“They only followed Orders”

Promoting an Inclusive Group Identity in Cambodia through Genocide Education?

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Abstract

Whereas reconciliation in Cambodia has mostly received academic attention in terms of analyzing state-institutions, this thesis explores the role of civil society actors. Of particular interest is the impact, grass-root efforts can have on promoting an inclusive group identity through educational means. This will be researched through the analysis of attitudes towards elements of an inclusive group identity held by pre-service teachers, who were interviewed before and after they took part in a so-called genocide education workshop organized by the Documentation Center of Cambodia. These attitudes will be examined in terms of their justifications, and if the workshop influenced their quantity as well as quality. In addition, by taking into account justifications of attitudes supporting an inclusive group identity, three common denominators will be identified that can help strengthening the impact of future educational efforts within the framework of reconciliation. Of particular interest in this regard will be the finding highlighting the relation of functionalist perception of perpetrators that proofed to be supportive of the interviewees’ acceptance of an inclusive group identity.
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Chapter One: Introduction and Background

While sitting on my balcony in Phnom Penh accompanied by a close Khmer friend of mine, I asked him the same questions concerning Khmer Rouge cadres as I did before while conducting interviews with pre-service teachers in the Eastern Cambodian city of Krong Prey Veng. “I think they were under control; they were forced to be evil” he replied when I asked him to describe the cadres’ motivation to kill and torture their victims in his own words. After a short break, he continued: “They are not evil people anymore, everything has changed, and the past is in the past. I don’t hold a grudge against them anymore, even though it is an inhuman thing to kill your own people”. During this evening, he was unaware that his words were able to predict accurately the course of the following thesis.

Khmer Rouge cadres were at the forefront of the extreme violence perpetrated against the Cambodian population between 1975 and 1979 in the newly-proclaimed nation of Democratic Kampuchea. Commanded by the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), a small clandestine group gathered around their infamous leader Saloth Sâr (also known as Brother Number One or Pol Pot), Khmer Rouge cadres were utilized for internal order and external aggression. They controlled farming collectives and security prisons spread across Democratic Kampuchea, and fought against antagonized neighboring countries, particularly Vietnam. Following the mantra of “better to arrest ten innocent people by mistake than free a single guilty party” (Locard and Chandler 2004, p. 209) Khmer Rouge cadres became notorious for violently punishing, torturing, and executing everyone who was seen as an internal enemy of the revolution (Chandler 2000). However, due to the paranoid nature of the CPK, even cadres could fall victim to the regime when individuals were identified as internal enemies. In two large scale purges (Kiernan 2008), they themselves were victimized by the CPK in an attempt to free the revolution from the ugly germs as described by Pol Pot in December 1976: “In the Party, the army, and among the people we can locate the ugly germs. They will be pushed out by the true nature of the socialist revolution” (Chandler 2000, p. 44).

The former Khmer Rouge cadres being perpetrators and victims simultaneously sparks interest in how the country now deals with this ambivalence in its strive towards reconciliation. According to Manning, reconciliation in Cambodia is heavily determined by the “denunciation of the Khmer Rouge leadership as a starting point and premise”, which leads to an incentive through which “scholarship and advocacy on Cambodia often locate lower-level KR [cadres] as victims of the regime” (Manning 2015, p. 386). This framing of reconciliation stems from
the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) and its focus on high-level figures of the Khmer Rouge. While it famously tried Brother Number Two and Deputy Secretary of Democratic Kampuchea, Nuon Chea, and the director of S-21, Kaing Guek Eav (alias Duch), former Khmer Rouge cadres were not legally punished (Manning 2015). This apparent development to perceive perpetrators as victims poses questions regarding the function of inclusivity within Cambodia's reconciliation process. If Khmer Rouge cadres are perceived in inclusive terms based on their victimization to which theoretical concepts does inclusivity generally relate then? What are possible interventions that are able to promote more inclusive attitudes towards former Khmer Rouge cadres?

Inclusivity is here understood as pertaining to social psychological subjects of interests, particularly the framework of group identity. As will be determined in the theoretical section of this thesis, reconciliation based on group identity transformation is able to address root causes of mass violence. In this regard, not only collective victimhood beliefs as previously described are of relevance but other elements of an inclusive group identity as well. These are namely a common in-group identity, inclusive ideology, humanization and the willingness to contact and forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres. Of importance are reconciliatory interventions that could be able to promote these elements. Therefore, this thesis will examine attitudes held by participants of a genocide education workshop organized by one Cambodian non-governmental organization (NGO). Among other efforts, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) established a genocide education project in 2007, which aims for the incorporation and active implementation of Khmer Rouge history into the national curriculum. The NGO published a history textbook and a teaching guide that are used to organize educational workshops for pre-service and active teachers. Since then, more than 3000\(^1\) pre-service and already practicing teachers were taught about Khmer Rouge history and methodologies that can help them integrating it in their work in high schools. As DC-Cam provides information on how and to what extent Khmer Rouge history should be conveyed to Cambodian students, their genocide education workshops presents an opportunity to research reconciliatory education's impact on inclusive perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres.

\(^1\) This number stems from an interview conducted with the coordinator of the genocide education project, Pheng Pong-Rasy, during the first field research in November 2017.
1.1 Research Problems and Aims

Whereas reconciliation in Cambodia has mostly received academic attention analyzing state-institutions like the ECCC (Barria and Roper 2005; Manning 2015), this thesis explores the impact of civil society actors. Of particular interest is the impact grass-root efforts can have on promoting an inclusive group identity through an educational intervention. This will be examined through analysis of attitudes towards elements of an inclusive group identity held by pre-service teachers before and after they took part in a genocide education workshop organized by the Documentation Center of Cambodia.

Reconciliation can be academically addressed from various perspectives, mostly found within the fields of political science, religious studies and social psychology. Addressing this, Lederach transcribed a conversation he overheard between two siblings, who argued about what perspective is more suitable to approach the subject of reconciliation. On one side, there was the older brother who, being a political science professional saw himself as needing to address the “hard politics of the real world”, due to the assumption that “touchy-feely is good for the glee club, but it holds no answers for the big time. We are dealing with hard gangsters out there” (Lederach 1997, p. 24). On the other side, the younger sister, being trained in social psychology, perceived her brother as being “locked into power paradigms and unable to reach the root of problems in creative ways” (Lederach 1997, p. 24). This thesis undoubtedly perceives reconciliation in a manner similar to what the younger sister proclaimed. It is of a social psychological nature, since it is concerned with the reconciliation of an exclusive group identity that is assumed to be the root cause of mass violence.

In particular, as mentioned already, this thesis analyzes the attitudes towards elements of an inclusive group identity held by pre-service teachers before and after they took part in a genocide education workshop. They will be examined in terms of their justifications, and the ways in which the impact of the workshop does (or does not) becomes apparent. This approach is intended to fulfill both empirical and theoretical lacunas. Firstly, it offers the opportunity to study empirically reconciliation in Cambodia regarding the impact civil society’s educational interventions can have. Instead of focusing national institutions like the ECCC, this thesis focuses on grass-roots interventions, which are often under-represented well researched in research concerning reconciliation in Cambodia. Secondly, this research can further the theoretical understanding of how and to what extent reconciliatory education can promote an inclusive group identity. Education as a mean to promote reconciliation is in terms of its
function to change attitudes of people by providing alternative narratives about former hostile groups or peaceful behavior among them. However, its possible impact on promoting an inclusive group identity is not majorly assessed in academia, even though the function of group identity often receives attention. Finally, it offers recommendations based on the examination’s findings to further strengthen the impact future genocide education workshops can have on the promotions of an inclusive group identity.

1.2 Disposition

In the following section, the historical implications of the Khmer Rouge rule and processes meant to help the country deal with its violent past will be briefly introduced. Furthermore, Cambodia's contemporary reconciliatory efforts will be illustrated. Of particular interest will be the development of civil society's reconciliatory approaches, above of all DC-Cam's genocide education project. Before proceeding to Chapter Two, the terminology utilized in this thesis will be briefly elaborated.

In Chapter Two, an overview of previous research on reconciliation in Cambodia will be provided. Attention will also be paid to academic work on the function of an inclusive group identity in international reconciliation efforts after instances of mass violence. Then, it will be proceeded to illustrate the theoretical framework utilized in this thesis. Of interest will be the development and legacy of an exclusive group identity and reasons why promoting an inclusive group identity through peace education can be benefitting to reconciliation. The theoretical framework then will lead to the formulation of research questions that will guide the analysis of this thesis. Finally, Chapter Two will be completed by elaborating on methodological aspects with particular attention to the relevance of attitudes and their justification when aiming to understand people’s beliefs concerning an inclusive group identity. Additionally, it will be illustrated how attitudes were gathered from pre-service teachers of one genocide education workshop by utilizing semi-structured interviews.

In the following Chapter Three, the theoretical and methodological framework will then be utilized to examine attitudes towards an inclusive group identity expressed by pre-service teachers before and after they took part in the workshop. Particular attention will be paid to the pre-service teachers’ reasoning to justify their attitudes. Furthermore, the examination's findings will be used to identify common denominators among justifications of inclusive attitudes. Conclusively, it will be examined how the workshop influenced their attitudes as well
as their justifications before summing up the thesis through recommendations intended to strengthen in the impact of future genocide education workshops on promoting an inclusive group identity. Finally, it will be elaborated on emerging lacunae that could be filled by upcoming research.

1.3 Background

“I first asked the enemy about his life and associations. [...] I told him that his body, tied up with fetters and handcuffs, was worth less than garbage. I had him pay respect to me. I told him that if I asked him to say a single word to me, he had to say it. [...] I beat him and interrogated him until he said that he had once been CIA. After I beat him some more, he admitted that he had joined the CIA in 1969.” (Chandler 2000, p. 111)

- Khmer Rouge cadre who worked as an interrogator at the S-21 prison in Phnom Penh

The Khmer Rouge left a country and its population in shatters, which the Khmer people are still tackling today. Ronnie Yimsut was 13 years old when he and his family were forcibly removed from their house in Phnom Penh. In 2011 he wrote about his personal experience in Democratic Kampuchea and life in Cambodia afterwards, concluding with the following assertion: “Will the Khmer people find justice for their dead? I have my doubts, but I am also hopeful at the same time. For hope is all that I have got” (Yimsut et al. 2011).

His hope seems surprising and admirable at the same time, given the disastrous legacy left behind by the Khmer Rouge. Unthinkable numbers of innocent people died due to malnutrition, severe forced labor and deliberate ideological targeting. Kiernan offers an estimation of the Khmer Rouge’s victim count, stating that roughly 1,671,000 people perished between 1975 and 1979 (Kiernan 2008, p. 458). This includes the total destruction of the Vietnamese minority of 10,000 people as well as nearly half of the Muslim Cham minority, whose destruction was declared a genocide by the ECCC in 2018 (The Guardian 2018). Given that Cambodia at that time totalled 7,890,000 people, the Khmer Rouge are therefore responsible for the annihilation of more than a fifth of the population (Kiernan 2008, p. 458). This disastrous extent of violence poses the question of how the Khmer Rouge identified their enemies. As Chandler describes: “Democratic Kampuchea divided its enemies, as Stalin and Mao had done, into those outside and those within the country” (Chandler 2000, p. 42). Both defined enemies merged together in the Khmer Rouge's myth of internal spies associated with the CIA, KGB or Vietnam tasked with destroying the revolution from within. Democratic Kampuchea was defined by extreme
violence against those perceived as anti-revolutionists who were seen as betraying Angkar (the Organization), which is used as a term by the Khmer Rouge leadership to refer to themselves. Paranoiaically, each person was closely observed in order to identify any possible behavior that were thought to indicate a betrayal of the revolution or an association with foreign intelligence services (Chandler 2000; Kiernan 2008).

