small part of my money to help children. It’s my pride. I’d rather cut down on my meal [expense] to help children. So I feel really happy, happy to do it. Some people spend their allowances or they earn \$200-300 from work, they spend uselessly. Sometimes as soon as they get the monthly pay, they spend it all on drinking. That’s really useless. Or spending \$50-60 on just one meal. So that’s extravagant. So if we cut down on the meal, we want to do something, go down to help a community, [we] start saving, meaning we cut down on meal. We’re to spend \$5 a day on meals, [but] we cut it down to \$3, so we save \$2 to help the community. That’s very good.

So his mother agreed. And recently he reassured her:

Now I’m proud, and I have a group we created from our hands. It’s not very strong yet, but the future will be good and bright. And many in the society will witness that. Our work will be recognized. We do it from our kindness; we don’t want anything back.

Many other volunteers convinced their families by explaining the learning and career benefits of CSL. Returning safely from her first community experiences, Srey Ka shared her new knowledge with her family. For her later community projects, the family gave her more cash donations. Eventually, she proved to her family she could do what was considered men’s work:

[Rotana and I] can do all the work, including major project planning, accounting, communication with site authorities. We can ensure there isn't any major problem in all provincial trips. In short, I can play an equal role to men, meaning I can organize everything [and] I can do whatever men can do. So I can go out and guarantee no problem will happen to me, so [my family] is confident ... I'll be back with good results and I can protect myself. And among the bunch, there aren't only Rotana and me but also other female members, so I've started teaching them ... [so] when I'm absent in an event, they can do all the work.

I'm cultivating other college students' kindness to help society. First, Sal only accompanied a friend to an NGO for her CSLP work. After the second week, Sal and the friend decided to form a volunteer group. After the second month, the group *twer bon* (organized a Buddhist ritual) with the donation of an electric fan and notebooks to the NGO and children. Dara went to the NGO that day, saw the activities, became interested, and got involved since then.

As the president of KYGM and a key organizer of large-scale fundraising at PUC, Srey Ka explained her vision:

I want this society to change with the beginning of social [work] participation of others ... [so] I don't focus on my group but I also help other groups as long as they have *tik-chet* [heart of kindness], have loyalty to community work, and don't think about [their] own benefits. This is the perspective I begin to spread to others ...

I observed a conference hall fundraising event KYGM helped organize. An objective of the event was to cultivate undergraduate students' kindness to help

communities. Over 1,000 students so outnumbered the seats that some stood at the back of the hall while some sat on the floor around the stage. A few faculty members attended the event. The program began with the national anthem and a classical dance. Then, the KSH professor gave a speech. He spoke on Cambodian youth volunteerism in the 1960s and compared that to PUC student volunteers he called “heroes.” He also talked about how KYGM began in 2009. Videos showed his students cooking “solidarity soup” together, performing an elderly gratitude ritual, performing a feet cleaning ritual for an elderly woman, giving donations to a disabled adult and a destitute family, and building a house for an elderly woman. Next, the president of a student group gave a presentation about inspiring rural children to read and building a rural library. Then, children from an orphanage sang Michael Jackson’s *We Are the World*, which Sophy and Neary had taught to them. The president of the PUC Student Senate spoke about its history, a board member of the NGO Sal’s group often visited gave a brief speech about the NGO, and the president of a new Khmer studies center solicited support. The Assistant to the PUC President gave a brief supportive speech that PUC students were going to be good national, or at least social, leaders who listen more than speak and abide by the Buddha’s teachings, particularly the Eightfold Path (Right View, Right Intentions, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration). Then, monks blessed the cash donations, and the amounts were announced. KYGM members sang *Where Peace Begins*. In addition, the event included musical, song, and dance performances and drama to entertain the audience. The fundraising success was one of KYGM’s achievements, and Rotana believed her friends’ perspective “begins to change gradually that whatever work, whether [we’re] men or

women, we can do the same work.” The students attending the event witnessed that both men and women were needed and able to do community service.

Chapter Summary

As a result of the educators’ implementation of their visions, volunteers developed various moral meanings of their CSL experiences. Volunteers had moved out of ignorance and developed new understanding of the Cambodian society. They developed the *brahma-vihara* attitudes of *karuna* (compassion), *metta* (goodwill), *mudita* (empathetic joy), and *upekkha* (equanimity). They also developed new views of their societal role: that the Cambodian society needed their help, that they had solidarity in helping communities, that they were “lightening the government’s burden,” and that they wanted to give even more assistance to communities when they earned an income. One volunteer changed her career goal to teaching so she could continue to share knowledge with others. Another volunteer resolved to lead a moral livelihood that neither exploits nor negatively impacts others. Other moral meanings were reported in terms of changing personal behaviors and taking actions to help others. Several volunteers changed their lifestyles and became more hard-working. Most volunteers viewed their community service as contribution to helping the Cambodian society in terms of material giving, knowledge sharing, and educational aspiration. In addition to helping communities themselves, volunteers motivated their families and other college students to join the efforts. They also encouraged the communities to help themselves and others.

CHAPTER VI
EXPERIENCES THAT FACILITATED
VOLUNTEERS' MORAL MEANING-MAKING

In this chapter, I answer the third research question, “What CSL experiences facilitated the volunteers’ moral meaning-making?” by describing the volunteers’ learning process, their interactions with the community, their learning and community education through drama, professor-generated symbolic actions, and volunteer-generated symbolic actions.

Volunteers’ Learning Process

Volunteers developed moral meanings as they witnessed and sympathized with the community’s situations, obtained more information or data about the community, reflected on those people’s lives versus their own, kept visualizing particular community experiences, and took pride in their accomplishments.

Witnessing and sympathizing with the community’s living standard.

Witnessing and feeling compassionate for children’s less fortunate situations stimulated volunteers to help the community. When volunteers saw the real lives of people in an unfamiliar community, they gained new knowledge. Noticing the lack of necessities triggered the volunteers’ *karuna*. Dara could hardly believe what he saw:

Some children had only one notebook and wrote 3 or 4 subjects in it ... Some children didn’t even have a notebook. It’s unbelievable ... as the [wise] words

‘Hearing a thousand times is not like seeing once’ ... you have to see in person to believe it.

Sal added that the new school had a teacher shortage, so the teacher had to teach both first and second graders at the same time by using half the blackboard for each grade. Sal noticed most pupils wearing ragged clothes instead of the public school uniform.

At an orphanage, Neary felt not only sympathetic with the children but also impressed with their diligence and smartness for learning to sing an English song within only one morning:

[The children] don’t have any parents, and they look undernourished—small for their ages ... Last Sunday, [PUC] had a fundraising event for orphans, so [Sophy and I] went to an orphanage to teach [the children] to sing [Michael Jackson’s] *We Are the World* with us [on the stage]. While we were teaching them, I felt they were very smart but unfortunate ... so I felt compassionate for them ... so I have to carry the image [in words] to tell those [in my management class] who didn’t [go to the orphanage] so they can contribute any amount—we won’t force them, but we have plans to teach [the children] and collect some cash to buy notebooks and other things for them.

Obtaining more information about the community. CSLP volunteers learned about children’s backgrounds from NGO sources, therefore gaining practical understanding about the children’s lives. Tevy felt pity on the children when an NGO staff member told her group about them: “Most of their parents were scavengers, so some [of the children] ate, studied, and slept [at the center] while some studied there but went to help their parents scavenge in order to support their families.”

Exploring her assigned NGO's website while writing the group report for the professor, Kañña felt heavy-hearted while reading about the children's lives before living at the center:

They lived at the garbage dump and didn't go to school. The children sometimes didn't have proper clothes, and their faces were stained at the area with smoke, sometimes the garbage was burned ... In short, it was a dangerous location ... I saw the photos, I read that the children ... didn't have shelter, education, food. So when I [taught them], I felt pity on the children.

While NGOs had the information for CSLP volunteers' reports or presentations for the course, CST volunteers collected and analyzed data for their community studies, thus gaining systematic understanding about communities. In the Personal Growth and Development course, Chariya went to Kampong Speu province to profile the local people's lives:

What are the differences between the city and the countryside? What do [the rural people] lack? How do they make a living? In short, we study their everyday living conditions, family sizes, village health center, [and] whether there are enough schools, roads [and other] infrastructures.

Srey Ka described the Khmer studies community study assignment:

What do you know? What realities do you see in the community, in the society? In our minds, when we see [community] hardships, how should we solve the problems? For examples, you see difficult roads, children in the community lacking school supplies, they have low knowledge although they're in high grades they find it hard to receive our knowledge. So when you go there again, how do

we solve the problems?

Reflecting on their own lives versus the lives of people in the community.

When volunteers reflected on the differences between their own lives and the lives of the people they met during community service, they became more appreciative of their lives and some even changed their behaviors and lifestyles. After witnessing NGO children's situations, Hua considered herself fortunate to have a good family:

Sometimes I think I'm fortunate because I live in a family of moderate living conditions and my parents can support my studies and I have independence and I have parents, I have siblings. In short, I can do whatever I want to do.

The monk had been sorrowful for himself and father after his mother's death, but after listening to the HIV/AIDS orphans' self-introductions, he felt their lives were harder than his. Muni now appreciates what he has:

Going down to [first] the community, I saw so many shortages, and I saw that the children or those who lived there had nothing, yet why did they keep trying? But me, I can say I'm not a rich child, but what I have can be said to be plenty for me. Yet, why can't I take care of it? I always, I can say, not very interested, sometimes it can be said waste [what I have]. But after coming back from the community, I think I've changed. First, I'm compassionate for my family, meaning it's not very easy for them doing business because [I saw] folks in the province before they earned some income it's hard. But me, I already have things, why don't I use them and [why do] I waste my time? And second, the children [at the community] didn't have enough school supplies ..., yet they keep trying ... [After that] I'm not so lazy, I kind of study a little harder, I started to

love grades, started to see my family's hardships, I started to love my family, I started to love what I have.

Finding something unforgettable. When volunteers could not forget an image or a sound, they felt inspired to continue their community work. Dara cannot forget the children's smiles:

Whenever I leave the community, I miss them all the time because the children are friendly, welcoming, and close to me, so I miss them and want to do [the work] again. Each time I go down to a community, the whole morning always goes by really fast. When I'm out [of the community], closing my eyes I can see their friendliness to me and [their] smiles.

Kañña remembers her students' politeness: "The children always use 'May I speak, teacher?' with *sampeah* [pressing their palms as a gesture of respect]. We're excited because we're also students." A community experience always stays in Srey Ka's mind:

I've been to a community that always stays in my feeling because the teachers were compassionate to a girl whose parents had died and she lived with uncles and aunts and couldn't afford to go to school. The teachers always took turns to give her some cash. When we arrive, we always ask for: first, children who cannot afford their studies; second, children with disabilities. So when we asked, the teachers said they always supported a girl who couldn't afford her study at all. So, as usual, we raised funds immediately from all the [undergraduate] classes [present at] the community to help [the girl] further. Although the cash support would help her for a short time period, it was our capacity [as students] ... And when we counted the money and announced the total, the teachers were so happy

they cried.

Feeling proud of their accomplishments. When success was realized despite challenges, individuals felt proud of their abilities and encouraged to pursue more achievements. Sal was proud of his group's success:

Sometimes I thought of getting out of the group as I saw we couldn't go forward, but I had another thought that I had to make it possible. I chose the second idea. The 19th of this month, I'm going to make the first [big] accomplishment. Before, I regarded [my work] as experience. Now, it'll be a big event we organize. And my parents support me strongly.

I observed the event on the 19th. Sal's group led a Khmer studies professor and his three classes to a village around 20 kilometers from Phnom Penh. The undergraduate students were divided into four classrooms to teach pupils how to be "good children [and] good students" and personal hygiene: "Eat clean, live clean, [and] drink clean," such as washing hands with detergent or ash and brushing teeth with toothpaste or salt. Then, the pupils gathered outside the classrooms to watch a performance by some of the volunteers. One acted as a lazy child and student, and another as a diligent child and student. At the end, a volunteer advised the pupils that rocks could be turned into diamonds and, therefore, they had to study hard. Volunteer group representatives quizzed the children. Prizes were given to several pupils who raised their hands and got the answers right. Next, in front of everyone the professor asked one pre-selected pupil and his mother about the boy's developmental problems. Cash was raised on the spot for the child, and the mother was suggested to seek further medical help. Next, the three teachers, the principal, the village chief, and the district education department director and deputy

director received small gifts. All pupils were handed school supplies and snacks, and several adults and youths watching the event were given loafs of bread. Volunteers, the professor, and local teachers planted trees on the school campus. At the end, Sal thanked all volunteers, and the professor thanked all local teachers, administrators, and the volunteers and asked the teachers not to “abandon” the pupils (for economic reason). As people were leaving, a youth television program interviewed the school principal and Sal. To Sal and his small group, it was their first large-scale achievement in community service, and they were motivated to continue their work.