In 1978 Nuon Chea formulated this perceived struggle against spies within own ranks to sympathetic Danish visitors: “It is [...] widely known that the USA planned to seize power from us six months after liberation. The plan involved joint action on the part of the USA, the KGB and Vietnam. There was to be a combined struggle from inside and outside. But we smashed the plan” (Chandler 2000, p. 42). Smashing is to be taken literally and metaphorically here. Firstly, it meant torturous interrogation and later execution of thousands of people in security prisons spread across the country. Metaphorically, smashing went far deeper than torturing and executing people who were perceived as internal enemies. Inspired by Mao Zedong and Josef Stalin, Pol Pot was determined not only to exterminate people for their behavior but also for their thoughts that were believed to be treacherous for the revolution. According to Chandler, a Cambodian writer published in CPK's political journal Tung Padevat that “We must rid each Party member, each cadre of everything that is of the oppressor class, of private property, stance, view, sentiment, custom, culture which exists in ourselves, no matter how much or how little” (Chandler 2000, p. 44).

The Khmer Rouge's rule over Cambodia came to an end in 1979 when “one hundred fifty thousand Vietnamese troops and fifteen thousand Cambodian insurgents stormed across the border” (Kiernan 2008, p. 450) and soon took over Phnom Penh. However, as John D. Ciorciari states: “the government that replaced Pol Pot did not have the luxury of building reconciliation on a foundation of peace” (Ciorciari 2011, p. 439). Clandestinely based in the mountainous western region of Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge fought a civil war against the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, which lasted till the death of Pol Pot in 1998. It seems understandable that national reconciliation is hard to strive for when political interests intervene in the establishment of truth, justice, and accountability during a civil war against the very people who had caused such tremendous harm. This context also explains that the People’s Republic of Kampuchea’s first and only approach to a transitional justice court in 1979, the People’s Revolutionary Tribunal, can barely be understood as an act of national reconciliation. In it, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were convicted for the crime of genocide in absentia (Ciorciari 2011, p. 439), which did not lead to any arrest or trial. However, after the civil war ended and Hun Sen's Cambodian
People’s Party (CPP) won the national election in 1998, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia were established in 2003. It represents the first hybrid transitional justice court at this time since its chambers consist of international as well as Khmer elements (ECCC 2017). According to Ciorciari, one reason to locate the court in Cambodia and not in Den Hague, for instance, was the following: “Well-run trials, energetic outreach, and associated civil society efforts can boost public understanding of the Cambodian tragedy and provide a sense that at least some justice is being done. The ECCC’s in-country setting facilitates connections with the public that would be impossible for trials in The Hague” (Ciorciari 2011, p. 443). Stemming from this development, the ECCC also gave the first impetus for DC-Cam to consider creating an educational project to further the understanding of Khmer Rouge history (Khamboly Dy 2015, p. 189).

Since its establishment in 1997, DC-Cam has been on the forefront of civil society's efforts to promote national reconciliation. Beginning its work as an archive for documents related to Democratic Kampuchea and the rule of the Khmer Rouge, DC-Cam widened its range of projects extensively. Today, DC-Cam's work is fourfold: documentation, research, outreach, and education. The latter is the culmination, since education is utilized as a means to convey researched knowledge based on documentary evidence to the public. More precisely, DC-Cam’s genocide education project aims to instruct active and pre-service teachers, especially in provincial areas, about what and how to teach about the Khmer Rouge period. The subject of a comprehensive education about the Khmer Rouge period was urgent since, according to Khamboly Dy, “by the early 2000s, the issue of genocide education in formal schools remained largely marginalized” (Khamboly Dy 2015, p. 191).

The genocide education project is mainly based on multiple-day workshops in provincial schools with teachers and draws its content from two books published by DC-Cam itself: A Teacher’s Guideline Book, which is used as a teaching tool for the related student textbook A History of Democratic Kampuchea. The Teacher’s Guideline Book was used by the pre-service teacher interviewed in this thesis and was written by Khamboly Dy, a researcher at the State University of New Jersey and former coordinator of the genocide education project at DC-Cam. It is based mainly on information that were gathered by DC-Cam and transcribed in numerous documents from DC-Cam’s archive. These documents are mainly interviews, photographs and mapping-data that are meant to offer teachers and students a gate to the Khmer Rouge period (Documentation Center of Cambodia 2017a, 2017c). In cooperation with the Royal Ministry of Education in Cambodia, DC-Cam seeks to “enhance the capabilities of teachers and the
Ministry of Education to convey the regime’s history through the provision of ideas, materials, recommendations on curricula, a short text on Democratic Kampuchea, and a collection of survivors’ stories” (Documentation Center of Cambodia 2017b). Former Khmer Rouge cadres are included in the genocide education workshops, both through interviews and written explanations about their motivations and personal experiences. In case of the workshop observed during the research for this thesis, one former Khmer Rouge cadre was invited to speak to the pre-service teachers about his experiences in Democratic Kampuchea.

It can be conclusively stated that national reconciliation did receive impactful attention during the decades following the Khmer Rouge’s loss of control over Cambodia. The foundation of the ECCC in 2003 represents the first major institutionalized national reconciliation approach and served as an impetus to civil society. Within this context, one example of a civil society project is DC-Cam's genocide education project, which aims to distribute teaching material to currently active and pre-service teachers and instruct them in how to convey Khmer Rouge history to their students. The relevance of this undertaking is elaborated by DC-Cam itself: “with the passage of time, both the leaders of the Khmer Rouge and its victims are growing older. Without a concerted effort, students of this and future generations may know little–if anything–about the history of Democratic Kampuchea” (Documentation Center of Cambodia 2017b).

1.4 Terminology

This thesis uses the word mass violence instead of genocide since its definitional foundation is based on the United Nations Genocide Convention and Christian Gerlach’s theoretical framework. Abstaining from labeling the tremendous violence perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge against its own population as genocide harbors the possibility to be perceived as diminishing the painful past of many millions of Khmer people. However, this is doubtlessly not intended.

The United Nations Genocide Convention defines that genocide is “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” (UN General Assembly 1948). However, the majority of victims in Democratic Kampuchea were identified politically based on their socioeconomic background (base people or city dwellers), which are no part of the listed groups in the Genocide Convention. This for example lead to very limited genocide charges in the ECCC since the only incidents of violence labeled as genocide were the destruction of ethnic, national and religious group like the Muslim
Cham or Vietnamese minority. Following this, the Khmer Rouge's persecution of Khmer people does not constitute genocide even though “many international Human Rights authorities, including the United Nations General Assembly talked about the “Cambodian genocide” to designate the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge” (Vianney-Liaud 2014).

In order to avoid terminology, which could be perceived as controversial from a definitional perspective, this thesis uses the term mass violence when referring to any incident of violence in Democratic Kampuchea. According to Gerlach, mass violence means “widespread physical violence against non-combatants, which is, outside of immediate fighting between military or paramilitary personnel. Mass violence includes killings, but also forced removal or expulsion, enforced hunger or undersupply, forced labor, collective rape, strategic bombing, and excessive imprisonment” (Gerlach 2010, p. 1). By overcoming the listing of possible groups that could be targeted, this definition offers the opportunity to be utilized regarding any form of violence the Khmer Rouge perpetrated.
Chapter Two: Theory and Methodology

This chapter will elaborate on previous research pertaining to reconciliation in Cambodia, with particular attention to the role of civil society. Furthermore, academic examinations addressing the promotion of an inclusive group identity in international contexts of reconciliation will be presented. The second section of this chapter will discuss the theoretical implications of group identity on mass violence, as well as on the reconciliation thereof. Here, the five elements of an inclusive group identity will be identified, which will guide the empirical analysis in Chapter Three. Additionally, it will be discussed why and how peace education should be perceived as a possible mean to promote an inclusive group identity. This chapter will be finalized by presenting the methodology of this thesis, which encompasses the function of attitudes and their justifications as well as the utilization of semi-structured interviews to gather them.

2.1 Research Overview

Reconciliation in Cambodia has predominantly been researched in reference to the ECCC. However, this often leads to marginalizing the possible impact civil society actors can have. Furthermore, academia pays great attention to reconciliation in relation to achieving justice, but overlooks efforts that have the possibility of addressing root-causes of mass violence by promoting an inclusive group identity. This section will therefore illustrate previous research on reconciliation in Cambodia and international cases, which takes into account elements of an inclusive group identity.

The academic interest in the ECCC emerged from the fact that the Cambodian tribunal is the first of only four hybrid criminal courts world-wide (Timor-Leste, Sierra Leone, and Lebanon being the other three) that includes both domestic and international elements (Fichtelberg 2015). Due to this exploratory approach of the Cambodian government in cooperation with the United Nations, exceptional attention has been paid to the analysis of how convicting leading figures of the Khmer Rouge can impact perceptions of justice in Cambodia (Hinton 2018; Fawthrop and Jarvis 2010; Menzel 2007). When reconciliation in Cambodia is addressed, it is frequently connected to the presence of the ECCC and its contemporary activities including outreach campaigns, or the court's function as a symbol of achieving justice (Barria and Roper 2005; Manning 2012). However, this connecting of justice and reconciliation on a national level by focusing on the conviction of leading figures has habitually overlooked grassroots efforts addressing former Khmer Rouge cadres and the communities they live in. An exception to this
is the work of Sperfeldt et al., who researched attitudes towards former cadres expressed by civil parties participating in the ECCC as an effort to analyze the impact of the tribunal on local communities (Sperfeldt et al. 2016). Interestingly, Sperfeldt et al. examine attitudes towards elements of an inclusive group identity by asking questions regarding cooperation or inclusive behavior. They do not, however, focus on Khmer people who were not a civil party at the ECCC, hence it could also be argued that it still supports the claim that national reconciliation in Cambodia is most of all related to the ECCC. Another example of attitude research in regard to the ECCC is related to feelings of justice with hindsight of possible influences by post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Sonis et al. interviewed adult Cambodians diagnosed with PTSD in terms of their attitudes towards justice and revenge when being informed about proceedings of the ECCC (Sonis et al. 2009). Their findings highlight that traumatic disorders can influence exclusive attitudes to a large extent, which is relevant when organizing outreach campaigns of the national reconciliation institution. This focus on the ECCC poses the following question: To what degree does research provide any understanding of civil society actors within the context of reconciliation in Cambodia?

Civil society re-emerged rather recently, when the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia was established in 1991, which also sparked academic interest in its influence on reconciliation within the context of peace-building (Downie and Kingsbury 2001). This is where Gellman’s research can be located, who examined the role of a Cambodian NGOs in local peace-building initiatives (Gellman 2008). According to her, this research is relevant since it “inquires into the interrelationship between national reconciliation processes and grassroots peace-building in the form of conflict resolution trainings” (Gellman 2008, p. 37). Similar to this, Jörn Dosch researched local civil society in relation to its Buddhist foundations and to how donor-driven peace-building is often determined by international funding, which comes with the influence of mostly Western perceptions of transitional justice (Dosch 2012). Just recently, Hinton takes this Western influence into account by stating that only “traditional ceremony, ritual, and unmediated dialogue can provide true healing” (Hinton 2018, p. 1). He also emphasizes the impact local NGOs can have on reconciliation in Cambodia due to their ability to relate directly to the population (Hinton 2018).

Ciorciari and Heindel bridges research on peace-building and reconciliation by emphasizing the symbiotic nature of national and grass-root approaches: “Macro-level peace, stability, and accountability can provide enabling conditions for individuals to heal […] and begin to rebuild relations with erstwhile adversaries. Micro-level healing can lay the necessary social foundation
for sustained progress” (Ciorciari and Heindel 2014, p. 438). Additionally, local voices on reconciliation were illustrated by McGrew. Interviewing local community members, she concluded that reconciliation in Cambodia “is the absolute minimal one, which is to live on without killing each other [...]” (McGrew 2011, p. 516). In order to reach what she calls “deep reconciliation” (McGrew 2011, p. 515), she urges the importance of NGOs and education. Civil society, in her opinion, offers the possibility to educate the young Khmer generation about Democratic Kampuchea and motivate them to think about means to reconcile. As a productive point of origin for this effort, she proposes “rebuilding Cambodians’ lost and damaged sense of identity and belonging” (McGrew 2011, p. 518). By linking national reconciliation to Cambodia’s civil society, her work advocates for further research about the impact genocide education can have on national reconciliation. The role of genocide education organized by civil society is only addressed by Dy. Due to his former position as the coordinator of DC-Cam’s genocide education project, he examined extensively the country’s progress in terms of educational reconciliation approaches (Khamboly Dy 2015). Furthermore, he contextualizes genocide education in Cambodia by relating it to other instances of educational interventions like Rwanda or South Africa. His work is of particular interest for this thesis as it helps understanding the conceptual and theoretical framework of genocide education in Cambodia as well as how it is supposed to transfer historical knowledge about the Khmer Rouge to upcoming generations.

Nevertheless, research in this area has not examined concerning possible educational impact on the promotion of an inclusive group identity. Can such a focus be found regarding international instances of reconciliation in other countries? Lopez et al. researched attitudes concerning inclusiveness towards perpetrators in Columbia within the context of reconciliation (López et al. 2018). They perceive group identity as a relevant subject of reconciliation by highlighting that inclusive attitudes towards perpetrators do influence non-combatants’ willingness to forgive them. In another case, Shnabel et al. focused on inclusive-victimhood beliefs and their role in facilitating reconciliation in Israel and Palestine (Shnabel et al. 2013). Their findings were an impetus for this thesis approach since they claimed that “Jews' and Palestinians' engagement in competitive victimhood blocks them from experiencing empathy [it] makes them worry that acknowledging and identifying with the outgroup's suffering would undermine their own victim status” (Shnabel et al. 2013, p. 876). Following this, their results were the foundation of this thesis’ theoretical framework, as it highlighted the relevance of collective victimhood beliefs. Another international perspective on inclusive group identity's function within the framework of reconciliation was provided by Vollhardt and Bilali. They conducted
surveys in Rwanda, Burundi, and Eastern DRC (Vollhardt and Bilali 2015) regarding the influence of collective victimhood beliefs on peaceful relations between hostile populations. In their conclusion it is claimed that collective victimhood beliefs are a “novel and understudied phenomenon […], which has the potential to inform efforts aimed at promoting positive intergroup relations in the aftermath of mass violence and intergroup conflict’ (Vollhardt and Bilali 2015, p. 504). Comprehensive research on the possible impact of education within this context is provided by Bentrovato. She examined the case of Rwanda in hindsight to the role of grass-root educational efforts in a country, which’s reconciliation process is authoritatively sanctioned by the state (Bentrovato 2017). This perspective is relevant to take into consideration in regard to Cambodia since similar tendencies, even though not as radical as in Rwanda, become tangible (O’Neill 2017).

It can be conclusively stated that research on reconciliation in Cambodia is overwhelmingly connected to the ECCC. When a perspective on Cambodia's civil society is provided, it often focuses on peace-building approaches or locates it in relation to ECCC. However, extensive research on educational approaches in Cambodia has been conducted by Dy, who embedded the genocide education project of DC-Cam into a wider conceptual framework. The role of an inclusive group identity has not received attention in research on Cambodia, though it has in other international instances. Processes of reconciliation are particularly researched in terms of the role of an inclusive group identity in Israel/Palestine as well as East African countries.

2.2 Theory

“Genocide does not burst out unannounced; it is preceded and prepared by identity conflict that escalates from social friction to contentious politics, from politics to violence, and eventually to targeted mass killing” (Zartman and Anstey, p. 3).

An exclusive group identity is considered being among the root causes of mass violence (Zartman and Anstey; Staub 2012b; Posen 1993; Kelman 2008). Perceiving one's in-group identity existentially threatened by an out-group furthers its dehumanization (Bandura 1999; Kelman 1973) and motivates as well as legitimates its targeted destruction (Staub 2011). To overcome the legacy of an exclusive group identity, manifested through trauma (Münyas 2008; Alexander 2004), is the desired social psychological process and outcome of inter-group reconciliation since “[when reconciled] former enemies come to reassess the hostile perceptions and negative beliefs they once held about one another and […] create a more positive system of
relationships governing their interactions” (Aiken 2013, p. 4). The following subsection will elaborate on the development as well as legacy of an exclusive group identity and how an inclusive group identity can contribute to reconciliation. Within this context, five elements of an inclusive group identity will be discussed. Finally, it will be explored why and how peace education can be utilized to promote them.

2.2.1 Exclusive Group Identity: Development, Legacy, and Reconciliation

Group identities are not set in stone, but are mere social creations and therefore are subject to human altercations. Following this, a group identity can be transformed towards being more exclusive or inclusive (Elcheroth and Reicher 2017, 2017, p. 94). Examining this transformability of group identities in regard to its function during periods of mass violence, its long-term legacy and possible reconciliation is the aim of this subsection. How can a group identity become exclusive? In what ways can this exclusiveness be transmitted to upcoming generations and how does this impact reconciliation processes after incidents of mass violence?

Individuals identify themselves as being part of a group since group identity shelters “basic human needs” (Staub 2011, p. 101) by differentiating us from them (Tajfel and Turner 1986). According to Tajfel and Turner groups “strive to achieve or maintain a positive social identity”, while the “in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups” (Tajfel and Turner 1986, p. 284). When their “social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct” (Tajfel and Turner 1986, p. 284). Deriving from these implications is the tendency of groups’ to identify themselves in terms of us and them. A positive in-group is based on the identification of out-groups that are perceived as less positive and therefore distinct from the in-group. However, a group identity is transformable towards a more exclusive nature, in which these basic human needs are sustained through an essential exclusion of them rather than a mere differentiation.

Identifying a group as them in order to define us does not instigate mass violence in and of itself. After all, identity groups are able to coexist peacefully; they can be supportive and cooperative towards each other and co-exist without the occurrence of mass violence. Indeed, most identity groups have not resorted and do not resort to mass violence against people they perceive as them. However, when a group’s self-identification does not consist of the acknowledgment of a different them but rather of its exclusive perception as an existential threat, group identity can become a root cause of mass violence (Staub 2012b, p. 828). Such an
exclusive group identity motivates and legitimates the use of mass violence since a group sees its basic human needs threatened by the existence and expected actions of the out-group. As Zartman and Anstey state: “genocide does not burst out unannounced; it is preceded and prepared by identity conflict” (Zartman and Anstey, p. 3). Describing a *slippery slope* that leads to genocide they assert that perpetrators “feel themselves targeted, ultimately for extinction, by another identity group whom they feel must be defeated and ultimately exterminated, and so, in a security dilemma, they themselves target the perceived threateners for extinction” (Zartman and Anstey, p. 3). In other words, a group identity is transformed towards a more exclusive nature by the perpetrators` identification of possible threats anchored in *them*. This exclusive group identity then leads to an existential struggle of the in-group against an out-group that is perceived to be threatening the basic human needs covered by the in-group’s identity.

A noticeable example of this transformation process is Democratic Kampuchea. The Khmer Rouge identified existential threats within their in-group and proceeded to transform identity boundaries in order to identify an out-group as announced by Pol Pot: “counterrevolutionary elements which betray and try to sabotage the revolution, are not to be regarded as our people” (Chandler 2000, p. 118). In this case, *making the group more positively distinct* included the destruction of parts of the former in-group, newly defined as an out-group. Zartman and Anstey describe this process more generally: “Once a group declares its own identity boundaries, it pushes others into identity groups (especially if they feel threatened)” (Zartman and Anstey, p. 8). The newly defined in-group faces a security threat and is “suddenly compelled to provide its own protection [by asking] the following questions about any neighboring group: is it a threat? How much of a threat? Will the threat grow or diminish over time? Is there anything that must be done immediately?” (Posen 1993, p. 27). *Anything to be done* ultimately meant arrest, torture and execution of thousands in the case of Democratic Kampuchea.

Given the massive extent of viciousness, an exclusive group identity does not abruptly discontinue when mass violence recedes. This also accounts on how exclusive or inclusive perpetrators are perceived. As addressed by Münyas, horrifying and violent stories stemming from survivors` trauma are being shared in contemporary Cambodian households and essentially reinforce exclusive perception of former Khmer Rouge cadres: “When asked ‘what comes to your mind when you hear the words Khmer Rouge?’ many [Cambodian youths] replied ‘killing,’ ‘violence,’ ‘merciless,’ ‘black heart,’ ‘cruel’ Cambodians who killed their own nation.’ For many youths in the study, the Khmer Rouge are like fictive characters who occupy certain roles in a collection of horror stories they hear” (Münyas 2008, p. 417). Another
A perspective on trauma in Cambodia is provided by Taylor, who states that “In Cambodia itself, survivors and their descendants face the onus of living in proximity to those who killed their family members” (Taylor 2017, p. 139). According to him, this poses additional burdens to reconciliatory efforts since “many of the young want to learn about their parents’ experiences and their former land, but encounter either silence or the vision of a place […] that no longer exists” (Taylor 2017, p. 139). How do these traumatic experiences relate to intergenerational transmission of an exclusive group identity? Firstly, it should be mentioned, that facing silence while still living in proximity to perpetrators are circumstances that are able to inhibit reconciliatory progress. Meaningful contact and other forms of inclusive behavior seems difficult to initiate when past traumatic experiences cannot be addressed. Secondly, Mohamed highlights that dehumanizing perceptions of perpetrators are common after the violence they participated in recedes. She claims that dehumanization are based on “expectation that perpetrators are monsters, incapable of the same humanity as the people they have attacked” (Mohamed 2015, p. 1210). How can this legacy of an exclusive group identity be addressed in inter-group reconciliation?

Kelman describes reconciliation as “a process as well as an outcome” (Kelman 2008, p. 17), which is defined by how former hostile group “think about each other, feel about each other, and act toward one another, as they learn to live together” (Kelman 2008, p. 16). In his words, this relates to the acceptance of the out-group's influence in order to “maintain the congruence of one's own value system”, which he defines as “internalization” (Kelman 2008, pp. 19–20). In order to facilitate an internalization of the former out-group, the in-group has to cease with “the negation and exclusion of the [out-group] from one's own identity” (Kelman 2008, p. 27). Reconciliation is therefore the process and outcome of perceiving a former out-group inclusively by removing its negation as substantial to the in-group’s identity.

As desirable as an inclusive group identity is, the Social Identity Theory highlights challenges that come with its realization. As Tajfel and Turner describe, individuals “strive to achieve or maintain a positive social identity” (Tajfel und Turner 1986, S. 284), while the “in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups” (Tajfel und Turner 1986, S. 284). Accepting former violent and presumably immoral perpetrators as being inclusive of one’s group identity threatens the positive differentiation of one’s in-group. The formerly victimized group faces an identity dilemma: how to accept an out-group as being part of one’s in-group (and therefore in congruence with one’s own value system) when this group showed itself as being violent and existentially threatening? Kelman recognized a possible
solution to this dilemma. He determines that group identity transformation primarily needs to revolves around “the removal of the negation of the other as a central component of one's own identity” (Kelman 2008, p. 25). In other words, group identity transformation does not threaten the in-group’s value system when attitudes towards perpetrators are transformed as well. A possible devaluation by perceiving perpetrators as part of one’s ingroup can be avoided when they are not perceived as the negation of oneself. Kelman, however, fairly states that this transformation of attitudes is “far from trivial for parties engaged in an existential identity conflict, while at the same time preserving, even strengthening, the of their identity” (Kelman 2008, p. 26).