Even small achievements meant a lot to volunteers who had felt nervous before their first community work. The monk told me he felt as if he had been “a prime minister” when the orphans, their caregivers, and his team attentively listened to his presentation on the various Buddhist types of child and the children followed his demonstrations of the five Khmer gestures of greeting. Sophy and Neary took pride in solving the transportation and food problems for almost 200 volunteers. Some of Neary’s high school friends wished they had had an opportunity to do community work and “be able to manage people” as she, making Neary feel “most special” and “most amazing.” Similarly, Sophy felt like a “hero” among her friends for having fulfilled an important responsibility.

Community-Volunteer Interactions

Volunteers felt morally good for their service when the community appreciated their presence, activities, and assistance. Positive experiences with the community made volunteers feel their time and effort were useful to the community.

Community’s welcome. Many volunteers felt nervous before the first encounter

with the community, yet the community's friendly welcome eased the volunteers in providing help. Chariya worried, "How will I solve a problem in my [target] community?" Kañña described her nervousness the day before her first meeting with the children: "It's a task we'd never done at all. I worried the children would be unsatisfied [and] not welcoming." However, when she arrived at the NGO:

They greeted us politely ... while we were standing, they called 'Teachers! Please sit down.' At the break, they asked, 'Teachers! Want to play soccer?' They asked us, they wondered what provinces we were from, how old we were. In short, they wanted to know a lot.

Kañña's group wrote in their report to the ES professor, "It was so meaningful because it was our first time to become a teacher. We were so surprised when they called us Teacher. We really like the way they called us."

Community-volunteer enjoyment. Chomrong's happiest time was during teaching when the students had learned the lesson: "Whenever we ask questions, they answer well. We're happy because they understand what we teach them." During recess, Punlok often told the small children jokes or folktales to reduce their stress. The monk enjoyed playing with his NGO children: "They're happy with us; we're also happy with them, like coloring, looking for hidden pictures, and the other group is playing basketball." Tevy's team and Kañña's group played English word games with their classes, whose enjoyment I saw during my observations. I also noticed classroom fun while Tevy's students and, at another NGO, Kañña's colleague and students were singing.

Community's appreciation. When people received help in the form of material

gifts, knowledge, or inspiration, their feedback was essential to the volunteers in evaluating whether the assistance was worthwhile. In nearly all cases, the community gave facial or verbal expressions of appreciation. Most commonly, children smiled and adults gave brief thankful speeches. In one instance, however, Muni noticed the community uninterested in the donations his group handed to them. Later that day, he saw a pack of the donated notebooks littered on the ground at a pupil's house. Muni was disappointed the donation was unappreciated. Although he probably would not go to that community again, he continued community service because the same donations were appreciated by other communities.

Educational Drama

Drama was used to educate others, yet perhaps nobody expected that it would educate the performing crew, too.

Using drama to help educate community. Chariya, a sophomore, talked about her freshman CSL experience in the Introduction to Gender Studies course. Chariya's group went to a rural community to educate the people on domestic violence, human trafficking, and discrimination against women. The group chose to add a drama to the lecture. Chariya told me the composed story:

A man marries a woman his mother doesn't like. So there goes quarrels between the mother and the daughter-in-law. The mother is envious and makes problems with the daughter-in-law. When her son is at home, she speaks good words, but when he's out she slaps the daughter-in-law. She speaks ill of the wife, so the couple can't be happy. They have quarrels. The husband hits the wife. And the other mother only wants money. The husband has affairs, hurts the wife, and

won't listen to the wife's reasons.

The performance was a big success:

[W]e could embed all the actions through the story content. Sometimes, [the audience] learn more from performance than teaching because they prefer watching. When the actors/actresses laughed, the audience laughed; when the actors/actresses cried, the audience cried, too ... [We] received feedback from them; they said their real lives were the same as what we had performed—violence in the family.

Chariya gave me reasons for using the performance:

A friend in the team and I initiated the idea that if we only presented the theories or explained they needed to do this and that to solve the problem, perhaps it wouldn't be very effective. If we included a performance, there would be [some] advantages. First, it would make [the audience] understand better about [the problem]. Sometimes when they themselves cause a problem, they won't know which corner of the problem to look at in order to solve the problem. [That's why] we put the problem in a performance. Although we didn't have the [married] experience, we asked married people and compiled the story. Second, [the drama] changed the atmosphere because we spoke about many topics for many hours. Third, it was to link theory with practice, and it was effective when they listened and could think about it.

Drama educates actress and director. Sopheap went on a CST that included a visit to Wat Neang Kok to learn *pañca-sila* (the five precepts) as part of a Khmer studies course. There, she felt scared when she saw seaside sculptures depicting tortures in

norook (hell for temporary torture) for those having breached the precepts. In one portrayal, someone who had killed fish had a fish head and climbed a Roka Dek [very thorny] tree. Acting *pret* (Khmer word for *peta* in Pali, which refers to starving soul having breached *sila* precepts in the human lifetime) in a theatrical performance after seeing the sculptures in combination with the monk's explanations made Sopheap too fearful to breach the *pañca-sila*:

The monk described each image for us to understand the [Buddhist] rules, and he preached about each *sila* breach, what the miseries are ... In the lucky draw for the end-of-term performance, I picked the *pret* character. I had learned from Wat Neang Kok, and studied more to perform well ... I've changed a lot ... Frankly speaking, in the high school years I used to lie ... but ... [now] I don't lie and I don't go out for fun as much as before; I don't play truant anymore ... First, I saw the images in person. Second, I acted as falling into a hot oil pan miserably and being whipped. And I've never been there; it was so miserable just acting it, so I thought if I continued [deeds against *pañca-sila*] it could be more miserable because the monk said, 'That's just acting. If you really fall [into *norook*], it'll be tens of thousands of times worse.' So if I take that image into my body, it'll be unbearable.

Chariya, who directed the educational show, felt a similar effect:

I'm a moderate believer, but I've changed a little because in that term I had to [direct] a performance on *norook* (hell for temporary torture) and *devata* [heaven being]: [those] doing good [deeds] will become *devata*, [whereas those] doing bad [deeds] will go to *norook*. [The show] was the final [course] assignment. After I

got involved directly because I was the story director, so I had read a lot of books to compose the story, and I directed the actors and actresses, there were some effects ... [for me] to avoid bad deeds. For example, in cooking you have to kill the fish or something, but now I'm scared to do it because I'm afraid that killing will give me *bap* [*kammic* demerit] or the like. So I've changed a lot because, first, I'm afraid and, second, I need to make myself a good person.

Professor-Generated Symbolic Actions

The KSH professor involved students in many symbolic actions that morally educated them and some communities: taking part in rituals, house construction, and cooking.

Ritual of gratitude to the elderly educates volunteers and community. The Sunday following the national Elderly Gratitude Day, history students interviewed elderly people about the lives (e.g. wedding) during the Khmer Rouge, and in return for the oral histories, they performed the Buddhist ritual of offering some necessities to the elderly. More than a simple exchange of favor, the ritual educated students on the social importance of senior citizens in sharing oral histories and, therefore, cultivated *metta* (goodwill) between the two groups. Soriya told me of his changed attitude toward elderly people:

Before, I'd thought the elderly are not very beneficial to society because they're weak and they don't get to participate in society, meaning they only receive and not give. After I went down to the community, I think that's not true because, for example, [when] I wanted to know about the Khmer Rouge, there were documents, but what's important when we interviewed [the people having

experienced it as adults], it's priceless: what they gave us is real ... [and] specific ... So I think seniors have important roles in helping the society: first, [they] can give information, meaning documents [e.g. through transcription]; and second they can educate us.

The community's attitude changed, too. Neary described an 87-year-old woman's changed view of educated people:

Her perspective had been that educated people were arrogant, they couldn't mingle to see what society was like, and especially they discriminated against low-status people. [But that day, the elderly woman] felt excited that ... we could lower ourselves to [her and] to absorb knowledge from [her] ... [without] being classist.

Sophy recalled the village chief and the *achar* (ritual leader) expressing their appreciation and excitement that modern youths were still concerned about the elderly. These comments illustrate the community's recognition of volunteers' *metta* (goodwill) toward senior citizens.

Ritual of gratitude to parents educates students. Because gratefulness to parents is an emphasized moral value in the Khmer culture, the KSH professor asked students to perform a ritual of *kataññu* (gratitude) to their own parents: kneeling and handing a meal to parents at home or the annual ceremony on campus. Sophy expressed her support for the ritual:

It's a good thing because some people never *sampeah* [press their palms as a gesture of greeting or respect to] their parents [although they do it to other people]. [The ritual] is an expression of our gratitude. Sometimes we can't

foresee human life. We can't know what day [our parents] will leave us [pass away] or we leave [pass away] before them. So [the professor] just wants us to show the gratitude ... And [the event] made me feel I should respect my parents more strongly.

Neary performed the gratitude to her own parents at her grandmother's stupa in front of the extended family:

One day, we went to pay respect to my late grandmother at her stupa. I took the opportunity to bow to the ground before my parents at the stupa. My aunts, uncle, aunt-in-law, and younger siblings saw it. So I felt excited, and [my parents] were surprised, and my aunts and uncle were surprised and said they were happy for my parents, who had raised and cared for me for 17 years ... As Sophy said, we can't foresee. Time is fast ... So we must take an opportunity to show gratitude to [our parents], and from that day we must change our wrongdoings [in] the old habits.

Neary believed her good deeds to parents would *kammicly* bring her grateful children.

Rotana defined "gratitude to parents" as "respecting and loving [parents], helping parents with their work, studying hard so our parents will be happy." When I challenged her, she added:

[It] doesn't mean we do everything [our parents] ask us to do. [If we] do something that causes problems for others, that's not gratitude because gratitude is that we do things that are right, not [negatively] affecting ourselves and others. When there's a [negative] consequence on ourselves, our parents will face the consequence, too ... For example, someone marries her/his parents' pick and

thinks it's gratitude, but when there's a problem, the problem also affects the parents.

House construction to build daughter's and volunteers' gratitude to parents.

Having heard that a woman neglected her elderly mother who lived in a hut across the street from her, the KSH professor asked his students to build a house for the mother.

Muni explained the professor's purposes:

He wanted to show the daughter that [if] non-relatives loved a person they didn't even know, why should a daughter living across the street not love her own mother and hurt her [emotionally]? [And] ... he wanted to cultivate his students' thought ... to respect [and] love our own parents.

In Muni's video, the professor announced all household necessities given to the 80-year-old woman, who could not hold back her tears. They were surrounded by volunteers.

When the professor picked up a lantern, he told the woman it represented light to awaken her daughter to take care of her. Then, a monk explained four Buddhist merits of gratitude to parents. It is not clear whether the daughter living across the street heard the speeches, but she would certainly see the new house. It is clear, however, that the mother and volunteers were listening to the professor and the monk.

Making "solidarity soup" together symbolizes student solidarity. As the KSH professor explained in his vision, the stir soup itself requires various vegetables, which represent people with differences. Making it for almost 200 people literally required a lot of cooks working together from beginning to end: making and sustaining wood fire, slicing vegetables, adding ingredients, and stirring. The cooks took pride in making the "solidarity soup."

Volunteer-Generated Symbolic Actions

Some volunteers utilized ritual and contests to morally educate communities. As soon as they perceived success, the volunteers believed they had effectively educated the communities and contributed to “helping the [Cambodian] society.”

Using merit-making ritual to educate children. Sal’s group invited monks to an NGO and involved the children in a *twer bon* (merit-making) ritual so they would learn the process, but the volunteers’ most important goal was to educate the children through the monks’ chant on “maternal *tik-chet* [here referring to love and sacrifice] and gratitude from pregnancy to labor” so the children “would discipline their own minds.” Being grateful to parents was so important to Sal and his colleagues that they promoted the virtue to the children.

Using contests to make children work harder. Sal’s group has created a variety of activities to encourage the children. For example, knowing they’re good at drawing, and Sal created a contest with prizes to “train them to persevere if they want to do something.” He said his group “both trained and advised” the children to “develop themselves.” Observing the art contest, I was amazed by all four small children’s drawings and verbal descriptions of the “meanings.” One boy explained his hunter picture meant people should stop killing wildlife. A girl’s colorful drawing represented the gentle Khmer woman. A boy’s artwork depicted deforestation and littering impacts on the environment. The last boy said his bird illustrated that people want to be as free as a flying bird. Sal asked the whole class of young children and teenagers to vote on the pictures. The black-and-white flying bird did not win a prize. All four contestants must have put a lot of effort in their work; however, it was not clear whether the loser would

work as hard next time.

Chapter Summary

Volunteers developed moral meanings as they witnessed and sympathized with the community's hardship, gained more facts about the community, reflected on their own lives as more privileged than the lives of the struggling people they had just learned about, found something to be unforgettable, and felt proud of their social work achievements. Positive experiences such as friendly welcome, enjoyment, and appreciation by the community made volunteers feel their time and effort were well spent. Furthermore, volunteers' moral meaning-making of their CSL experiences was facilitated by participation in community dramas and such symbolic activities as performing parental and elderly gratitude rituals, using ritual and contests as educational tools, constructing a house, and cooking the "solidarity soup." Rituals brought people closer and redefined love and respect. Building an elderly woman a house was more than giving her proper shelter; it gave her the respect she deserved and reminded students not to neglect their own parents. A soup and its making could symbolize cooperation.

CHAPTER VII

INTERPRETATION

First, I am going to discuss the PUC CSL educators' visions and the volunteers' conceptualizations of community service in terms of moral and civic purposes of service-learning. Then, the volunteers' moral development is discussed in terms of Buddhist ethics and how they compare and contrast to prominent moral development theories. Third, I will relate PUC CSL outcomes to the visions of Cambodia's educational policy. Next, the educational effects of drama will be discussed. Finally, I will uncover spirituality and symbolism in service-learning.

Moral and Civic Purposes of Service-Learning

Whereas American service-learning practices are categorized into major models and paradigms with divergent moral and civic purposes, PUC educators adapted a combination of models to the Cambodian context. Consequently, PUC CSL educators and students viewed community service as an act of generosity, an opportunity to change society by cultivating people's kindness toward others, and an opportunity to build social cohesion among and between educated and underprivileged people.

Service as act of kindness versus civic or social responsibility. The PUC Founder had clear moral purposes for the inclusion of CSL in the undergraduate curriculum. First, he envisioned the restoration of "the Khmer tradition of volunteerism," which focused on generous acts of "helping others less fortunate at the moment,"

especially destitute people. This purpose resembles the *philanthropic* tradition of service-learning, characterized by its political neutrality in developing professionals with intelligent self-determination (Abel, 2004). However, the Khmer philanthropic tradition can be understood by the Buddhist notions of *caga* (generosity) and *dana* (charitable giving). Khmer people often combine the two terms as “បរិច្ចាគឥទាន” (*borichag-tian*), which means their giving comes from kindness and no thought of benefiting from the act. PUC student volunteers applied both forms of Buddhist charitable giving: *amisa-dana* (material giving) by giving school supplies to children, building a house for an elderly woman without proper shelter, and buying household necessities for families living in extreme poverty; and *dhamma-dana* (immaterial giving) by sharing with children and adults in various communities some knowledge and the motivation to learn and help others. The volunteers viewed their giving as a way to help the individuals or communities. This dominant perspective means they were oriented toward activities in what Morton (1995) called *the charity paradigm*, in which students volunteer because they “want to help someone less fortunate” and volunteers feel that “providing direct service to another person” would eliminate “current community needs” and “make the biggest impact on the world” (p. 25). There is a clear match between the PUC Founder’s philanthropic vision and the volunteers’ orientation toward charitable acts. According to Moely and colleagues (2008), such a match helps volunteers learn and change.

In the United States, the main goal of service-learning is civic responsibility (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). Service-learning literature defined “social responsibility” as sustained community involvement (Giles & Eyler, 1994). By this definition, PUC volunteers have become more socially responsible. They have developed similar

outcomes as the volunteers Giles and Eyler studied, such as a helpful attitude, and a less judgmental understanding of people and their problems, and a commitment to community service. Many PUC volunteers participated in community service organizations, an indicator of civic responsibility (Moely et al, 2002). Yet, none of the volunteers considered it was a responsibility for them to do community work, perhaps because “responsibility” in the Khmer language is associated with duty or obligation. A few volunteers even clarified that their community work came out of their *tik-chet*—heart of unobligated kindness. In other words, they spent their time and financial resource out of goodwill and generosity. Thus, an important difference between the U.S. and the Cambodian meanings of service-learning is the former’s emphasis on responsibility for doing community service and the latter’s emphasis toward heartfelt acts of kindness.

Service as cultivating kindness versus justice and political reform. “Social change” has been defined as “the impetus to address the ills of society through addressing systemic causes” (Hoppe, 2004, p. 139), for example by “changing public policy for the benefit of people” (Moely et al, 2008, p. 39). In this sense, the term is synonymous with systemic, structural, or political change. Similarly, “social justice” has been defined in terms of “social change and public policies that increase gender and racial equality, end discrimination of various kinds, and reduce the stark income inequalities that characterize this country and most of the world” (Colby and colleagues, as cited in Cipolle, 2010, p. 7). Social justice attitudes are views regarding “causes of poverty and misfortune and how social problems can be solved” (Moely, Mercer, Ilustre, Miron, & McFarland, 2002, p. 18). A social-change or social-justice oriented person blames an unjust system and public policy, instead of disadvantaged individuals, for social problems.

None of my interviewees mentioned political change. In the Cambodian context, this is not surprising because political activities are often considered non-academic. However, none of the research participants showed any sign of anger with the government or mental distress with communities' problems, either. Their expressions and actions were so calm that I cannot disregard *upekkha* just because the PUC Founder said it is hard to achieve. Bhikkhu (2011a) explained *upekkha* as equanimity that provides mental balance that helps one focus on what she or he is able to do to lighten the suffering of others. The volunteers were friendly, compassionate, and empathetic to the people they served, but they focused on positive change rather than being critical of the system and stressful for trying to change it overtly.

This Buddhist mentality is different from the Western value of justice. In *Leaving the Palace of Justice: Some Problems of Human Rights Work in a Buddhist Setting*, Goldring (2001) explained the mismatch between mainstream human rights work and the Buddhist social vision. Human rights work that was brought to Cambodia in the early 1990s is based on the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition, which emphasizes justice and political reform. Goldring contrasted that the Buddhist "vision of social harmony is not one of setting structural limits on the exercise of absolute power; it is one of purifying the use of power, including absolute power, so that it operates for the good." She continued that the latter could be done by Cambodians "deeply grounded in both the aspirations of human rights and their own cultural traditions" such as Venerable Maha Ghosananda, an active monk who led annual peace walks across Cambodia to call for peace, ban landmines, raise awareness of the environmental impacts of deforestation, and reconcile between Khmer Rouge guerillas and the government (Santi, 2007).

Many of my interviewees spoke about a Buddhist type of social change. They changed the people around them by planting the seeds of kindness to help society. The PUC Founder spoke about his visions to faculty, staff, and students. The former PUC President was also supportive of CSL, according to the CSLP administrator. CSL faculty and staff brought the visions to reality by paving the way for students to experience a different world. When students witnessed poverty and suffering, compassion motivated them to help the people. This is similar to, but less extreme than, the Buddha's sight of distressed people that led him to seek the path to the end of suffering for humanity. As volunteers were helping people, especially children, they infused the virtue of helping others in the younger generation. They also spread the seeds of generosity to their friends and other college students by encouraging them to give donations and volunteer. Some volunteers instilled in their unenthusiastic families the value of helping disadvantaged communities. To summarize, PUC leaders were sowing the seeds of change in the University community, who planted the seeds further in other communities. This chain reaction keeps multiplying the number of Cambodians enthusiastically sharing their resources—time, money, knowledge, educational aspiration, and kindness—with those “less fortunate at the moment.” This strategy is, in the Founder's words, “not making noise, but effective” in changing the Cambodian society. As over half of the Cambodian population live on less than \$2 a day (The World Bank Group, 2012), the multiplying effect is necessary in turning apathy and passive sympathy into peaceful action to save millions of lives from vulnerability. The model in Figure 2 depicts the moral cultivation process of planting and multiplying kindness seeds outward into the Cambodian society.

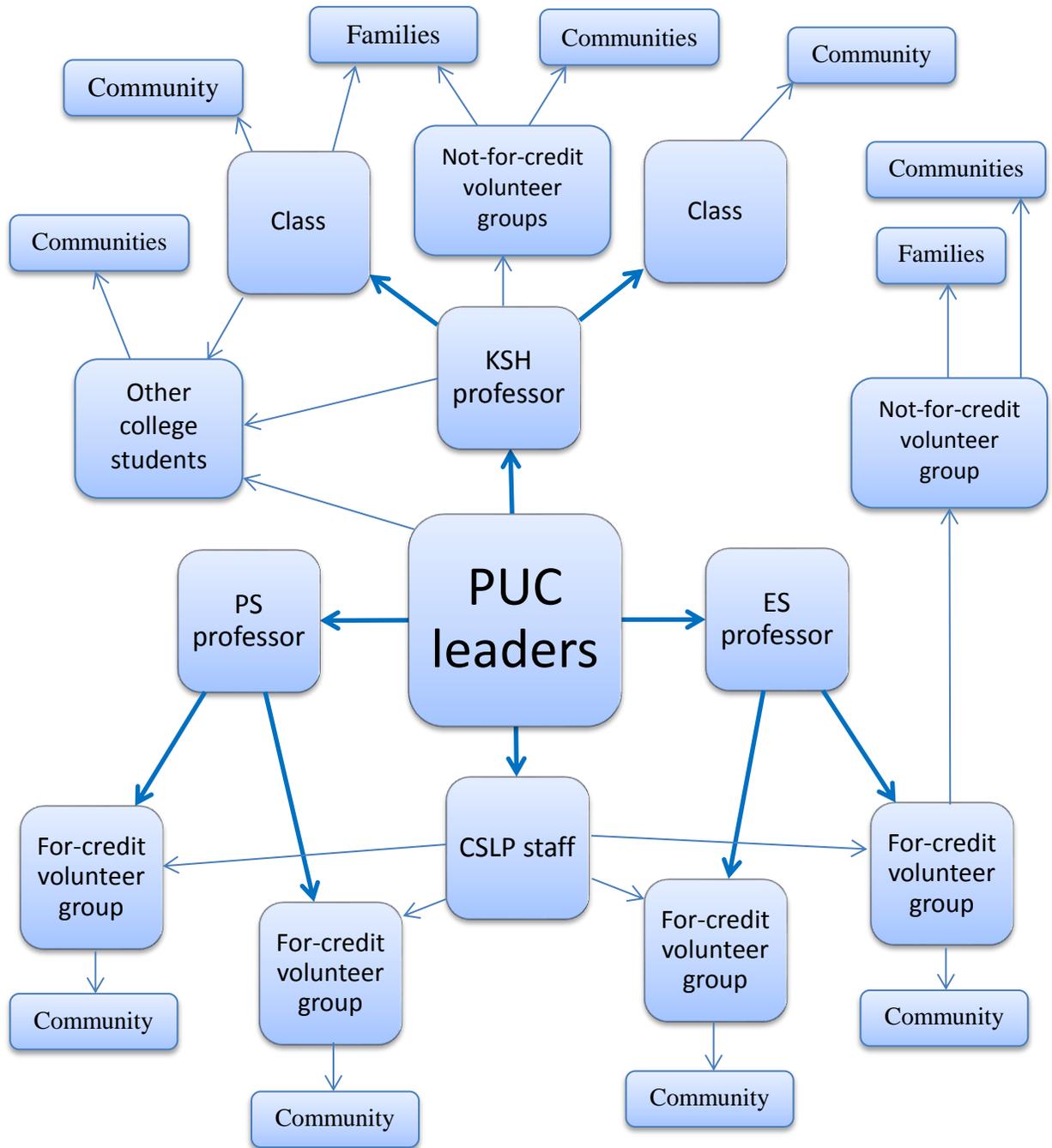


Figure 2: Planting the Seeds of Kindness to Help Society

All arrows represent the planting of the seeds of goodwill and compassion to help others. At the core is PUC leaders, especially the current and former presidents. The first layer includes the Khmer Studies and History (KSH) professor, Political Science (PS) professor, Environmental Science (ES) professor, and the CSL Program administrator. There were other faculty members involved in CSL, but these three were my research participants. The second layer consists of for-credit volunteers who went to communities as large classes or small groups. Each professor led or sent many more classes or student groups to other communities than the few classes or groups shown in the diagram. The KSH professor also advised some not-for-credit volunteer groups created by the students who had volunteered for credit in his courses. Some CSLP volunteers formed similar groups to continue community service, albeit not for credit. The third layer includes communities, families, and other college students to whom the volunteers spread the seeds of kindness to help society. More layers will be created as youths in the served communities help others in the ways they can. Thus, an important distinction between the U.S. and the Cambodian views of working for social change is that the former critically proposes structural change, while the latter works within the system to cultivate kindness in people's hearts.