### 2.2.2 Elements of an Inclusive Group Identity

In the following, social psychological models and theoretical frameworks addressing elements of an inclusive group identity presented and discussed. If possible, relations to the Cambodian context of this thesis will be highlighted in order to underline possibilities to research attitudes towards them held by the pre-service teachers who were interviewed. The aim is to concretize five elements of an inclusive group identity, which will later on constitute the analytical framework of this thesis.

**Common In-Group Identity**

The common in-group identity model was introduced by Gaertner et al. as a “means of reducing intergroup bias” (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 1), which derived from Allport's theoretical assertions concerning *recategorization* of in-group membership (Allport 1979). Paralleling to Kelman's *internationalization of the out-group*, the model derives from the notion that “intergroup bias and conflict can be reduced by factors that transform members’ cognitive representation of the membership from two groups to one group” (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 2). By perceiving the out-group in inclusive terms it is possible to “enable some of the cognitive and motivational processes that may contribute initially to intergroup bias and conflict to be redirected towards establishing more harmonious intergroup relations” (Gaertner et al. 1993, pp. 2–3). According to Gaertner et al., this recategorization contributes to reconciliation in numerous ways: firstly, in-group members are perceived as holding similar beliefs, which furthermore increases the attraction to those members. Secondly, in-group membership “decreases psychological distance” (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 7) and furthers empathy. Thirdly, positive behavior is more likely towards individuals that are perceived as being part of one's ingroup and, lastly, simply
describing other individuals in collective terms like *we* and *us* stimulates strong positive affective reactions among in-group members (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 7).

One particular aspect of the common in-group model is relevant for the Cambodian context of this thesis since it takes the transformability of group identities into account. According to Gaertner et al. it seem plausible to assume that “attitudes toward […] outgroup members […] included within the common ingroup identity should be most positive when the salience of the previous group boundaries are completely degraded” (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 20). Following this, a superordinate identity (Gaunt 2009) can be a supportive factor of facilitating a common in-group as it supports the degradation of former identity boundaries. Since in- and out-group in Democratic Kampuchea was dominantly politically defined and totalitarian enforced (Kiernan 2008), promoting inclusivity by highlighting Khmer ethnicity or Cambodian nationality can be assumed to stimulate positively an inclusive group identity. Furthermore, Gaertner et al. highlight positive effects, when both group have “equally important and complementary roles toward achieving a superordinate objective” (Gaertner et al. 1993, p. 20).

**Collective Victimhood Beliefs**

Another element of an inclusive group identity is described by Noor et al. in their work on the social psychology of collective victimhood beliefs. They define collective victimhood as referring to “the psychological experience and consequences of [collective violence]” (Noor et al. 2017, p. 121). Similar to a transgenerational trauma, collective victimhood beliefs can affect a group that did not directly face violence but nevertheless perceives itself as formerly victimized. According to Noor et al., this effect stems from the “pervasive impact of collective victimization”, which can influence groups that “did not experience the harm doing directly but identify with the targeted group” (Noor et al. 2017, p. 122). Since collective violence “leads identity groups to acknowledge other groups’ suffering or even perceive their suffering as similar to theirs (Noor et al. 2017, pp. 123–124) it influences a group’s determination of in- and out-group membership. The more other groups are perceived as similarly suffering or equally victimized as one’s own group, attitudes towards them can be more inclusive. Recognizing the victimization and suffering of an out-group is therefore positively influencing an inclusive group identity. This assertion was studied by a study conducted by Vollhardt and Bilali. As already presented in section 2.1, their examination of three East African countries, which faced mass violence in their past, showcases to what extent this influences takes place: “While exclusive victim consciousness predicts negative intergroup attitudes, inclusive victim
consciousness is associated with positive, prosocial intergroup attitudes” (Vollhardt and Bilali 2015, p. 489).

The Cambodian context might allow an inclusive perception of collective victimhood due to the country's transitional justice process. Since it mainly focusses on trying leading figures of the Khmer Rouge rather than former cadres, it might decrease the likelihood of perceiving them as perpetrators. The group, which is popularly known as the “Khmer Rouge” is dominantly identified with infamous personas like Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Ieng Sary or Duch. Former Khmer Rouge cadres, which might have only followed their orders, could therefore be perceived as victims of a forceful and violent system they had to be obedient to.

**Inclusive Ideology**

According to Staub, exclusive ideologies utilize groups’ need to maintain a positive identity by providing a “vision of a better future for the group”, which only can be achieved by exterminating an out-group seen to be threatening to the in-group (Staub 2011, p. 458). Following this, an exclusive group identity pertains to existential fears of the in-group that has a potential of instigating mass violence. Understanding exclusive ideologies as a motivator for a group to become extensively violent gives an incentive to understanding an inclusive ideology as relevant for reconciliation. Promoting an inclusive ideology that caters to the same basic human needs as a former exclusive one, the likelihood is raised of forming an inclusive group identity. Staub describes this process as followed by using the term *constructive* instead of *inclusive*: “constructive ideologies offer […] the vision of a better future that is created by constructive means. Such ideologies will be inclusive [because] all groups can participate in the creation of social arrangements that address the needs and well-being of all groups” (Staub 2011, p. 344). In this sense, a vision for a better future is not achieved through the identification of enemies and their extermination but by cooperation with and inclusion of them. Mass violence as a mean to achieve a better future is not part of an inclusive ideology as it is replaced by acceptance and peaceful participation of all people in closeness to one's own identity group. Staub concludes this subject by asserting that “one way to combat [exclusive] ideologies is by providing powerful alternative visions” (Staub 2011, p. 346).

Concerning Cambodia, this vision might be based on the desired strive towards development of the country and therefore the Khmer ethnic or Cambodian national group identity. After tremendous mass violence and decades of civil war, Cambodia now is one of the fastest growing economies of the world (World Bank 2019). Based on this, development becomes a relevant
subject of an inclusive ideology since the absence of exclusivity can be seen as positively influencing the country's previous progress.

**Humanization**

Humans have tremendously high restraints to killing other humans. Killing another human comes with the acceptance that one can also be killed as well, which in return inhibits violent acts against others. Bandura investigated the social psychological pre-conditions that leads humans to disengage morally from their consciousness in order to perpetrate inhumanities and furthermore identified dehumanization as central to this disengagement. “It is […] difficult to mistreat humanized persons without suffering personal distress and self-condemnation.” (Bandura 1999, p. 200). Therefore, perpetrators need some form of self-censure in order to harm another human. Bandura explains, that “self-censure for cruel conduct can be disengaged by stripping people of human qualities. Once dehumanized, they are no longer viewed as persons with feelings, hopes, and concerns but as subhuman objects” (Bandura 1999, p. 200). It becomes apparent that dehumanization of one's victims is a precondition to violently harming them. However, dehumanization is not only a factor of perpetrators to harm others, they themselves are often dehumanized and thus exclusively perceived (Mohamed 2015). Therefore, she asserts in one of her essays: “Once the crime is committed […] is that ordinary person still an ordinary person? A person at all?” (Mohamed 2015, p. 1211).

Though understandable, identifying perpetrators as monsters promotes exclusive attitudes towards them. This dehumanization, according to Mohamed, stems from perceptions of perpetrators motivation to participate in violent conduct: “But as much as it might be common knowledge that ordinary people can do horrible things given the right circumstances, such recognition of the humanity of the perpetrator derives from facts about the perpetrator and the context before and up until the crime” (Mohamed 2015, 1213f). From a social psychological perspective, however, individuals’ motivation and justification for engaging in violence is rarely found in an evil nature, but rather in obedience to authority (Milgram 1974), ideology (Staub 2012b), moral disengagement (Bandura 1999) or group pressure (Browning 1998). Perceiving perpetrators as guided by these factors does not take away their humanity as violent actions become understandable without locating them outside a human morality. As a consequence, locating the perpetrators’ motivation within the circumstantial context, which led him or her to harm one's in-group can increase inclusive attitudes towards them. It can therefore be assumed that humanizing members of an out-group promotes an inclusive group identity.
When dehumanization leads to a censorship of human empathy, humanization provides further empathy and therefore more incentive to be inclusive.

**Willingness to Contact and Forgive**

Inter-group contact can take various shapes. Direct contact, even though it can have the deepest impact on how people think about each other (Staub 2011; Vollhardt and Bilali 2015), is often difficult to realize among divided identity groups. However, educational efforts have the ability to incite imagined contact, which Staub defines as a form of mental preparation for contacting another group or even reading stories about them (Staub 2011, p. 452). In this sense, motivating participants of an education workshop to imagine a meeting with an out-group member can have similar results on the creation of an inclusive group identity. Proposing to them to formulate questions for an out-group member, for example, can allow them to think about their own interest in them. Regarding the relevance of forgiveness, Staub asserts that “it can reduce the distress of people who were harmed and make revenge less likely” (Staub 2011, p. 630). Significant for forgiveness concerning reconciliation are not so much factors motivating its realization as the factors inhibiting it. It is understandable that a group, which was victimized, has difficulties forgiving the group that inflicted such tremendous pain on them. Mass violence is characterized as a force that destroys its victims “dignity, self-worth, and the ability to trust others” (Staub 2011, p. 32) and forgiving the group that inflicted this pain on one's group is often equated with stating that perpetrators are not culpable. Staub therefore states, “there are many definitions of forgiveness, based on research and theory about individuals. To me it means letting go of anger, of the desire for revenge; it means an increased acceptance of and a more positive attitude toward the party that has caused harm to us (or others)” (Staub 2011, p. 631).

**Preliminary Conclusion**

This subsection focused attention on five elements of an inclusive group identity, which will be guide this thesis' empirical analysis. Examining the degree of inclusiveness and justifications of the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards a common in-group, an inclusive ideology, collective victimhood, humanization as well as contact and forgiveness ultimately leads to assessing the existence of an inclusive group identity. In order to illustrate theoretical implications of peace education in this regard, the following subsection will explore in what ways educational efforts are able to promote an inclusive group identity.
2.2.3 Promoting Inclusivity through Peace Education

“Throughout history, humans have taught each other ways to avoid the scourge of violence” (Harris 2012, p. 19) states Harris when exploring the history of peace education. He claims, the aim of modern peace education in the 21st century is to “challenge stereotypes where there is a long history of humiliation, victimization, and hatred of others perceived as enemies” (Harris 2012, p. 22). By that, Harris slightly touches on peace education's function to promote an inclusive group identity, which will be specified in this subsection.

Staub describes peace education as being able to “change people’s attitudes towards a devalued […] group” (Staub 2011, p. 362). As proposed by the Social Identity Theory, a devalued group cannot be perceived in inclusive terms by the in-group since it would inhibit its need of positive distinction to other groups (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Therefore, peace education can “help people learn about and become aware of the importance of the devaluation of groups of people” (Staub 2012a, p. 74) by “[showing] that a negative view of the other is often devaluation rather than a correct representation of the other” (Staub 2012a, p. 75). By focusing on the origins of devaluation and its role in the conduct of violence, peace education is able to lower the inhabitation to perceive an out-group as part of a common in-group. Peace education is furthermore able to promote an inclusive ideology as highlighted by Lahai and Ware in their study conducted in Sierra Leone. There, they explored opportunities and impact of peace education on promoting a common ground between victims and perpetrators of the country’s civil war that took place in the 1990s. They highlighted based on their findings that “peace education […] demonstrates that there can be peaceful ways to achieve radical change without the need to resort to violence” (Lahai and Ware 2013, p. 87). Peaceful ways in this context is furthermore specified by Lahai and Ware as consisting of promoting a “common vision of a better future” (Lahai and Ware 2013, p. 87). Described by Staub, this common vision is an element of an inclusive group identity as it offers an inclusive perception of cooperation to achieve future goals of both in-group and out-group (Staub 2011).