Service as building solidarity and heartfelt connections versus communitarian responsibility. The U.S. *communitarian* purpose of service-learning is to build ties and responsibility to the community on the assumption that people are social beings (Codispoti, 2004). However, the PUC Founding Father and the KSH professor shared the vision of a cohesive Cambodian society with mutual love and respect between people in all classes and heartfelt connections between educated and poor communities.

While the spirit of community and solidarity had deteriorated in the Cambodian society (Kamm, 1998), the KSH professor and his students spoke about the Khmer solidarity they had and were promoting in the communities they visited. They were also proud of their nationalism for visiting the army guarding the Preah Vihear temple at the northern border against Thailand's attacks following the United Nations for Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) decision to include the temple as a world heritage. Several PUC staff members and other faculty members joined the trip to the border. Participating PUC professionals and students handed donations to army personnel and sang nationalist songs. In a speech at another community, the KSH professor explicitly said:

Regardless of how small or big the program is, college students must be able to take actions upon their willingness in the perspective of nationalism and national culture. Preserving the national culture is an important thought, and doing nationalist tasks is a duty.

While mistrust had plagued the Cambodian society (Morris, 2000), PUC volunteers felt a sense of what the PUC Founder called “weld[ed] *tik-chet* (heart of kindness)” or “heart connection” with communities while developing the attitudes of *karuna*, *metta*, and *mudita*. Like other volunteers in the U.S. service-learning literature, the Cambodian students felt compassionate (*karuna*) for the disadvantaged people they met. Whereas service-learners in a racially stratified society are often described as having become more *tolerant* of people of other races, volunteers in a homogeneous and traditionally classist society developed *metta* (a friendly, loving attitude) toward communities of the same Khmer identity they had viewed negatively. Punlok described

his *metta* and *karuna*:

I felt discriminatory at first because the trash smell [from the nearby landfill or the scavengers' clothes] was bad and the children [at the NGO] were not wearing clean clothes, especially some of them have AIDS or their parents have died from AIDS. But after a while, I felt close to them because I love children and felt pity on them, seeing them without parents and living at the center [sleeping on bare floor] ... I dared to touch the children [with AIDS] because I was happy they were so friendly when I got there.

Metta helped the volunteers enjoy the interactions with the people they served, thus bringing about the joy for the happiness of others or *mudita*. The monk who volunteered at another NGO enjoyed playing with the children with HIV/AIDS and talked about his *mudita*: "They're happy with us; we're also happy with them, like coloring, looking for hidden pictures." It was his first time as a monk playing with children. The PUC Founder hoped to uplift students' attitudes toward disadvantaged communities, and CSL volunteers did develop the three sublime attitudes.

To summarize, the U.S. communitarianism highlights responsibility to the community, whereas the Cambodian view promotes solidarity and heartfelt connections between people of all classes.

Moral Development

Research on moral development as a result of service-learning focuses on moral reasoning, and "development" refers to scoring higher on Western instruments with hypothetical dilemma questions (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Boss, 1994; Gorman, Duffy, & Heffernan, 1994; Leary, 1994; Pratt, 2001). In contrast, my qualitative study explores

what aspects of morality volunteers developed in a Buddhist society. PUC volunteers' moral development will be discussed in terms of Buddhist ethics and how they contrast to Kohlberg's ethic of justice and compare to Gilligan's ethic of care.

Buddhist ethics. PUC CSL cultivated such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (sublime attitudes), *caga* (generosity), *dana* (charitable giving), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts for laypersons), and *kataññu* (gratitude, especially to parents). As discussed above, community experiences nurtured in the volunteers all four *brahma-vihara* attitudes—*karuna* (compassion), *metta* (goodwill), *mudita* (empathetic joy), and *upekkha* (equanimity). The volunteers practiced both forms of *dana*: giving materials (*amisa-dana*) to and sharing knowledge and inspiration (*dhamma-dana*) with communities. They did so out of *caga*, as evident by some interviewees' assurance of their *tik-chet* (heart of kindness) and socially beneficial use of their money and time. Several volunteers became more adherent to *pañca-sila*, especially abstaining from lying; killing any living being; adopting any exploitative, harmful, or wasteful livelihood; and stealing. One student said she had stopped lying. Another reported having stopped killing animals as she had used to for cooking. She also resolved to seek an honest livelihood that neither exploits nor negatively impacts others. As part of the Right Livelihood, a few volunteers did not waste their allowances, income, or food anymore. Instead, they saved the money for their community work. When group leaders raised funds, they ensured financial transparency by presenting new recipients at the fundraising event and showing videos of people receiving past donations.

Many students have reflected on their parents' sacrifice and become more respectful and helpful to their parents. Having been exposed to communities living in

poverty, volunteers became more appreciative of everything their parents had provided them with. Through the community experiences and the *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual, they learned to show thankfulness to their parents, such as helping in the house, studying hard, and reducing unbeneficial activities. The Buddha had spoken about *kataññu*:

I tell you, monks, there are two people who are not easy to repay. Which two?
Your mother & father. ... If you were to establish your mother & father in absolute sovereignty over this great earth, abounding in the seven treasures, you would not in that way pay or repay your parents. Why is that? Mother & father do much for their children. They care for them, they nourish them, they introduce them to this world. (Bhikkhu, 2011b)

Cambodian schools teach pupils this perspective. I still remember a *kataññu* poem I learned to recite as a young student:

Parents have favor.
The favor has weight
as heavy as the earth.
There's nothing equal to
the favor of both.
Mountain-sized gold
wouldn't value as much.

We were taught to be “good children” who “listen to [and follow] parents’ instructions.” Doing what your parents ask you to do is one thing, but adopting the perspective takes time, and PUC service-learning helped students reflect on their wrongdoings and adopt

grateful behaviors. However, we did not learn the second part of the Buddha's *kataññu sutta* (sermon) that one is able to repay their parents if she or he establishes in them conviction, virtue, generosity, and discernment (Bhikkhu). Some volunteers convinced their parents from disapproval or apathy to support or donation for community service although they did not know it was a *kataññu* act.

Kohlberg's versus Buddhist ethics of justice. Kohlberg's ethic of justice focuses on the protection of individuals' rights (Nunner-Winkler, 1994). In contrast, the Buddhist notion of justice is about the consequences of good or bad deeds and the causes of privilege or the lack thereof that apply to everyone as guidance for individuals' actions for the good of themselves. This is the law of *kamma*—you will get what you do, in this lifetime or the next and in between. To avoid bad deeds, a layperson needs to understand and personally adopt a minimum of five precepts (*pañca-sila*). As described in the Buddhist Ethics section above, a few PUC CSL students learned more about *pañca-sila* and decided to abstain from lying, killing any living being, and adopting any exploitative, harmful, or wasteful livelihood. All volunteer group leaders I interviewed transparently managed cash and material donations. If a person steals, for example, he or she could be punished in his or her lifetime because each government enforces law. Even if the person escapes the legal consequence, the *kammic* law ensures his or her soul receive a specific torture in *niraya* (hell for temporary torture) after the body dies. After all tortures, the accumulation of good and bad deeds in the previous lifetime will determine the person's reincarnation: a human in a better condition, a human in a worse condition, or an animal.

Gilligan's and Buddhist ethics of care. “An ethic of care constitutes a view of self, relationships, and social order that may be incompatible with the emphasis on

individual rights that is so predominant in Western, liberal, democratic societies.” (Tronto, 1994, p. 522). On the contrary, the ethic of care is compatible with a Buddhist society. As people are not born equal, we may wonder whether in a Buddhist perspective an underprivileged person can reach a better life and whether others should help him or her. The answers are yes because Buddhism encourages the care for both oneself and others. As reincarnation is endless unless one reaches Buddhahood, there are everyday opportunities for doing good deeds and saving *bon* (*kammic* merit) while abstaining from bad deeds and reducing *bap* (*kammic* demerit). Only several of PUC volunteers learned to abstain from bad deeds, but most learned to do good deeds including, but not limited to, taking actions with *brahma-vihara* (compassion, goodwill, empathetic joy, and equanimity), performing *bon* rituals, and practicing *dana* (giving donations or sharing knowledge and advice) with *caga* (generosity). These, I contend, are comparable to Gilligan’s ethic of care, and the comparison will be detailed below. Doing good deeds benefits not only one’s *bon* accumulation in the Buddhist perspective but also other people’s lives in a practical sense.

When PUC volunteers talked about doing good deeds, *bon* accumulation was not their concern although one of them clarified, “If we do good deeds, the results will never be bad.” Their first concern was to help those in need. Building *karuna* (compassion) and *metta* (goodwill) toward others, the students felt the need to take action to help the needy people. As Nunner-Winkler (1994) summarized Gilligan’s ethic of care, “the most eminent goals of the ethic of care are the wish to care for and help others, to meet obligations and responsibilities, a concern for others and feelings of compassion, a responsibility to discern and alleviate trouble in this world” (p. 262). “The wish to care

for others” resembles *metta*, and “a concern for others and feelings of compassion” is *karuna*. The highest level of the care ethic is nonviolence (Gilligan, 1994) as one finds “the balance between caring for the self and caring for others” (Tronto, 1994, p. 518). This is strikingly similar to *upekkha* (equanimity), which PUC volunteers acquired from the CSL models that did not put them at political risk or give them mental distress while they were helping others. Actually, they were happy to see the grateful faces of the people whose needs were met. As they shared the joy of others, the students developed *mudita* (empathetic joy). Thus, *brahma-vihara* resembles Gilligan’s ethic of care at the highest level.

Also, performing a *bon* (*kammic* merit) ritual can be considered a practical or symbolic act of care. PUC students performed the *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual to their parents and the elderly gratitude ritual to non-relatives (two *bon* rituals) because they cared about the older adults who needed love from them, not because they wanted to collect *bon* for themselves, a common Khmer conception of *twer-bon* (merit-making). To further explain how a *bon* ritual is an act of care, I would like to raise a type of *bon* ritual that the students did not perform as part of CSL. Although it can be done on any day, during the *Pchum Ben* festival Buddhist Cambodians take lunch feasts to *wats* (Khmer monasteries) to get monks’ blessing so that the meal and *bon* can be “sent” (transferred) to their deceased relatives of up to seven generations. Witnessing parents and grandparents rest assured they will not be forgotten even after death. During the *Pchum Ben* ritual, it is also common for Cambodians to charitably offer food and *bon* to non-relative *pret* (starving souls). Holt (2012) also considered the *Pchum Ben* festival as caring for the deceased. In short, *bon* ritual performance can be viewed as an ethic of

care, but it differs from Gilligan's in its inclusion of symbolic care.

Nunner-Winkler (1994) related charity to Gilligan's ethic of care. Therefore, the Buddhist ethic of sharing (*caga* and *dana*) qualifies as an ethic of care. PUC volunteers learned to psychologically depart from their possessions (*caga*) and give them to people who need them most (*amisa-dana*). Out of generosity (also *caga*), they shared knowledge and inspiration (*dhamma-dana*) with people in many communities.

Tronto (1994) argued that in order for the ethic of care to become "fully developed," it needed to "take the form of a contextual moral theory," (p. 518) in which "morality must be situated concretely, that is, for particular actors in a particular society" (pp. 517-518). "Rather than positing some ideal rational human being, contextual morality stands or falls on its ability to describe the ways in which individuals progress morally to exhibit concern for others" (Tronto, p. 518). This dissertation contributes to the move toward a "fully developed" theory of care.

Service-Learning and Cambodia's Educational Policy

Article 4 of Cambodia's Law on Education (2007) defined education as:

... the learning development process or the training of body, consciousness, wisdom, and morality by all educational activities that enable learners to obtain the knowledge set, skills, capability, and values in order to become good persons useful for themselves, the families, the communities, the nation, and the world. (p. 2)

Similarly, in a recent speech the Prime Minister spoke about Cambodian educational values:

... I would like to appeal to parents and sponsors of all students to participate and

continue educating their children to be better educated and on the right path by cooperating with schools in order to build a new generation of youth with development in all sectors, meaning that we have to provide them education, experiences, virtues, morality, dignity and harmonization, to particularly achieve the 4 principles of the basic foundation of education “good children, good students, good friends, and good citizen[s].” (Hun, 2011)

PUC CSL obviously supports the Cambodian educational values of “good children, good students, good friends, and good citizen[s].” CSL volunteers expressed gratitude to their parents and/or taught children in the served communities to behave gratefully to parents. They were good students because they learned not only on campus but also at communities distant from home. They were good friends who inspired other college students to volunteer. They were good citizens who lightened the government’s burden by gathering donations for needy people and promoting education and such acts of kindness in younger generations, who were “bamboo shoots” growing to be “bamboos” like the volunteers. In short, cultivating good people is a vital goal of Cambodian education at all levels. Community service learning clearly helps Cambodia achieve this goal.

Education and Learning through Community Drama

Some PUC CSL volunteers used drama to educate communities. What they did not expect was that drama could also have an educational effect on actors/actresses. Education and learning through theater has been supported by adult and community education literature.

Didactic drama. It is common to find adult educational films and drama

comedies on Cambodian television. Occasionally broadcasted are solo performances in which artists play a string instrument and sing didactic poems. Didactic singing has been practiced in Cambodia since the 17th century as traditional poets sang codes of conduct (Chandler, 1984), whose messages were Buddhist-oriented (Jacob, 1996), and critical reflections on society (Khing, 2008) to educate mostly rural adult communities but also government officials and even kings.

In Africa, Kerr (1981) reported, “educators have turned to the performing arts as a medium for adult education, because this medium appears to be less manipulative than more formal techniques and because it uses familiar forms of communication” (p. 145). He added, “The entertainment value of theatre assures wide contact with, and initial positive response to, adult education programs from adults who might otherwise be apathetic” (p. 152). Believing that rural people might “learn more from performance than teaching because they prefer watching,” Chariya and her friend added drama to their community lecture on gender issues. Kerr called this type of community performance “induced didactic theatre,” for it was “initiated by university-based educators rather than emerging ‘organically’ from the masses” (p. 150). Chariya explained the rationale for using drama:

it would make [the audience] understand better about [the problem]. Sometimes when they themselves cause a problem, they won’t know which corner of the problem to look at in order to solve the problem. [That’s why] we put the problem in a performance. ... it was effective when they listened and could think about it.

This is strikingly similar to Kerr’s statement: “the dramatization of social problems helps

focus [audience] attention on specific issues” (p. 152). Chariya’s theater turned out to be successful because it reached the heart of the audience, as she recalled, “When the actors/actresses laughed, the audience laughed; when the actors/actresses cried, the audience cried, too ... [We] received feedback from them; they said their real lives were the same as what we had performed—violence in the family.” Nevertheless, Kerr warned that the educational effectiveness of theater required the application of “a full range of dramatic skill, intellectual complexity, psychological depth, and emotional resonance” rather than simple “second-rate” quality (p. 155).

Learning through theater acting. Ross (2000) argued for the role of the arts and emotions in learning:

Our cognitive processes gather data through the body—its senses, sensibilities, and physical dimensions. The arts are firmly rooted in these exchanges between the psyche (mind) and soma (body), and the senses and emotions are the conduits of these experiences. (p. 31)

Furthermore, Amann (2003) defined *affective learning* as knowledge acquisition or life decision “as a result of paying attention to and honoring our feelings and emotions” (p. 6). By this definition, Sopheap affectively learned to lead a more moral life. In the drama above, she acted as a soul receiving tortures in *niraya* (hell for temporary torture) after breaching the Buddhist precepts in the human lifetime: “I acted as falling into a hot oil pan miserably and being whipped.” The acting must have made her emotionally feel the heat of boiling oil and the pain from being whipped so much that she decided not to risk doing anything that would possibly lead to such post-death tortures of her soul: “And I’ve never been there; it was so miserable just acting it, so I thought if I continued [deeds

against the precepts] it could be more miserable ... if I take that image into my body, it'll be unbearable.”

Ward, Mills, and Anderson (2013) learned that acting in a community drama had strong personal effects on first-time actors/actresses such as Mills and Anderson, who performed in a government-funded play about a history of their rural community in England. Mills, a local housewife before getting involved in the theater production, realized, “I’ve found that on stage I can be transformed into someone else and adopt a whole other persona” (p. 57). The effect on Anderson was profound. Anderson had served in the British Armed Forces for twenty one years and been recently diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder. He wrote that after rehearsals, “my wife noticed that I was sleeping better. I wasn’t having night terrors anymore, and the dark periods I did encounter seemed to have light in them” (p. 59). Having completed the performance, he went on to describe his change:

I have also begun to look at the world in a new way. ... Before acting in the play, I looked at the world with a military eye. When I moved here, I bought myself a gun with the intention of going out to shoot rabbits; but because the [theater production] project was so deeply rooted in the local landscape, I’d now rather go out and walk in the environment than become a pseudo-paramilitary. (p. 60)

Spirituality and Symbolism in Service-Learning

It is uncommon to find spirituality as a goal of service-learning (Sikula & Sikula, 2005). The use of cultural symbols in service-learning cannot be found in service-learning literature. In defining spirituality in education, Tisdell’s (2003) stated seven assumptions, two of which were that spirituality was about “an awareness and honoring

of wholeness and the interconnectedness of all things through the mystery of what many I interviewed referred to as the Life-force, God, higher power, higher self, cosmic energy, Buddha nature, or Great Spirit” (p. 28) and “how people construct knowledge [and make meaning] through largely unconscious and symbolic processes, often made more concrete in art forms such as music, art, image, symbol, and ritual which are manifested culturally” (p. 29). The latter assumption was derived from Heron’s (1996) theory on meanings. Heron defined primary meaning as “the meaning inherent in our lived experience, our being in a world, ...” (p. 178) and called it *empathic-imaginal* meaning, which he argued to be closer to the lived experience than secondary or *linguistic-conceptual* meaning. He illustrated, “Artists of all kinds ... use [literary] language, and nonlinguistic forms of expression, to symbolize their vision of the primary meaning of their world” (p. 182).

Many PUC volunteers went through a *symbolic experience*, which I define as a moment of feeling heartfelt connected to other people through a symbolic process. Symbolic processes found in PUC CSL include performing a parental gratitude ritual, participating in an elderly gratitude ritual, and making the “solidarity soup.” The parents and the elderly to whom the rituals were performed also had a symbolic experience. Using Heron’s (1996) notions of primary and secondary meanings, a symbolic experience helps service-learners make primary moral meanings before the students describe them linguistically. This experience may not be spiritual in terms of Tisdell’s (2003) first assumption stated above, but it relates to the second assumption as it signifies the Khmer spirit of mutual love and solidarity, cultivated by the PUC Founder and the Khmer studies and history professor. This implies that spiritual development may be

incorporated in service-learning. However, it is clear that symbolism facilitates moral meaning-making in service-learning.

Many PUC CSL students developed moral meanings in culturally symbolic ways such as performing gratitude rituals and cooking a native soup. The symbolic processes made them and the older adults involved feel closer to each other than ever.

Kataññu (parental gratitude) ritual. Neary and her family had a symbolic experience when she performed the *kataññu* ritual to her parents at her grandmother's stupa:

One day, we went to pay respect to my late grandmother at her stupa. I took the opportunity to bow to the ground before my parents at the stupa. My aunts, uncle, aunt-in-law, and younger siblings saw it. So I felt excited, and [my parents] were surprised, and my aunts and uncle were surprised and said they were happy for my parents ... from that day [I] had to change [my] wrongdoings [in] the old habits.

Sophy also performed the ritual, which had a similar effect on her:

[The ritual] is an expression of our gratitude. Sometimes we can't foresee human life. We can't know what day [our parents] will leave us [pass away] or we leave [pass away] before them. ... And [the event] made me feel I should respect my parents more strongly.

Many Cambodians *sampeah* (press their own palms as a form of greeting or respect to) each other, but they do not do so to their parents. Bowing to the ground is the ultimate respect because it is commonly performed only toward statues of the Buddha and holy spirits and toward Buddhist monks. This goes in line with the national

promotion, through education and media, of the treatment of parents as “gods at home.” For example, a national television video has been broadcasted during Buddhist holidays to educate adults to perform the *kataññu* ritual of respectfully offering a meal to their parents at home before taking the feast to monks at the *wat* (Khmer monastery). This was against the practice of taking food to monks to earn merit while leaving parents underserved due to the misbelief of merit-making. The regard of parents as gods was not a new perspective; it had been detailed in traditional poet Ou Chong’s Parental Respect Code (Var, 2009). It was definitely a symbolic experience for the students performing the ritual and their parents. The ritual performance was community service in a sense that the community was the parents and that the service was the expressed gratitude, respect, and care.

Elderly gratitude ritual. While performing the elderly gratitude ritual, Sophy felt as if the elderly people had been her own grandparents: “We received knowledge from them, so we showed our gratitude by giving them some items and bowed to the ground three times, respecting them ... and friendly to them like our blood relatives.” Neary described an 87-year-old woman’s symbolic experience:

Her perspective had been that educated people were arrogant, they couldn’t mingle to see what society was like, [and] especially they discriminated against low-status people. [But that day] she felt excited that ... we could lower ourselves to [her and] to absorb knowledge from [her] ... [without] being classist.

Thus, through the elderly gratitude ritual, college students and senior citizens had a symbolic experience with each other while the students were showing the elderly their goodwill, gratitude, respect, and care.

Making “solidarity soup.” The *korko* (stir) soup itself requires vegetables of various tastes, which the professor said were to represent people with differences. Cooking it for almost 200 people literally required a lot of cooks working together. Neary and Sophy found the activity unforgettable as it made them proud of the solidarity of the group. More than ten volunteers cooked the soup, and Neary described some of their roles: “Some sliced [vegetables and meat], some stirred [the mixture], some [fanned] the [wood] fire, some held the lid of the pot, and so on.” Sophy narrated the video of the event:

We cooked *korko* soup together with the *tik-chet* [heart] of solidarity. We mixed ingredients together, putting vegetables in the soup together. The smoke [from burning firewood] caused some tears, yet it was not an obstacle for us. Our willingness and effort resulted in a delicious *korko* soup ... We never forget what identifies as Khmer, and neither do we abandon the willingness [to work together] as Khmer.

As the two volunteers expressed, the involvement in the symbolic soup cooking made everyone feel united.

Chapter Summary

As PUC educators envisioned, their volunteers considered community service as an act of kindness, development of solidarity and heartfelt connections, and action to cultivate kindness in the Cambodian society. Out of generosity, the students provided assistance by giving donations to needy people and sharing with undereducated communities some basic knowledge and the motivation to learn and help others. In addition to course credit and work experience, the volunteers spoke about their *tik-chet*

(heart of unobligated kindness), instead of “civic responsibility” or “social responsibility” commonly found in the service-learning literature, as a motivation for helping less fortunate individuals and communities.

Volunteers felt a sense of connections with the people they served, and they spoke about the solidarity of Khmer people. While the spirit of community and solidarity had deteriorated in the Cambodian society (Kamm, 1998), the Khmer Studies and History professor and his students spoke about the Khmer solidarity they had and were promoting in the communities they visited. While mistrust had plagued the Cambodian society (Morris, 2000), volunteers felt a sense of heartfelt connections with communities while developing compassion toward the people they served and sharing goodwill and joy with them.