In order to highlight the relation between peace education and attitude change, two studies will be summarized here. First, Eckhardt examined various approaches of peace related courses worldwide in order to understand “what it is that we can expect to accomplish” (Eckhardt 2016, p. 69). He summarized his essay by stating that “it seems to be essential to promote attitude change [which can be] facilitated by […] peace studies courses” (Eckhardt 2016, p. 70). However, he did not take into account peace education's possible inability to change deep
convictions, which often determine how people think about perpetrators. A critical approach in this regard is presented by Abelson. According to him, convictions present deep-anchored attitudes that are often prone to being changed from the outside as they are mainly based "ego preoccupation" (Abelson 1988, p. 274). In other words, these attitudes are being perceived as pertaining to the self-image of the individuals that hold them. This challenge is important to mention as it might be able to explain boundaries of peace education in regard to its aim to change attitudes. However, Gavriel asserts that peace education taking place in active conflicts are more likely to face this challenge than educational interventions in societies eager to reconcile after a period of violence (Salomon 2006).

This section explored reconciliation from a social psychological perspective by focusing the role of group identity concerning its function during periods of mass violence and its reconciliation afterwards. Perceiving group identity as transformable offers understanding on how groups` basic human needs can be sheltered in both exclusive and inclusive terms. To overcome an exclusive legacy after a period of mass violence is the process and outcome reconciliation aims at. Educational interventions can be perceived within this process as possible promoters of an inclusive group identity. By promoting inclusive attitudes towards a common in-group identity, collective victimhood beliefs, an inclusive ideology, the willingness to contact and forgive as well humanization; reconciliatory education is theoretically considered as contributing to an inclusive group identity transformation. These elements have in common that they harbor the possibility to transform attitudes towards an out-group and therefore will be concerned with particular attention in the following section.

2.3 Research Questions

Based on the theoretical framework, this thesis` research questions concern three different areas of interest. Firstly, it aims to understand attitudes held by pre-service teachers towards an inclusive group identity concerning the inclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres before and after they participated in a genocide education workshop. An inclusive group identity is perceived as being based on five elements that were elaborated on in the preceding theoretical section: a common in-group identity, collective victimhood beliefs, an inclusive ideology, humanization as well as the willingness to contact or even forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres. Particular attention will be paid to whether those attitudes are of exclusive or inclusive nature by examining the pre-service teachers` reasoning utilized to justify their attitudes. Secondly, this thesis aims to identify common denominators among justifications of inclusive attitudes in
order to formulate recommendations that could strengthen the impact of future genocide education workshops. Thirdly, it aims to understand if and to what extent the genocide education workshop influenced the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards an inclusive group identity and/or their justifications. This is of relevance since it indicates if the workshop does (or does not) further reconciliation, which pertains to an inclusive group identity. These aims lead to the following research questions:

1. What attitudes do pre-service teachers hold towards elements of an inclusive group identity concerning the inclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres before and after they participated in a genocide education workshop?
2. Based on what reasons do pre-service teachers justify their attitudes? What common denominators can be identified among justifications of inclusive attitudes?
3. Did the genocide education workshop influence the pre-service teachers’ attitudes and/or their justifications? If so, in what ways and to what extent?

2.4 Methodology

The following section will elaborate on the methodological relevance of attitudes with particular attention to how their examination can offer an understanding of the pre-service teachers’ exclusive or inclusive perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Furthermore, the method of gathering and coding attitudes as well as their justifications through the conduction of semi-structured interviews and a qualitative data examination will be described.

2.4.1 Methodological Relevance of Attitudes towards Former Khmer Rouge Cadres

“People love and hate, like and dislike, favor and oppose. They agree, disagree, argue, persuade and sometimes even convince each other” (Bohner and Wänke 2014, p. 4). Bohner and Wänke provide an in-depth assessment of attitudes, which serves as the methodological foundation of this thesis. Before highlighting the social psychological relevance of attitudes, this subsection will explore in what ways attitudes are able to offer an understanding of the pre-service teachers’ perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres and how they relate to group identity transformation.
As stated in the preceding theory section, a transformation of group's attitudes towards _them_ is the main corpus of internalization and therefore of an inclusive group identity (Kelman 2008). By referring to a group identity dilemma, Kelman asserts that an inclusive group identity is only achievable when the in-group is not devalued by being inclusive towards a devalued out-group. Striving towards a positively distinct in-group would be in jeopardy and therefore, attitudes towards the devalued out-group have to be transformed inclusively. By transforming formerly exclusive attitudes, the strive to maintain a positive group identity is not threatened anymore, or as Kelman states: “one might say that we change in order to remain the same “(Kelman 2008, p. 26).

The assumption that attitudes are transformable requires an understanding of why groups have attitudes in the first place and how they can be changed. According to Bohner & Wänke, groups have attitudes because they serve as a “knowledge organization, guiding approach and avoidance [as well as] serving higher psychological needs” (Bohner and Wänke 2014, p. 7). Therefore, attitudes determine what beliefs groups holds towards an “object of thought” (Bohner and Wänke 2014, p. 5). An object of thought can be both material and human, as it can pertain to objects like cars or tables on one side or groups of individuals on the other side. Attitudes provide the foundation for moral judgment and help individuals to know “whether something is good or bad” and help groups to “express their central values”, as well as helping them to “maintain social relationship” (Bohner and Wänke 2014, pp. 7–8). Attitudes are relevant in determining groups’ willingness to identify with an inclusive group identity, since they can give insight into their perception of perpetrators and whether they perceive them as being part of an out-group or an inclusive in-group. One example: an individual can be asked if they perceive a perpetrator as being a generally _evil_ or _good_ human. If the individual proceeds to describe their perspective on this question, their moral judgment of the perpetrator as _evil_ or _good_ constitutes their attitudes towards him or her. Another step would be to categorize said attitudes concerning their willingness to be inclusive towards the perpetrator. In this case, holding the attitude _good_ would lead to the assumption that they are more willing to be inclusive than holding the attitude _evil_.

Moreover, attitudes are not only indicators of beliefs towards an object of thought, but also influence groups’ behavior (Bohner and Wänke 2014, pp. 219–243). With this in mind, the examining of attitudes is relevant not only in determining groups’ ideas about reconciliation but also in anticipating the possible future behaviors that might lead to reconciliation. This thesis, however, does not go into details about which context and social process is necessary in
order to strengthen the influence of attitudes on behavior. Relevant for the purposes of this thesis is that attitudes are worth gathering in order to evaluate the impact of education on the possible later behavior of its participants.

2.4.2 Gathering, Coding and Examining Attitudes

This thesis relies on gathering qualitative data about pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards former Khmer Rouge cadres and their underlying justifications. According to Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree “interviews are among the most familiar strategies for collecting qualitative data” (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 314). This thesis’ approach does not involve measuring the strength of attitudes (Bohner and Wänke 2014, pp. 49–66) but rather evaluating their meaning and justification in regard to the pre-service teachers’ perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Therefore, the interviews were not predominately based on scales that asks the pre-service teachers about the strength of their attitudes but rather on giving them room to talk about their personal perspective on former cadres. However, structure is necessary to some extent in order to encourage the interviewees to focus on the relevant subjects that had been theoretically determined beforehand. Thus, the interviews conducted were semi-structured. As stated by Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, semi-structured interviews are “generally organized around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee’s” (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 315). Therefore, the subsection will proceed in elaborating on the context of the interviews conducted for this thesis and providing the questionnaire that was used.

The interviewees consist of 30 pre-service teachers who participated in a genocide education workshop organized by DC-Cam in the capital of Prey Veng Province, Krong Prey Veng. The interviews were conducted before (Group One) and after the workshop (Group Two), including 15 pre-service teachers in each session. In order to avoid gender-bias, 15 female and 15 male pre-service teachers were interviewed in pairs consisting of one male and one female. The interviewees were between 18 and 28 years old. Before the interviews took place, each pair of pre-service teachers was made aware that their identities will remain anonymous and solely their occupation, gender, and age were being noted. Furthermore, they were notified that they have the right to not answer questions and that their answers would be shared neither with their

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2 For more information, see a study conducted by Glasman and Albaracc in 2006 that further researched the relevance of the social context in which the attitude was formed and its impact on future behavior (Glasman and Albarracín 2006)
teachers nor with DC-Cam. They were also given the option to discontinue the interviews at any time. All interviews were recorded, including a statement that explained to everything elaborated here. In order to avoid translation errors all interviews were translated two times by different assistance. After the initial direct translation by a research assistant observing the workshop, the second translation was based on recorded versions of the interviews and conducted by a second research assistant based in Phnom Penh who did not have any relation to DC-Cam or the interviewees.

The questionnaire aimed to assess the pre-service teachers’ attitudes and their justification concerning the elements of an inclusive group identity by inquiring them to answer two questions regarding each element. This was done in order receive the opportunity to gather a larger number of more detailed attitudes as well as justification. The following questions were asked in each interview with a pair of pre-service teachers:

1. **Questions regarding attitudes towards a common in-group**
   a. Do you believe former Khmer Rouge cadres today deserve equal treatment like everybody else?
   b. Do you believe former Khmer Rouge cadres should be included or excluded from Cambodian society?

2. **Questions regarding attitudes towards a collective victimhood**
   a. Do you believe former Khmer Rouge cadres are victims of Pol Pot as well? If so, why?
   b. Do you believe former Khmer Rouge cadres also suffered during the Khmer Rouge period?

3. **Questions regarding attitudes towards an inclusive ideology**
   a. Do you agree with the following statement: “We are all Cambodians working together to make this country a better place for everyone, regardless if cadre or victim, and to leave the violent past behind us”? 
   b. Can you imagine working together with children of former Khmer Rouge cadres or even be friends with them?

4. **Questions regarding attitudes towards contact with and forgiveness of former Khmer Rouge cadres**
a. Would you want to meet a former Khmer Rouge cadre? What would ask him?
b. Are you able to forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres for what they did?

5. Questions regarding attitudes towards humanization of former Khmer Rouge cadres
   a. Do you believe former Khmer Rouge cadres are essentially good people?
   b. What do you believe motivated former Khmer Rouge cadres to harm others?

In order to examine the attitudes gathered, a coding system had to be developed. The analysis
was conducted inductively by marking all justifications and grouping their related attitudes in
case they were expressed by multiple pre-service teachers. In a second step, these groups of
attitudes were sorted in three categories: inclusive, moderately inclusive, and exclusive. These
categories are based on the theoretical framework and represent the degree of the attitudes’
inclusiveness. The following example illustrates this process: One participant replies to the
question regarding their willingness to perceive former Khmer Rouge cadres as being part of
Cambodian society with “Yes, I do not have a problem with including them since they are also
Khmer people”. Since they are also Khmer people would be coded as a justification as an
inclusive attitude since the participant was willing to include former Khmer Rouge cadres in
her identity group. However, if the participant would reply “Yes but they have to change first”
it would be coded as a moderately inclusive attitude since its justification leads to a conditional
inclusion of them. In case an attendant would assert that “No, they do not belong to us since
they were cruel”, her attitude would be of an exclusive nature while being justified by former
cadres` perceived violent conduct. This methodological process allows including all attitudes
expressed by the pre-service teachers rather than sorting out a certain number of answers since
they would not have been fitting to pre-determined groupings. However, if certain justifications
were expressed by an exceptional small minority of pre-service teachers, they were grouped as
Other.
Chapter Three: Empirical Analysis and Conclusion

Chapter Three aims to examine attitudes and their justifications towards five elements of an inclusive group identity. The justifications gathered will be analyzed regarding possible common denominators, which tend to strengthen inclusive attitudes. Furthermore, the overall impact of genocide education will be illustrated based on the comparison of two groups of pre-service teachers, who were interviewed either before or after they took part in the workshop. Finally, the conclusion will give room to utilize findings of the empirical analysis to formulate recommendations that are intended to strengthen the impact of future genocide education workshops’ promotion of an inclusive group identity.

3.1 Attitudes towards an Inclusive Group Identity

This section will examine the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards five elements of an inclusive group identity. Each examination will be structured as followed: Firstly, a qualitative analysis will analyze justifications of the most dominant inclusive, moderately inclusive, and exclusive attitudes. Secondly, the workshop’s impact will be studied by comparing findings concerning Group One with those of Group Two.

3.1.1 “We are all Khmer”: Common In-Group Identity

What attitudes did the pre-service teachers hold towards a common in-group identity and how did they justify them? Did the workshop have any impact in that regard? Two questions were posed concerning the element of an inclusive group identity. First, the pre-service teachers were asked if they perceive former Khmer Rouge cadres as deserving of equal treatment and, second, if they want them to be included in or excluded from Cambodian society.

Qualitative Analysis

Inclusive attitudes emphasizing the equal treatment of former Khmer Rouge cadres were justified in two forms. First, the pre-service teachers stressed the common Khmer ethnic identity of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Second, they perceived themselves as being part of a new generation that does not support discrimination anymore. Both justifications relate to each other since according to the pre-service teachers, being Khmer comes with certain rights that should be respected in contemporary Cambodia. The following participant's utilization of inclusive
pronouns exemplified the relevance of a common ethnicity: “We all have equal rights. That is important for me because we are all Khmer. It doesn’t matter if cadre or not, we are equal.” (Female, 18). Belonging to a new generation is also in support of this justification since it is stressed by interviewees that in contemporary Cambodia those rights have to be respected. Furthermore, they claimed that the historical distance offers them the opportunity to overcome the past exclusive categories of people, which according to them motivated violence in Democratic Kampuchea: “In the Khmer Rouge regime they were in a different class as cadres. But now we are all the same” (Female, 19). The following participant is aligned with this justification, in emphasizing the importance of avoiding any kind of discrimination: “There shouldn’t be any discrimination in our society anymore. They also have the same rights as other citizens.” (Male, 20). Moreover, belonging to a new generation was perceived as including the ability to leave the country’s violent past behind by focusing on similarities rather than differences: For me, we shouldn’t treat them differently despite their mistakes in the past because now they are living the same way as we are” (Female, 22). However, as the following participant’s reply demonstrated, inclusive attitudes towards the equal treatment of former Khmer Rouge cadres can also stem from a certain fear of antagonizing them: “They deserve equal rights. If we discriminate the cadres, the Khmer Rouge could come back” (Male, 21).

Moderately inclusive attitudes were justified by expressing certain conditions that had to be fulfilled in order to grant former cadres equal treatment. On one side, former Khmer Rouge cadres are perceived either as having had evil intentions to harm others or as having been forced to follow orders. Considering this differentiation, equal treatment is only granted to the latter group: “The evil ones do not deserve the same treatment because they used their power for the wrong things. The others deserve equal treatment” (Female, 17). In this sense, the pre-service teachers reasoned their attitudes towards former Khmer Rouge cadres based on their perceived motivations to harm others in their past. This justification will be of relevance in the following subsections, too, due to its major utilization. On the other side, the pre-service teachers stressed that former Khmer Rouge cadres first have to change in order to deserve equal treatment: “Only if they change. Otherwise, they should not be treated like everybody else” (Female, 19). However, more specific elaboration on what particular constitutes the change demanded was not provided.

Pre-service teachers, who expressed exclusive attitudes towards the equal treatment of former Khmer Rouge cadres asserted that equal treatment would be detrimental to achieving justice for victims and possibly even lead to further violence: “We cannot treat them equally. [...] If we
treat them equally, they could become arrogant because they did not suffer as much as the rest of the people back then. Some of them even want to go back to the Khmer Rouge. That is really dangerous” (Male, 19). In this sense, excluding them from a common in-group identity was perceived as a mean to inhibit a possible re-occurrence of the Khmer Rouge. Interesting in this regard is that a deliberate discrimination is claimed to be demoralizing to former Khmer Rouge cadres and therefore necessary to maintain.

In the second instance, the pre-service teachers were asked if they want former Khmer Rouge cadres to be included in or excluded from Cambodian society. Inclusive attitudes in this regard were generally justified similarly to those expressed concerning the first question. However, besides the emphasizing of a common Khmer ethnic identity and belonging to a new generation, the interviewees furthermore underlined the opportunity to learn about Khmer Rouge history from former cadres. This is of particular importance since understanding the inclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres as an opportunity to learn about the country’s past goes beyond a mere acceptance of them. On pre-service teacher expressed this opportunity: “They need to be included because [...] it would be a wasted opportunity not to learn from them. Ultimately, we can avoid repeating the Khmer Rouge period with that information” (Female, 22). Following this, the experience former Khmer Rouge cadres made while living under the Khmer Rouge is seen as useful to understand since it can support inhibiting future violence. As already stated, pre-service teachers justified their inclusive attitudes regarding the inclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres similarly to how they did so when being asked about their equal treatment. Hence, they emphasized their belonging to a new generation: “We shouldn’t exclude them from society because as for now, we’re focusing on equal human rights so everyone has the same right and they’re also human beings” (Female, 22). Furthermore, they highlighted former cadres’ common Khmer ethnicity: “They should have the same right as us because they are also Khmer people” (male, 17). This justification was also made through focusing on emotional elements that come with being Khmer: “As Khmer people we should love each other” (Female, 18).

Moderately inclusive attitudes, too, were justified in similar ways to those regarding equal treatment. The pre-service teachers emphasized that former Khmer Rouge cadres need to change before they deserve to be included. In this case, the pre-service teachers provided more information about what they perceive as necessary to change prior their inclusion as the following participant exemplified: “We need to educate them and need to tell them what they have done wrong. If they have learned from their past, they can be better persons in our community” (Female, 22). Following this, the pre-service teacher demanded a certain degree of
humility from former Khmer Rouge cadres, which would lead to their inclusion in Cambodian society. However, the pre-service teachers did not articulate what particularly describe what being a better person entails according to them. Due to the large extent of inclusive and moderately inclusive attitudes, exclusive attitudes were not expressed concerning the question of inclusion or exclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres.

After all, inclusive attitudes towards a common in-group identity were mainly justified by highlighting former Khmer Rouge cadres’ common Khmer ethnicity, the interviewees’ belonging to a new generation, and the opportunity to learn from former cadres’ experience. Moderately inclusive attitudes were justified by demanding prior change from former Khmer Rouge cadres before they could be perceived in terms of a common in-group identity. In this regard, the pre-service teachers stressed that former cadres should be given the opportunity to learn from their past mistakes in order to be inclusive towards them. Exclusive attitudes, only expressed concerning the equal treatment of former cadres, were reasoned by claiming a possible threat that could stem from their inclusion.

**Impact Analysis**

How did the workshop influence the pre-service attitudes towards a common in-group identity? Generally, it can be stated that attitudes expressed were of inclusively justified to a large degree among individuals of both groups. However, the second group was more likely to hold moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes. It is therefore plausible to assume that the workshop decreased inclusive attitudes concerning a common in-group identity.

Concerning the equal treatment of former Khmer Rouge cadres, the workshop heavily increased moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes. The first group of pre-service teachers unanimously expressed inclusive attitudes, emphasizing the common Khmer ethnic identity of former Khmer Rouge cadres and their sense of belonging to a new generation. Among these pre-service teachers, replies were similar to the following were common: “They are victims of the Khmer Rouge living among us in our communities; they had no intention to do what they did. We belong together and should be treated the same” (Female, 22). However, the second group was nearly as likely to express inclusive attitudes, as they were to hold moderately inclusive or exclusive ones.
These pre-service teachers utilized justification emphasizing the need to re-educate former Khmer Rouge cadres or even a possible threat by including them, to a much larger degree than interviewees of the first group. Among these pre-service teachers, replies similar to the following were rather common: “I am not sure because many cadres were evil and killed innocent people. The good cadres deserve the same treatment” (Female, 20). Furthermore, they claimed that by treating former cadres equally, they could become a threat due to the perceived likelihood to increase their moral by inhibiting discrimination against them. Qualitatively, the workshop minorly influenced the pre-service teachers’ attitudes. Whereas the first group was more likely to stress their belonging to a new generation when expressing inclusive attitudes, the second group rather emphasized the common Khmer ethnic identity of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Otherwise, no qualitative impact becomes apparent.
Similar influence is visible concerning the pre-service teachers’ perceptions of including or excluding former Khmer Rouge cadres from Cambodian society. It seems apparent that the workshop increased moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes even though quantitative differences between both groups are not as large as concerning attitudes expressed in regard to former Khmer Rouge cadres’ equal treatment. Pre-service teachers of the first group majorly stressed belonging to a new generation, the common Khmer ethnic identity and the opportunity to learn from former cadres’ experience. Only a small minority expressed moderately inclusive attitudes whereas none of them held exclusive ones. Replies as the following are therefore more commonly found among those pre-service teachers: “We shouldn’t exclude them from society because as for now, we’re focusing on equal human rights so everyone has the same right and they’re also human beings” (Female, 22). The second group stressed to a larger degree that former Khmer Rouge cadres have to change before they can be included in Cambodian society as the following participant asserted: “They have to become good humans first before we can include them in our society” (Female, 21). In addition, influences on justifications were more present here than concerning the equal treatment of former Khmer Rouge cadres since pre-service teachers who were interviewed after taking part in the workshop did not justify their
inclusive attitudes by emphasizing a common ethnicity with former cadres. Instead, these pre-service teachers reasoned their inclusive attitudes by expressing their belonging to a new non-discriminatory generation and by highlighting a learning opportunity. It can therefore be stated, that a common Khmer ethnic identity was more dominant among pre-service teachers of the first group.

Preliminary Conclusion

Regarding a common in-group identity, it can therefore be preliminary concluded that dominant justification of inclusive attitudes related to a common Khmer ethnicity, the pre-service teachers’ sense of belonging to a new generation, and the opportunity to learn from former Khmer Rouge cadres’ experience. The workshop had both quantitative and qualitative influences. Among pre-service teachers of the first group, larger numbers of inclusive attitudes towards a common in-group were present, which were mainly justified by belonging to a new generation that does not tolerate discrimination. Furthermore, the common ethnicity of former cadres was more dominantly utilized in this group. Additionally, it can be stated that interviewees of the second group expressed moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes to a larger degree. Pre-service teachers therefore expressed more attitudes that are inclusive before taking part in the workshop, which prompts the assumption that the educational intervention examined here increased moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes towards a common in-group identity. However, it has to be mentioned that inclusive attitudes were majorly expressed regardless of which group was asked.