Rather than the Western notion of social change as political, systemic, or structural reform, many PUC educators and volunteers talked about a Buddhist type of social change—changing the people around them by planting the seeds of kindness to help society. The PUC Founder, faculty, and staff cultivated students’ kindness to volunteer and help communities. As the volunteers were helping young children and youths, they planted the seeds of kindness in the younger generations so they would grow up helping others, too. They also spread the seeds of generosity to their friends and other college students by encouraging them to give donations and volunteer. Some volunteers fostered in their families the value of helping underprivileged communities. The moral cultivation that does not end in communities builds a caring Cambodian society as it multiplies the number of Cambodians with kindness. Whereas corrupt minds will take advantage of the loopholes of any policy or system, the minds that care about people

living in poverty will find ways in any system to serve their needs.

PUC CSL cultivated in volunteers such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (the four sublime attitudes), *caga* (generosity), *amisa-dana* (donation), *dhamma-dana* (sharing knowledge and advice), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), and *kataññu* (gratitude, especially to parents). The discussion of Buddhist moral development took a turn from the Western dominance of measuring moral reasoning as indicators of moral development in service-learning. Moreover, the Buddhist ethic of justice (the *kammic* law and *pañca-sila*) differs from Kohlberg's emphasis on individual rights in that it defines good or bad consequences, across lifetimes, of good or bad deeds individuals may choose to do. The Buddhist ethics of *brahma-vihara* (the four sublime attitudes) and *caga-dana* (generosity-charity) dyad are strikingly similar to Gilligan's ethic of care, especially the top stage she named *the morality of nonviolence*. Beyond Gilligan's theory, however, *bon* (*kammic* merit-making/transferring) rituals provide people with opportunities to symbolically express love and care for their families and strangers.

As practiced by community educators in some other parts of the world, some PUC volunteers used didactic dramas to educate communities. It turned out that drama could educate not only the audience but also the performers as evident by a volunteer's *affective learning* from the drama she performed.

This study brought spirituality and symbolism into theoretical discussion on service-learning. The Khmer studies professor utilized culturally symbolic processes, such as rituals and collaborative cooking, in cultivating his students' morality. The rituals brought the participating students, their parents, and senior citizens closer emotionally, and possibly spiritually. The same can be said about those volunteers who

made the “solidarity soup” together. The ritual and soup-making experiences relate to one of Tisdell’s (2003) assumptions of spirituality as they signify the Khmer spirit of mutual love and solidarity. Each of the young and older adults went through a *symbolic experience*, which I define as a moment of feeling heartfelt connected to other people through a symbolic process. Using Heron’s (1996) notions of primary and secondary meanings, a symbolic experience helps service-learners make primary moral meanings before they describe the meanings linguistically.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of a summary of the research questions and methodology, the implications for theory, a discussion of how CSL may address Cambodia's societal issues described in the Problem Statement in the first chapter, the implications and recommendations practice, the implications and recommendations for policy, the limitations of the study, and the recommendations for further research.

This case study tried to answer what visions guided Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC) educators in implementing community service learning (CSL), what CSL morally meant to the volunteers, and what experiences facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making. To answer these research questions, data were collected in November-December 2011 from 39 participants by interviewing, observation, and document-mining. The interviews were conducted with 23 undergraduate volunteers and four professors of five CSL courses, the PUC Founder/President, and a CSL Program administrator. The interview data were transcribed, and all data were coded and categorized in HyperResearch 3.5 software. Next, I derived theories in relation to service-learning literature, Buddhist ethics, moral orientation theories, didactic community drama, affective learning, and spiritual learning.

Implications for Theory

PUC CSL volunteers considered community service as an act of kindness rather than civic or social responsibility commonly found in the service-learning literature.

Whereas the American communitarian stance of service-learning highlights responsibility to the community, the Cambodian view promotes solidarity and heartfelt connections among and between educated and underprivileged people. The distinction between the American and the Cambodian views of working for social change is that the former critically proposes structural change while the latter works within the system to cultivate kindness in people's hearts. One theoretical implication of these differences is that the terminology associated with service-learning in the United States may not be interpreted and internalized well by people in other countries. As postmodernists contend, "Language inevitably and inherently is built on the assumptions and worldview of the social group that has constructed it and the culture of which it is part" (Denzin & Lincoln, as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 100). Beyond language, however, the design of service-learning models for other political and cultural contexts requires consideration of those contexts. For instance, the American team that designed the program for the Southeast Asian Service-Learning Institute in 2009 was cautious not to impose American values or processes onto the cultures of the participants from different countries; thus, the trainers decided to share "the philosophy and foundation behind service-learning, why it works in the U.S. and how it could be used in Southeast Asian institutions of higher education" (Kim-Han, 2009, p. 2).

When adapted, service-learning works well in the social context heavily influenced by Buddhism. CSL cultivated in the Cambodian students such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (*metta* [goodwill], *karuna* [compassion], *mudita* [empathetic joy], and *upekkha* [equanimity]), *caga* (generosity), *amisa-dana* (donation), *dhamma-dana* (sharing knowledge and advice), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), and *kataññu*

(gratitude, especially to parents). The discussion of Buddhist moral development took a turn from the dominance of measuring moral reasoning as indicators of moral development in service-learning.

With regard to moral orientations, the Buddhist ethic of justice (the *kammic* law and *pañca-sila*) differs from Kohlberg's emphasis on individual rights in that it defines good or bad consequences, across lifetimes, of individuals' good or bad deeds. Yet, the Cambodian CSL students were much more oriented toward the Buddhist ethics of *brahma-vihara* (the four sublime attitudes) and *caga-dana* (generosity-charity) dyad, which are strikingly similar to Gilligan's ethic of care, especially the top level called *the morality of nonviolence*. Beyond Gilligan's theory, *bon* (*kammic* merit making/transferring) rituals provide participants with opportunities to symbolically express love and care for their families and non-relatives. The explanations for the students' orientation toward care are that the Buddhist ethic of care is more practical than the Buddhist ethic of justice and that the care ethic was more promoted by PUC educators, especially the Founder. In a predominantly Buddhist country such as Cambodia, a service-learning model oriented to a care ethic is more compatible than one oriented to a justice ethic.

As practiced by community educators in some other parts of the world, some PUC volunteers used didactic dramas to educate communities. It turned out that drama could educate not only the audience but also the performers as evident by a volunteer's *affective learning* from the drama she performed. This study contributes to adult and community education literature by providing an example of the use of drama as a powerful way to educate both communities and performers on moral issues. In addition, it brings up the

utilization of didactic drama in service-learning.

This study brought cultural symbolism into the theoretical discussion of service-learning. The Khmer studies professor utilized culturally symbolic processes, such as rituals and collaborative cooking, in cultivating his students' morality. Each participant of the rituals and cooking went through a *symbolic experience*, which I defined as a moment of feeling heartfelt connected to other people through a symbolic process. In terms of Heron's (1996) primary and secondary meanings, a symbolic experience helps service-learners construct primary moral meanings before they describe the meanings linguistically. The symbolic experiences and the primary meanings associated with them were unforgettable to the service-learners; thus, the use of cultural symbols in service-learning facilitates students' moral meaning-making.

Addressing Societal Problems

The first problem this research tried to address is social inaction toward disadvantaged communities. It is obvious that PUC volunteers took action to lighten the pressures of poverty on communities. They took donations to adults and children among the poorest in Cambodia. They gave the people joy and hope. They shared with children and youth the aspiration of higher education. The volunteers were already contributing to social change in terms of cultivating their families', their peers', and the younger generations' kindness to help others. As over half of the Cambodian population live on less than \$2 a day (The World Bank Group, 2012), the multiplying effect of kindness cultivation is necessary in turning apathy and passive sympathy into peaceful action to save millions of lives from vulnerability.

PUC CSL cultivated *brahma-vihara* toward others and personal integrity, and

therefore might pull the learners away from committing acts of violence and corruption in their lifetime. PUC volunteers developed *brahma-vihara* (compassion, goodwill, empathetic joy, and equanimity) toward poor communities; thus, it is difficult to imagine their use of violence to any underprivileged person. The volunteers were likely to become moral leaders in communities and their professions, possibly in the government. Some were already leaders of student groups providing assistance to communities or NGOs. In addition to time and energy, the group leaders and members even spent their own allowances or income. A successful student group leader told me about her group's integrity in managing cash donations. While observing a large PUC fundraising event her group helped organize, I witnessed the recipient NGOs' presence and the effort to gain trust from donors. She even invited me to count the cash.

Implications and Recommendations for Practice

PUC educators are fulfilling their visions, especially cultivating undergraduate students' kindness to help communities. There are only a few suggestions that can be made for the improvement of CSL practice: academic relevance, long-term assistance, and privacy.

Academic relevance. Any community service that is part of a course has to relate to the course. This is the core feature of service-learning, which distinguishes it from community service. The PUC Center for Community Service Learning (n.d.) recognizes this in its definition of CSL as a program or teaching method "that provides opportunity to students to practice what they have learned in the classroom and to apply the theory in the real world by working in their community and analyze the problem with practical thinking" (p. 1). Community Study Trip (CST) professors were creative in

relating community service to their courses although some students were not able to see the connections. In CSL Program (CSLP) practice, however, the community service relevance to the course was unclear. It will benefit students academically, legitimize CSL course credit, and bring knowledge from the university to undereducated communities if CSLP faculty and staff help students link community service and academic learning from the beginning of the term. These reasons suggest that CSLP faculty increase their involvement in connecting service and the subject matter. This can be done in service determination, volunteer placements, class assignments, and classroom discussions. For example, an environmental science professor could ask students to plant trees and educate people about the benefits of trees so the community will take care of the plants. The professor or CSLP staff may also place volunteers at environmental NGOs providing community service. CSLP staff and faculty can work together to diversify connections with NGOs and governmental agencies. They may also discuss with those partners to find creative ways to make service-theory links. At the beginning of the term, instructors ought to make it clear to their student volunteers, in the course syllabi and verbal introductions, that the reflective papers or presentations must clarify the links between service experiences and course content. Next, it is important that some classroom time is devoted to discussions on service-lesson connections. It will provide volunteers opportunities to reflect on their community experiences, students having opted out of service to learn from the volunteers, and the instructor to elaborate on theoretical connections. Critical reflection is a core component of service-learning (Felten & Clayton, 2011), and it generates learning (Ash & Clayton, 2009).

This study suggests that CSLP staff communicate to faculty members, Cambodian

and expatriate, so they will clearly understand the goals of the program and the role expectations of them. The connection between service and academic learning should be emphasized as a core component of CSL. In addition to freshman and sophomore courses, faculty should be encouraged to incorporate CSL into junior and senior courses. As students progress from year to year and courses become more major specific, volunteers will gain more skills and experiences relevant to their majors. To increase CSLP courses and faculty involvement, faculty should be assured they may take full authority and do not have to send students to the CSL Center. Yet, in order to ensure that all CSL practices, including CST and any other models, meet the stated goals of PUC CSL and that CSL faculty be recognized for their effort, this study implies that the CSL administration should be authorized more evaluative responsibilities in addition to their supportive role. Specifically, CSL staff ought to conduct more site visits, seek more verbal feedback from volunteers, and add a qualitative question to the CSL evaluation form for volunteers to explain how their service relates to the course. Most of these can only be done if the present CSL staff size is expanded.

Long-Term Assistance. The CSLP model, which partners with NGOs, provided communities with long-term assistance when new student groups take over previous ones from term to term. In contrast, most of CST assistance, especially to children, was short-term. Because students needed to study other communities, most did not return to the same communities. Lasting benefit to children in those communities was unproven. One way to make the assistance long-term is that faculty members send new groups of students to the same communities. Volunteers who teach children about hygiene should also educate parents about it because children may not clean their hands before each meal

or brush their teeth after each meal if their poor parents tell them it is unnecessary.

Furthermore, this study suggests that CST faculty consider moving community service toward community development or community problem-solving.

Privacy. During my observation of one CST and in an archival video of another, professors and volunteer group leaders practiced the publicity of children with disability for on-the-spot fundraising from volunteers for the children. They were generously trying to help, but having been exposed to the value of privacy in American culture, I was concerned about the children's emotions when they had to appear in front of so many people. This practice is unnecessary even if financial transparency could be a concern. Describing the disabled children would be sufficient to raise donations.