3.1.2 “Everybody suffered”: Collective Victimhood Beliefs

This subsection examines the interviewees’ attitudes towards collective victimhood beliefs based on questions regarding the pre-service teachers’ willingness to describe former Khmer Rouge cadres as equal victims and their perceptions of the cadres’ degree of suffering. Dominant justifications of inclusive attitudes were based on the claim that former Khmer Rouge cadres cannot be hold accountable for their violent conduct since they were violently forced to obey orders from the Khmer Rouge leadership. Furthermore, the pre-service teachers asserted that generally everybody suffered in Democratic Kampuchea regardless of being cadre or civilian.
Qualitative Analysis

“They are victims as well. They did something evil but were mostly good people who were forced to do harm” (Male, 16), said one participant when being asked if he believes that former cadres are victims of the Khmer Rouge. Pre-service teachers who expressed inclusive attitudes like the one quoted, perceived former Khmer Rouge cadres as not responsible for their actions since. According to them, they had to follow orders and feared punishment if they were disobedient. Additionally, they justified their attitudes by stating that generally everybody in Democratic Kampuchea suffered except the Khmer Rouge leadership. As the following participant replied, former Khmer Rouge cadres had no choice but to harm others, since in the case that he was disobedient, he himself would be killed instead: “They are victims. They had killing-orders and if you do not respect those orders, you are the one being killed. So, you had to follow them” (Male, 23). Another participant who perceived former cadres as equal victims emphasized that they indeed are good people who were made evil: “They are victims as well. They did something evil but were mostly good people who were forced to do harm”. The second most dominant justification was based on the pre-service teachers’ belief that everybody suffered in Democratic Kampuchea and therefore should be perceived as victims. This was in particular formulated through emphasis on the responsibility of the Khmer Rouge leadership as visible in the following pre-service teachers’ answer: “I think they were also victims because they got the ideology from KR leaders and they did everything as it was told to them. Besides that, they were not educated so they couldn’t think about anything twice.” (Male, 20).

Pre-service teachers who expressed moderately inclusive attitudes stressed the existence of different kinds of victimhood. According to them, former Khmer Rouge cadres suffered less than other groups in Democratic Kampuchea and therefore they are victims that were more privileged. In this sense, the pre-service teachers perceived former Khmer Rouge cadres as perpetrators that nevertheless were victimized by the Khmer Rouge leadership. This was exemplified by the following participant: “I think they are also victims but in different ways because the normal people were suffering so much both mentally and physically, but the cadres didn’t suffer that much” (Female, 21). Another interviewee’s reply related to this justification: “Some of them are [victims]. Pol Pot also killed his own cadres. They are special victims because they did not suffer in the same way as the rest” (Male, 28). Pre-service teachers who did not perceive former cadres as victims and who therefore expressed exclusive attitudes highlighted that in their belief cadres were too privileged in Democratic Kampuchea to be victims: “They did not have a bad life. [...] They are no victims. We lost everything, our mother
and father, our grandparents, our houses and property. We have nothing left just because they had a stupid reason to do evil” (Male, 18). Furthermore, pre-service teachers who expressed exclusive attitudes highlighted that former Khmer Rouge cadres intentionally harmed others and therefore have responsibility for their actions, as the following participant described: “They are not victims because they wanted to please the higher cadres and had an intention to do evil” (Male, 22). In comparison to justifications of inclusive attitudes that are based on beliefs that former cadres are good humans forced to harm others, exclusive attitudes were reasoned on the premise that they were intentionally violent and hence evil.

The second question was intended to understanding the interviewees’ perception concerning former Khmer Rouge cadres suffering in DK. The pre-service teachers justified their inclusive attitudes by stating that former cadres suffered equally since they had to fear punishment in case they did not obey the leadership's orders. The pre-service teachers generally described this perception by referring to former Khmer Rouge cadres as being under pressure, which made them harm others without having the intention to do so: “They believed in their ideology but were also forced to commit crimes they did not want to commit. This made them suffer because they had to be cruel. Usually people cannot kill people of their same race. They were put under a lot of pressure, too” (Male, 18).

Pre-service teachers expressing moderately inclusive attitudes emphasized the privileged life of former Khmer Rouge cadres, which in their perspective lessened their degree of suffering: “They suffered as well but not to the same extent as their victims. They did have food, even more than the normal people but still not enough” (Male, 17). Furthermore, they stressed the freedom of former cadres, particularly the access to food and other commodities that the rest of the population lacked but while still taking into account a generally deprived life: “I think they were also suffering during that time but they did have more chances and freedom compared to normal people” (Male, 21).

The small minority of pre-service teachers who expressed exclusive attitudes responded that former Khmer Rouge cadres did not suffer since they were the group that harmed others, as the following interviewee stressed: “For me, the cadres were not suffering because they actually did nothing but following the orders and killing people” (Female, 22). This justification was of a rather vague nature, which inhibits a more detailed analysis. Unfortunately, information that goes beyond the assertion that perpetrators intrinsically do not suffer was not provided by pre-service teachers expressing exclusive attitudes concerning this question.
Impact Analysis

The workshop's impact on attitudes towards collective victimhood beliefs was of rather diverse nature. Whereas it increased moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes concerning the perception of former Khmer Rouge cadres as equal victims, it diminished these attitudes concerning perceptions of them as an equally suffering group. However, both groups held inclusive attitudes regardless of the questions.

![Figure 3 Victimhood](image)

The workshop's impact in regard to perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres as equal victims was located in the numerous presences of moderately inclusive attitudes, which were expressed to a larger extent by the second group. Pre-service teachers interviewed before they took part in the workshop, were rather less likely to hold moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes since the majority of them replied similar to the following participant: “I think a majority of them are victims because they were under the orders and they didn’t have a chance to deny or go against the orders” (Female, 22). In this sense, these pre-service teachers majorly perceived former cadres as forced to obey orders, which according to them made them victims of the Khmer Rouge leadership. However, Group One was also more likely to express exclusive attitudes than interviewees of Group Two since they underlined the relevance of former Khmer...
Rouge cadres’ privileges. Contrary to that, the second group emphasized to a larger degree that former Khmer Rouge cadres suffered less than other victims did since they were generally privileged: “They are victims as well but not in the same way as the people they had to kill. They are still alive and did not have so much pain” (Male, 19). Qualitative differences were visible since the justification that everybody in Democratic Kampuchea suffered equally was utilized more often in the first group of interviewees. Following this, the workshop influenced the pre-service teachers’ justifications of inclusive attitudes.

Figure 4 Degree of Suffering

Concerning attitudes towards former Khmer Rouge cadres’ degree of suffering, contrary influences became apparent. Instead of increasing moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes, the workshop decreased them largely. The first group nearly expressed as many inclusive attitudes as they did express moderately inclusive and exclusive ones. One third of attitudes held in this group were justified by assertions either that former cadres suffered less than others did or that they intrinsically cannot suffer due to their privileged position. Inclusive attitudes were justified by claiming that former Khmer Rouge cadres suffered due to their fear of punishment in case they did not obey their orders. To the contrary, pre-service teachers of the second group, utilized the latter justification nearly unanimously whereas a minority claimed
that perpetrators are not able to suffer. Qualitatively, the workshop did not have any impact. Both groups merely utilized one justification for each of their expressed attitudes concerning former cadres’ degree of suffering.

**Preliminary Conclusion**

Summing up the examination of attitudes and their justifications concerning collective victimhood beliefs, it can be stated that inclusive attitudes were mainly justified in three ways. First, the pre-service teachers emphasized the responsibility of KR leading figures, who were perceived as violently enforcing orders given to former Khmer Rouge cadres. This process finally lead to their victimization. Second, it was claimed that generally everybody suffered in Democratic Kampuchea due to its violent and repressive nature. Finally, the pre-service teachers stressed that former cadres suffered equally due to their fear of being punished in case they did not obey to the order given by their leadership. Moderately inclusive attitudes were justified by claiming that former Khmer Rouge cadres were in a privileged position and therefore were victimized to a smaller extent than the rest of the population. Justifications of exclusive attitudes were based on the perception that former Khmer Rouge cadres had *evil* intentions to harm others. Furthermore, the pre-service teachers perceived them as being generally privileged, which inhibited understanding them as victims. The workshop's impact was particularly visible in moderately inclusive attitudes, whereas minor qualitative influence can be located in justifications of inclusive attitudes. Interestingly, both groups tendency to express moderately inclusive attitudes differed when being asked either about former cadres’ perceived victimhood or their degree of suffering. Whereas moderately inclusive attitudes regarding perceived victimhood were more dominantly expressed in Group Two, former cadres’ degree of suffering was perceived moderately inclusive to a larger extent in Group One.

**3.1.3 “We need to work together”: Inclusive Ideology**

In order to gather attitudes towards an inclusive ideology, the pre-service teachers were presented with a statement highlighting a future building on cooperation. Furthermore, they were asked about their willingness to cooperate with children of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Inclusive attitudes were mostly justified through emphasis on the need to cooperate in order to develop the country, regardless if someone is a former cadre or not. Concerning the pre-service teachers’ willingness to cooperate with children of former Khmer Rouge cadres, they mostly justified inclusive attitudes by stressing the children's innocence and unawareness of their parents’ violent conduct.
Qualitative Analysis

The following statement stressing cooperation rather than exclusion as a means of striving for common goals was intended to gather the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards an inclusive ideology: “We are all Cambodians working together to make this country a better place for everyone regardless if cadre or victim and to leave the violent past behind us?”. The dominant justification for their agreement was that Cambodia is only able to develop through cooperation regardless of whether an individual is a former Khmer Rouge cadre or not. An exclusive ideology was perceived as counter-intuitive in that regard: “We need to work together, excluding them from that is a wasted opportunity” (Male, 22). Interestingly, a participant expressed a similar justification to some already given in regard to a common in-group identity, which was explored in the subsection 3.1.1: “Only with cooperation can we develop our country. The cadres can even help in a special way by helping us understand our past” (Male, 16). Following this, it became apparent that ideologically, the inclusion of former cadres is perceived as an opportunity to work in cooperation on developing the country. This pre-service teacher underlined that is has no relevance if an individual is a Khmer Rouge cadre or not: “Yes, we should all work together. It does not matter if victim or cadre” (Female, 20). Based on those justifications, it can fairly be stated that attitudes emphasizing an inclusive ideology were mainly based on the notion that cooperation is necessary in order to develop the country. Furthermore, the pre-service teachers were eager to overcome categories describing certain groups as victims or cadres for the sake of cooperation, stating that development is important for everybody.

Moderately inclusive attitudes were based on the pre-service teachers’ belief that some cadres are not worth cooperating with due to their evil actions in the past. This justification shows similarities to the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards a common in-group and their ascription of collective victimhood to former Khmer Rouge cadres. Here as well, the pre-service teachers stressed that certain groups of cadres were motivated by internal hatred or following other instincts and others merely followed the orders they were forced to obey. The following participant agreed conditionally to the statement by replying: “Yes, I think only together we can become a better country in the future. But the bad guys should not be part of it” (Male, 18). Referring to cadres as bad guys is similar to differentiating between those former Khmer Rouge cadres who intentionally harmed others and those who only followed orders. None of the pre-service teachers disagreed with the statement presented to them, which lead to an absence of exclusive attitudes in this regard.
After presenting the statement, the interviewees were asked if they could imagine working together or even being friends with children of former cadres. This question derived from the theoretical implication that higher willingness to cooperate with children of perpetrators directly relates to inclusive ideological beliefs. Their justifications for inclusive attitudes revealed that the pre-service teachers disconnected the children from their parents’ violent behavior in DK. This manifested itself in describing former Khmer Rouge cadres’ children as not responsible for or not even aware of the crimes committed by their parents, exemplified by the following two participants: “They did nothing wrong. They are only kids and they did not participate in the regime” (Male, 18). Another pre-service teacher emphasized this innocence as well by stating that children of former Khmer Rouge cadres cannot be blamed for their father violent conduct: “Yes, I can be friends with them. Maybe their parents did something wrong, yes. But I cannot blame the children for something they do not know” (Male, 20). Furthermore, they underlined the fact that those children also belong to a generation that does not tolerate exclusive beliefs anymore: “As modern Cambodians, we should not have any discrimination against anybody. We should not hold a grudge against them” (Male, 22). The following participant highlighted this justification as well by referring to certain rights everybody deserves in contemporary Cambodia: “I would be friends with them because society now is different from what it used to be. If we keep discriminating against them, it means we’re neglecting their rights” (Female, 21). Dominant justifications concerning the question were often combined by pre-service teachers, which was visible in the following reply: “It’s not a problem for me because even though they are their children, they don’t know anything about what happened and they are also innocent because they’re a new generation” (Female, 22). The pre-service teachers unanimously expressed inclusive attitudes, which lead to the absence of any moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes.