Implications and Recommendations for Policy

Although verbal communication with faculty needs to continue, to clear any misunderstanding it is necessary that a CSL policy be developed. The policy ought to redefine CSL to include reflective class discussion of the community service experiences. It may help faculty if the document distinguishes CSL from course-irrelevant community service and course-relevant internship that provides no community service. The policy needs to state the goals of PUC CSL. However, instead of mandating a uniform model of implementation, the policy should allow, or even encourage, faculty to creatively apply or develop any model to achieve the goals stated in the policy and their course objectives. The Academic Programs Office administrator pointed out that students would not have time for all community services if many courses they took had a CSL component. For this and other reasons, the CSL policy ought to state that participation in community service is voluntary unless there is a good reason for service requirement by the course

(e.g. social work or community development course). Lastly, faculty who spend time developing and teaching CSL courses ought to be recognized with some type of award, for example medals. If so, award criteria, including student evaluations, will need to be established.

PUC CSL helps Cambodia attain the educational purpose of developing “good persons useful for themselves, the families, the communities, the nation, and the world” as stated in the Law on Education (2007, p. 2). Other higher education institutions in Cambodia ought to join the endeavor because service-learning pedagogy not only cultivates learners’ morality but also improves their academic learning and employment skills. If a national CSL policy is to be made, the above CSL policy recommendations could be helpful.

Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of this research is the sampling. Leading, active, or expressive volunteers were selected for interviews in order to gain insights into student moral development and meaning-making. They were not necessarily typical PUC CSL volunteers. The sample size was good for this qualitative research, but it is only a small fraction of all students having participated in CSL. Another limitation is that community members and volunteers’ families were not interviewed. When volunteers said they inspired children to learn and help others, it would help to interview the children. It would be more complete to interview parents of volunteers who reported behavioral change and students who changed their parents’ attitude toward CSL.

Recommendations for Further Research

Although this study has found junior and senior students’ commitment to

community service since their freshman year, a follow-up study on volunteer commitment to community service after graduation would uncover long-term effect of CSL on participants. It would be helpful to know how many former CSL volunteers since the start of CSL at PUC in 2002 are now working in the government and making decisions or policies for the benefit of disadvantaged people. Long-term effects of volunteer assistance to communities are very important to know. The attitudes of students' families, especially parents, toward CSL can be a topic for study. It is vital to understand faculty attitudes toward CSL if PUC or any other educational institution would like to motivate faculty to embed CSL in their courses. The educational effects of popular drama on audience and the volunteers who organize and act in it are promising and ought to be researched further. Finally, spiritual development and the use of cultural symbols in service-learning should be studied in depth.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORMS

Research Participant Consent Form for Cambodian Students IRB Approval Number 2011O1065

This is a dissertation for the completion of the researcher's Ph.D. program, and for human protection purpose, participants of this research study must be 18 years of age or older and without illness, injury, disability, or pregnancy. If you fit these criteria and are interested in this study, please read the information below and ask the researcher any questions about this study. Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate at any time without prejudice or jeopardy to your standing with Texas State University-San Marcos or Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia. You may choose not to answer any question(s) without having to give any reason.

Researcher: Monirith Ly, student, Education Ph.D. Program, Texas State University-San Marcos, 088-996-9291, ML1345@txstate.edu

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Ann Brooks, Education Ph.D. Program Co-Director and Professor, Texas State University-San Marcos, 1-512-245-1936, ABrooks@txstate.edu

Title of Research Study: Moral Meanings of Service-Learning at Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC)

Purpose of the Research Study: The purpose of this study is to understand what moral meanings undergraduates participating in PUC community service learning (CSL) develop from their CSL experiences and how their life, school, and CSL experiences shape such meanings. The word "moral" is defined as doing good deeds for the good of oneself or others.

Benefits: You may better realize how important the CSL experiences are for your lives and careers.

Risks: This study is non-experimental and expected to have no risk of physical harm and minimal or no psychological/emotional risks. You may feel slightly uncomfortable being observed or recorded. Additionally, you may feel slightly stressed to disclose personal experiences, thoughts, and feelings.

Compensation: There is no compensation for participating in this study.

Contacts and Questions: If you choose to stop participating in this study for any reason, please contact the researcher. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant or any other pertinent question about the research, you may contact Dr. Jon Lasser, IRB Chair (1-512-245-3413 or Lasser@txstate.edu), or Ms. Becky Northcut, Research Compliance Specialist (1-512-245-2314 or BNorthcut@txstate.edu).

Confidentiality: A pseudonym will be recorded and reported instead of your real name unless you request your name be used. Audio recordings and transcripts may only be shared between the researcher, transcriber, and dissertation chair. Before receiving digital audio recordings, transcriber must sign an agreement to keep the data confidential and destroy the recordings and transcripts as soon as the researcher ensures the transcripts are accurate. The researcher will store the recordings and transcripts in his password-protected computer. The findings will be reported in a way that protects your identity to the highest extent that does not jeopardize the quality of the study. The recordings will be destroyed in five years.

Findings of the Study: If you are interested in receiving a summary of the findings upon completion of this study, please contact the researcher.

Participation: Your participation would help the researcher understand your experiences and perspectives directly from you. If you agree to participate in this study, please check your participation choice(s).

- Being observed on CSL-related activities.
- Being interviewed with 25 or more questions for approximately 40-60 minutes. An example question is “What does the CSL experience mean to you?”
- Providing copies of your CSL writings and other works (e.g. presentations).
- Joining research-relevant communications (e.g. conversations, emails) with the researcher.

Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. Activities and conversations will not be audio or video recorded, but the researcher may take notes.

Signatures: By signing this document, you are indicating that you fully understand the consent form and its contents. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions and have been told that participation in this study is voluntary. The researcher will keep a copy of this signed form, and you will keep one.

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Researcher's name

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Signature

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Participant's name

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Phone/email

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Signature

Research Participant Consent Form for Faculty

IRB Approval Number 2011O1065

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Benefits: You may better understand how your practices affect students, reconsider your beliefs about CSL, and improve your practices to achieve your vision.

Risks: This study is non-experimental and expected to have no risk of physical harm and minimal or no psychological/emotional risks. You may feel slightly uncomfortable being observed or recorded. Additionally, you may feel slightly stressed to disclose personal experiences, thoughts, and feelings.

Compensation: There is no compensation for participating in this study.

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Findings of the Study: If you are interested in receiving a summary of the findings upon completion of this study, please contact the researcher.

Participation: Your participation would help the researcher understand how you may influence your CSL students' experiences and perspectives. If you agree to participate in this study, please check your participation choice(s).

- Providing copies of CSL-relevant documents (e.g. syllabus).
- Being observed on your CSL-relevant activities.
- Being interviewed one-to-one with 10 or more questions for approximately 20-30 minutes. An example question is "What do you think the CSL experience means to your participating students?"
- Joining research-relevant communications (e.g. conversations, emails) with the researcher.

Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. Activities and conversations will not be audio or video recorded, but the researcher may take notes.

Signatures: By signing this document, you are indicating that you fully understand the consent form and its contents. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions and have been told that participation in this study is voluntary. The researcher will keep a copy of this signed form, and you will keep one.

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Researcher's name

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Signature

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Participant's name

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Phone/email

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Signature

Research Participant Consent Form for PUC Professionals

IRB Approval Number 2011O1065

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Benefits: You may better understand how your practices affect students, reconsider your beliefs about CSL, and improve your practices to achieve your vision.

Risks: This study is non-experimental and expected to have no risk of physical harm and minimal or no psychological/emotional risks. You may feel slightly uncomfortable being observed or recorded. Additionally, you may feel slightly stressed to disclose personal experiences, thoughts, and feelings.

Compensation: There is no compensation for participating in this study.

Contacts and Questions: If you choose to stop participating in this study for any reason, please contact the researcher. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant or any other pertinent question about the research, you may contact Dr. Jon Lasser, IRB Chair (1-512-245-3413 or Lasser@txstate.edu), or Ms. Becky Northcut, Research Compliance Specialist (1-512-245-2314 or BNorthcut@txstate.edu).

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Findings of the Study: If you are interested in receiving a summary of the findings upon completion of this study, please contact the researcher.

Participation: Your participation would help the researcher understand how you or your policies may influence CSL students' experiences and perspectives. If you agree to participate in this study, please check your participation choice(s).

- Providing copies of CSL-relevant documents.
- Being interviewed one-to-one with 10 or more questions for approximately 20-30 minutes. An example question is "What do you think the CSL experience means to the participating students?"
- Joining research-relevant communications (e.g. conversations, emails) with the researcher.
- Being observed on your CSL-relevant activities.

Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. Activities and conversations will not be audio or video recorded, but the researcher may take notes.

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Researcher's name

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Signature

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Participant's name

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Phone/email

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Signature

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Guide for Interviews with CSLP Volunteers

Prior Experiences

1. Could you introduce yourself?
2. Did you ever volunteer before?
 - a. If so, who introduced the opportunities to you?
 - b. Why did you volunteer then?
 - c. Can you tell me about the experiences?
 - d. What did the experiences mean to you?
 - e. If never, did you know anyone who volunteered? What did they do?
What did they learn from their experiences?

Preparation for Community Service

3. How were you introduced to the CSL Program?
4. Why did you choose to take part in CSL?
5. How were you introduced to the community?
6. Before coming to the community for the first time, what did you think or imagine the community to be like?
7. What did your family and friends say when you told them you were going to the community?
 - a. What did you respond?
8. How did you feel the day before going to the community?

During Community Service

9. How did you feel when you went to the community for the first time?
10. What did you usually do at the community?
 - a. Did you like your tasks?
 - b. Did you do anything differently at the community? Why?
 - c. Did you need any help from the professor?

After Community Service

11. Have you had a time when you couldn't stop thinking about an encounter in the community? If so, why did it stick to your mind?
12. What does the CSL experience mean to you?
 - a. Where did you learn these concepts/behaviors?
 - b. Has the experience influenced your career goal? If so, how and when?
 - c. Has the experience changed your perspectives on the community or society? If so, how and when?
 - d. Has the experience changed your lifestyle/behaviors? If so, how and when?
 - e. Has the experience influenced your beliefs? If so, how and when?
13. What do you think your participation means to the community you served?
14. If you could, what would you do differently in CSL? (e.g. activities related to the course?)
15. Now what do your family and friends think about your community work?
16. After that/this term, have you done / will you do any other community-helping work?

Guide for Interview with Sal and Dara (leaders of a not-for-credit CST group)

Prior Experiences

1. Could you each introduce yourself?
2. Before CSL participation, what was your career goal?
 - a. Why did you want that career?
 - b. Did you know anyone having this career?
3. Did you ever volunteer before CSL?
 - a. If so, who introduced the opportunities to you?
 - b. Why did you volunteer then?
 - c. Can you tell me about the experiences?
 - d. What did the experiences mean to you?
 - e. If never, did you know anyone who volunteered? What did they do?
What did they learn from their experiences?

Preparation for Community Service

4. How were you introduced to the CSL Program?
5. Why did you choose to take part in CSL?
6. What community did you go to?
7. How were you introduced to the community?
8. Before coming to the community for the first time, what did you think would happen?
9. How did your family and friends react when you told them you were going to the community?
10. How did you feel the day before going to the community?

During Service

11. How did you feel when you went to the community for the first time?
12. What were your thoughts at that time?
13. What did you typically do at the community?
14. What have you done differently at the community? Why?

Reflection on Service

15. How did you feel after leaving the community each time?
16. What do you know now about the community you serve?
 - a. What do you think about them/their lives?
17. Have you had a time when you couldn't help thinking about an encounter in the community? If so, why did it stick to your mind?
18. What does the CSL experience mean to you (your life and career)?
 - a. What do you mean by these meanings?
 - b. Where did you learn these concepts or behaviors?
 - c. Has the CSL experience changed you (e.g. how you might act in the future)? If so, how?
 - d. As a result of the CSL experience, what good/right deeds have you done?
19. What do you think your participation means to the community you serve?
20. If you could, what would you do differently in CSL?
21. What do your family and friends think about your community service now?
22. Do you have any community service plan after this academic term? If so, what's the plan?

Guide for Interview with 2 KYGM Leaders (CST model)

Prior Experiences

1. Could you each introduce yourself with a pseudonym?
2. Did you ever volunteer before the first field/community trip (what was it called)?
 - a. If so, who introduced the opportunities to you?
 - b. Why did you volunteer then?
 - c. Can you tell me about the experiences?
 - d. What did the experiences mean to you?
 - e. If never, did you know anyone who volunteered? What did they do?
 What did they learn from their experiences?

Preparation for First Community Trip

3. How were you introduced to the first community trip? (e.g. What community? What were you told to do?)
4. Did you have to go? What did those who couldn't go have to do?
5. Did you want to do the tasks? Why / Why not?
6. Who introduced you to the community? What did he/she tell you?
7. Before going to the community, what did you think or imagine the community to be like?
8. What did your family and friends say when you told them you were going to the community?
 - a. What did you respond?
9. How did you feel the day before going to the community?

During First Community Trip

10. How did you feel when you arrived at the community?
 - a. What were your thoughts at that time?
11. What did you do at the community?
 - a. What did you see in the community and hear from them?
12. How did you feel during the whole trip?

After First Community Trip

13. How did you feel while leaving the community?
14. What other community activities have you done?
15. What do you know now about the communities you went to? / What do you think about them/their lives?
16. Have you had a time when you couldn't help thinking about an encounter in a community? If so, why did it stick to your mind?
17. What does the community experience mean to you?
 - a. Where did you learn these concepts/behaviors?
 - b. Has the experience changed your career goal? If so, how and when?
 - c. Has the experience changed your perspectives? If so, how and when?
 - d. Has the experience changed your lifestyle/behaviors? If so, how and when?
 - e. Has the experience changed your beliefs? If so, how and when?
18. What do your family and friends think about your community work now?
19. What do you think your participation means to the communities you serve?
20. What are your upcoming community-helping activities from now?
 - a. What are your tasks this time?
 - b. If you want and could, what would you do differently?

Guide for Focus-Group Interview with 4 Experienced CST Volunteers

Prior Experiences

1. Could you each introduce yourself without giving your name?
2. Did you ever volunteer before the first field/community trip?
 - a. If so, who introduced the opportunities to you?
 - b. Why did you volunteer then?
 - c. Can you tell me about the experiences?
 - d. What did the experiences mean to you?
 - e. If never, did you know anyone who volunteered? What did they do?
What did they learn from their experiences?

Preparation for First Community Trip

3. How were you introduced to the first community trip? (e.g. What community? What were you told to do?)
4. Did you have to go? What did those who couldn't go have to do?
5. Did you want to do the tasks? Why / Why not?
6. Who introduced you to the community? What did he/she tell you?
7. Before going to the community, what did you think or imagine the community to be like?
8. What did your friends say when you told them you were going to the community? What did you respond?
9. How did you feel the day before going to the community?

During First Community Trip

10. How did you feel when you arrived at the community?
 - a. What were your thoughts at that time?
11. What did you do at the community?
12. What did you see in the community and hear from them?
 - a. How did you feel?

After First Community Trip

13. What do you think about going on the upcoming community trip?
14. What are your tasks this time?
 - a. If you want and could, what would you do differently?
 - b. Do you have any community-helping plan after this academic term? If so, what's the plan?

Guide for Follow-up Interview with 2 Experienced CST Volunteers

15. What did your family say when you told them you were going on the first community trip? What did you respond?
16. How did you feel while leaving the community?
17. What do you know now about the community you went to? / What do you think about them/their lives?
18. Have you had a time when you couldn't help thinking about an encounter in the community? If so, why did it stick to your mind?
19. What does the community experience mean to you?
 - a. Where did you learn these concepts/behaviors?
 - b. Has the experience changed your career goal? If so, how?
 - c. Has the experience changed your perspectives? If so, how?
 - d. Has the experience changed your lifestyle/behaviors? If so, how?
 - e. Has the experience changed your beliefs? If so, how?
20. What do your family and friends think about your upcoming community trip?
21. What do you think your participation means to the communities you serve?

Guide for Interview with New CST Volunteers

Prior Experiences

1. Could you introduce yourself with a pseudonym?
2. Did you ever volunteer before the community study trip?
 - a. If so, who introduced the opportunities to you?
 - b. Why did you volunteer then?
 - c. Can you tell me about the experiences?
 - d. What did the experiences mean to you?
 - e. If never, did you know anyone who volunteered? What did they do?
What did they learn from their experiences?

Preparation for Community Study Trip

3. How were you introduced to the community study trip? (e.g. What community? What were you told to do? How many days?)
4. Did you want to do the tasks? Why / Why not?
5. Who introduced you to the community? What did he/she tell you?
6. Before going to the community, what did you think or imagine the community to be like?
7. What did your family and friends say when you told them you were going to the community?
 - a. What did you respond?
8. How did you feel the day before going to the community?

During Community Study Trip

9. How did you feel when you arrived at the community?
10. What did you do at the community?
11. How did you feel during the whole time at the community?

After Community Study Trip

12. Have you had a time when you couldn't help thinking about an encounter in the community? If so, why did it stick to your mind?
13. What does the community experience mean to you?
 - a. Where did you learn these concepts/behaviors?
 - b. Has the experience changed your career goal? If so, how?
 - c. Has the experience changed your perspectives? If so, how?
 - d. Has the experience changed your lifestyle/behaviors? If so, how?
 - e. Has the experience changed your beliefs? If so, how?
14. What do your family and friends now think about the trip?
15. What do you think your participation means to the community you helped?
 - a. What do you think about their lives now after your trip?
 - b. If you want and could, what would you have done differently?
16. Do you have any community-helping plan after this academic term? If so, what's the plan?

Guide for Interviews with CSLP Faculty

1. When did you join the CSL program?
 - a. Why?
 - b. What do you think CSL is?
2. How did you introduce this term's students to CSL?
3. Do you relate the course theories with the student experiences? If so, how?
4. How often do you have students discuss their site experiences?
5. Do you discuss with students their behaviors at the site? If so, where and how?
6. What do you wish to see in the students after their CSL participation?
7. Do you share your wishes with the students? If so, how?
8. Has any of your wishes come true? Could you tell me about it?
9. What does the CSL participation mean to you?
10. What do you think the CSL experience means to your participating students?
(e.g. changes)
11. What do you think the student service means to the served community?
12. Why do you think some students continue community service after the requirement while others don't?

Guide for Interview with Khmer Studies and History Professor (CST model)

1. In what year did you begin asking students to go to communities? Where did you get the idea? What do you call this work? Why do you encourage students to do this work?
2. Could you please explain the six-item formula you told me the other day?
3. What obstacles have you encountered? (e.g. student accident)
4. What changes do you notice about students after they go to communities?
5. What does encouraging students to do community work mean to you?
6. What do you think students' community work means to the communities?

Guide for Interview with CSLP Administrator

1. When did you join the CSL Center?
 - a. Why?
 - b. What do you think CSL is?
2. When you introduced CSL to faculty, ...
 - a. what did you say the roles of the CSL Center are?
 - b. what did you say their roles are in CSL? (Do they have to relate community service with the course and require student reflections? How about classroom discussions?)
3. Do you or the APO tell faculty they can include CSL without going through your Center?
4. Do you introduce students to the CSL Program? If so, how?
5. Do you discuss students' behaviors at the site? If so, how?
6. What do you wish to see in the students after their CSL participation?
7. What does the CSL work mean to you?
8. Do you share your wishes with the students? If so, how?
9. Has any of your wishes come true? Could you tell me about it?
10. What do you think the CSL experience means to the participating students?
11. What do you think the student service means to the served communities?
12. What do you think the CSL involvement means to the participating faculty?
13. Why do you think some students continue community service after the requirement while others don't?

Guide for Interview with PUC Leader

1. Why did PUC decide to encourage students to help communities?
2. What are faculty roles if they decide to include community work in their courses?
3. How do you encourage students and faculty to help communities?
4. What do you want community-helping students to learn for their lives and careers?
5. Could you please describe a time when you knew one of your wishes had come true?

Would you like me to use your real name or a pseudonym in reporting the findings?

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GLOSSARY OF PALI AND KHMER TERMS

(Hyphens are used to separate meaningful parts of words.)

<i>achar</i>	(Khmer) elderly man who manages Buddhist rituals
<i>amisa-dana</i>	(Pali) giving material donations
<i>bap</i>	(Khmer) <i>kammic</i> demerit
<i>bodhisattva</i>	(Pali) enlightened human
<i>bon</i>	(Pali) <i>kammic</i> merit
<i>bondoh</i>	(Khmer) plant the seeds of or, less literally, cultivate
<i>borichag-tian</i>	(Khmer) combination of Pali terms <i>caga</i> and <i>dana</i>
<i>brahma-vihara</i>	(Pali) the sublime attitudes of <i>metta</i> , <i>karuna</i> , <i>mudita</i> , and <i>upekkha</i>
<i>caga</i>	(Pali) generosity; mental departure from possessions
<i>chet</i>	(Khmer = <i>citta</i> in Pali) mind; heart
<i>chuoy</i>	(Khmer) to help
<i>dana</i>	(Pali) giving of materials or non-materials to needy people
<i>devata</i>	(Pali) heaven being
<i>dhamma</i>	(Pali) advice
<i>Dhamma</i>	(Pali) Buddhist doctrine
<i>dhamma-dana</i>	(Pali) giving advice, wisdom, ideas, knowledge, or consciousness
<i>dhor</i>	(Khmer) = <i>dhamma</i> in Pali or <i>dharma</i> in Sanskrit
<i>kamma</i>	(Pali = <i>karma</i> in Sanskrit) good or bad deed leading to good or bad

	outcome in the present life or next reincarnation
<i>kammic</i>	English adjective of <i>kamma</i>
<i>kammicly</i>	English adverb of <i>kamma</i>
<i>karuna</i>	(Pali) compassion; sympathy for others' physical or mental suffering; willingness to give help; refrainment from causing harm
<i>kataññu</i>	(Pali) gratitude, especially to parents
<i>korko</i>	(Khmer) name of a soup made by stirring vegetables of various, including bitter, tastes in a pot on a burning stove
<i>kosal</i>	(Khmer = <i>kusala</i> in Pali) rid of unhappiness; meritorious
<i>metta</i>	(Pali) goodwill; loving-kindness; the wish for others' well-being; friendly disposition toward others
<i>mudita</i>	(Pali) empathetic joy; joy for others' happiness or success without envy
<i>niak cheh deng</i>	(Khmer) person(s) with knowledge and social awareness
<i>niraya</i>	(Pali) hell for temporary torture
<i>norook</i>	(Khmer) = <i>niraya</i> in Pali
<i>pañca-sila</i>	(Pali) the five precepts for laypeople: not to kill any creature, take what is not given, commit sensual misconduct, speak untruthfully and inappropriately, and consume intoxicants
<i>pañña</i>	(Pali) wisdom
<i>pañña-want</i>	(Khmer) wise person(s); scholar(s)
<i>pret</i>	(Khmer = <i>peta</i> in Pali or <i>preta</i> in Sanskrit) starving soul having breached <i>sila</i> precepts in the human lifetime

<i>prum-vihear-dhor</i>	(Khmer) = <i>brahma-vihara</i> in Pali
<i>saddha</i>	(Pali) faith in the Buddha
<i>samakee</i>	(Khmer) solidarity
<i>sampeah</i>	(Khmer) to press one's own palms as a gesture of greeting or respect
<i>samsara</i>	(Pali) cycle of rebirth and death
<i>sangha</i>	(Pali) community of monastics
<i>sangkum</i>	(Khmer) society
<i>sela-dhor</i>	(Khmer) morality
<i>sila</i>	(Pali) (virtue obtained by adherence to) one of the five ethical codes: 5 or 8 moral training precepts for laypeople, 10 precepts for novice monks and nuns, 227 monastic rules for fully-ordained monks, and 311 rules for fully-ordained nuns
<i>so-jiva-dhor</i>	(Khmer) advice for good living
<i>somlor</i>	(Khmer) soup
<i>sutta</i>	(Pali) the Buddha's or his disciple's sermon or discourse
<i>tik-chet</i>	(Khmer) heart of (unobligated) kindness
<i>twer bon</i>	(Khmer) perform <i>kammic</i> merit making/transferring ritual with monks
<i>twer dana</i>	(Khmer) give something to very poor people
<i>upekkha</i>	(Pali) equanimity that provides mental and emotional balance to <i>karuna</i> , <i>metta</i> , and <i>mudita</i> ; avoidance of biases tempted by love, hatred, ignorance, or fear

wat

(Khmer) Khmer Buddhist monastery

VITA

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