Impact Analysis

Both groups of pre-service teachers overwhelmingly expressed inclusive attitudes towards an inclusive ideology. This became apparent when comparing the groups’ attitudes and their justification concerning both the inclusive ideological statement and willingness to cooperate with descendants of former Khmer Rouge cadres.
In terms of the pre-service teachers’ responses to the presented inclusive ideological statement only minor difference between both groups of pre-service teachers were present. In general, Group One expressed a larger number of inclusive attitudes, justified by stressing the importance to cooperate in order to develop the country, regardless if individuals are former cadres or not. A small minority of them expressed moderately inclusive attitudes, claiming that only certain groups of former cadres should be included within the strive towards shared future goals. Similar to preceding justifications based on this assertion, the pre-service teachers differentiated between former Khmer Rouge cadres that were motivated by evil intentions and those merely following orders. Concerning pre-service teachers of the second group, it can be stated that none of them express any moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes since only inclusive ones were present. The same lack of the workshop's impact also accounts for the groups’ justifications. Both groups dominantly justified their attitudes through emphasis on the need to cooperate in order to develop the country, regardless if individuals are former cadres or not. After all, it can be asserted that inclusive attitudes were majorly expressed by both groups. Similar impact was apparent when examining the pre-service teachers’ attitudes regarding their willingness to cooperate with children of former Khmer Rouge cadres.

Figure 5 Inclusive Statement
Figure 6 Cooperation with Children

Pre-service teachers of both groups unanimously expressed inclusive attitudes regarding the question if they can imagine cooperating with former Khmer Rouge cadres` descendants. Therefore, moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes were absent. Qualitatively, the workshop did not have a major impact either. Both groups dominantly justified their inclusive attitudes by emphasizing their belonging to a new generation that does not discriminate against anybody. Furthermore, both groups stressed that children of former cadres are innocent of their parents past violent conduct or not even aware of it. The following participant can be perceived as exemplifying for the majority of both groups justification of inclusive attitudes concerning an inclusive ideology: “Our young generation only felt the effects of that time but didn't see anything evil. The mistakes belong to their parents” (Male, 21).

Preliminary Conclusion

In conclusion, both groups expressed inclusive attitudes to an overwhelmingly large extent. Their most dominantly utilized justification underlined the need to cooperate in order to develop the country. From their perspective, development constitutes a common future goal, which should be strived towards regardless if individuals are former Khmer Rouge cadres or not.
Former boundaries between those groups there should be diminished according to both groups of pre-service teachers. In relation to this, the pre-service teachers claimed that children cannot be held accountable for the violent conduct of former cadres. Therefore, cooperating with them should not be influenced by their parents past mistakes. In this regard, pre-service teachers of both groups majorly claimed that it is not of relevance for them if friends of them have parents that were cadres during the rule of the Khmer Rouge. Moderately exclusive attitudes were reasoned by excluding certain groups of cadres from the realm of cooperation by differentiating between those with evil intentions and the ones who only followed orders. Finally, it can be stated that both groups of pre-service teachers were majorly eager to subscribe to an inclusive ideology regardless of taking part in the genocide education workshop.

3.1.4 “They were forced to do evil”: Humanization

This subsection examines the interviewees’ attitudes towards humanization of former Khmer Rouge cadres by taking into account their answers given to two questions. Firstly, they were asked if they perceive former cadres as essentially good people in order to receive information about their moral assessment of them. In the second instance, the pre-service teachers were asked to explain their understanding of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ motivation for harming others. This allows for an examination of their ideas about the cadres’ role and in particular about their responsibility within the violent Democratic Kampuchea system. Inclusive attitudes in that regard were mostly justified by stressing former Khmer Rouge cadres` need to obey to their orders. Furthermore, former cadres were perceived as being maliciously ideologized by the Khmer Rouge leadership, which was even more impactful since they did not receive enough education that would have allowed them to resist.

Qualitative Analysis

When being asked about their perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ morality, the pre-service teachers` justifications for expressing inclusive attitudes were based on two premises. The first was that they perceived former cadres as being bound to follow orders and therefore as generally good: “Most of them are good people who had pressure from the leaders and had to follow orders from higher cadres. They had no choice to reject it” (Female, 21). The second consisted of the pre-service teachers having described former cadres as having been maliciously ideologized by the Khmer Rouge leadership, which according to them, has made them violent: “Before the Khmer Rouge came, they were good people without evil intention. The Khmer Rouge made them evil” (Female, 17). Both premises lead the pre-service teachers to perceive
former Khmer Rouge cadres as good humans since, according to them, they lack responsibility for their past actions. They rather believed the whole system or the Khmer Rouge leadership as being at fault by giving inhuman orders to their cadres or ideologizing them with malicious intent. These justifications have in common that they externalized violent conduct from the former Khmer Rouge cadres by ascribing it to a greater power, which is perceived to be either the general KR system or specifically the Khmer Rouge leadership. This system was understood as providing the cadres no other choice than acting inhuman and therefore excluding them from dehumanizing attitudes. Here, the source of motivation is perceived as an outer force that convinced the former Khmer Rouge cadres to harm others: “They were forced to do evil; they did not want that by themselves” (Female, 18).

Moderately inclusive attitudes in regard to humanization were particularly relevant to examine since their justification highlights the boundaries between inclusive and exclusive attitudes. Pre-service teachers who expressed moderately inclusive attitudes emphasized a difference between evil and good cadres of which merely the latter is perceived in humanizing terms: “They are not all good and not all bad because some of them overdid the orders which means they were too cruel, more than what the rules said. For example, they sexually assaulted the women before killing them, or exploited the daily food of innocent people but not giving them enough to eat. But at some parts of the country, there were also good cadres that just followed orders” (Female, 21). As previously examined in section 3.1.2, acting beyond the order was perceived as particularly evil and therefore was utilized as a justification for exclusive attitudes. However, the pre-service teachers emphasized that not every former Khmer Rouge cadres overdid the rules, which finally guides her to express a moderately inclusive attitude. The following interviewee highlighted another aspect of this justification by describing evil cadres as enjoying harming others whereas good cadres only followed orders without acting beyond them: “Some are good people, some are evil. The good cadres were the ones who did not punish somebody if they made a mistake. The evil ones were very strict and enjoyed punishing their victims. They tortured them in really cruel ways like smashing babies on palm trees” (Male, 17). The last aspect of this justification was utilized in terms of perceiving former cadres as being not too strict to their victims and therefore liable to being humanized, as the following interviewee expressed: “There were good and bad people. [...] If people were lucky, they had good cadres close by who were not so strict to them. Many of the lower ranking cadres were hesitating to kill because they understood the feeling of being tortured and killed. They were empathetic” (Female, 18).
If pre-service teachers did not differentiate between good and evil former Khmer Rouge cadres but rather perceived them all as overextending the rules, they expressed exclusive attitudes concerning their humanization. Unlike the pre-service teachers who expressed inclusive attitudes, those do not merely held the general system or specific Khmer Rouge leadership accountable for violent conduct of the cadres but blamed the individuals for it: “the majority of them were evil because they wanted to kill and torture other people” (Male, 18). This statement exemplified that an exclusive attitude is justified by perceiving former Khmer Rouge cadres as intentionally evil. The contextual circumstances were not mentioned as the focus was solely placed on the individual. Interestingly, enjoying harming others is also relevant in this context even when the system's forceful nature was taken into account as the following participant exemplified: “even though they were forced to [harm], they did enjoy doing cruel things against their own people” (Male, 20).

The following examination of answers to the second question was aimed at gathering information about the pre-service teachers’ particular inclusive or exclusive perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ motivation to harm others. Inclusive attitudes in that regard were justified by perceiving former cadres as harming others according to orders, ideology, self-preservation, and a lack of education. Those justifications indicated that the pre-service teachers tend to locate violent conduct outside of the cadres’ realm of responsibility. Similar to justifications explored in previous subsections, instead of perceiving former Khmer Rouge cadres as responsible for their own violent conduct, they rather perceived them as being part of a destructive system or obeying the Khmer Rouge leadership, which lead or even forced them to harm others. During the interviews, it became apparent that the interviewees strongly emphasized the responsibility of the Khmer Rouge leadership with particular attention to Pol Pot, who was understood as convincing and forcing former good people to act evilly by taking advantage of their situation. Situational circumstances were most dominantly argued to be a lack of education or the cadres’ need to protect themselves and their families from repressive or retaliatory violence. The following participant emphasized the threatening context in which the cadres’ had to act violently: “They were infused by Angkar's ideology. They also wanted to please the higher-ranking cadres. Specifically, in that time, you had to be completely honest to the Angkar. Otherwise you would be considered a disloyal person and therefore be killed” (Male, 23). Another participant replied along those lines and added the function of a perceived lack of education that left former Khmer Rouge cadres unable to question their orders. Furthermore, she highlighted her perceptions of the importance of infused ideology that turned cadres into violent people, even directed against their own families: “I think it’s because of the
orders from the higher cadres. [...] They have to follow because they were afraid of dying themselves and most of them were uneducated so everything they did was not well thought through. Also, they were too honest with the Khmer Rouge leadership that they even killed their own family members because Angkar infused their ideology that Angkar is their only parent” (Female, 21). The cadres’ perceived need to maintain their own families’ safety is described by the following participant: “Some of their families were under pressure, too, and they could be killed if they do not follow orders. If the Khmer Rouge found out about their family’s positions under Lon Nol they would be killed, so the cadres tried to 'clean' their families’ name by killing people” (Female, 18). The same participant finished her reply by stating: “The cadres did not know about their policies, they understood 'cleaning' but did not know it meant killing”.

Since no moderately inclusive attitudes were expressed in that regard it will proceeded to examine exclusive ones. These were justified by the perception that former Khmer Rouge cadres are accountable for their violent actions. Most commonly, the pre-service teachers expressed that cadres harmed others because they enjoyed it or because they were evilly intended. Alternatively, many perceived them as having acted selfishly in order to maintain or increase their privilege. Consequently, the following participant highlighted that cadres enjoyed treating others violently since they were able to increase their privilege in DK: “In my opinion, they did that for their own fame and reputation because they wanted to take advantages from Angkar. Sometimes, they lied to Khmer Rouge leadership about the crop yield but when it didn’t come out as they expected they turned to torture other people instead” (Female, 22). In addition, another participant emphasized that cadres were in a position of power, which they maliciously took advantage of “First, they thought people who lived in the city didn’t do anything or didn’t work hard enough so when they were in power, they wanted those people to suffer. Second, they were in power so they could do whatever they wanted to do” (Female, 20).

**Impact Analysis**

The workshop's influence on the pre-service teachers’ attitudes is of both of a quantitative and qualitative nature. Whereas quantitative differences became apparent regarding the pre-service teachers’ perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ morality, qualitatively they differed when being asked about their perspective of former cadres’ intention to participate in violent conduct.
Differences between both groups’ attitudes concerning former cadres’ morality were located in moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes. Even though inclusive attitudes represented the majority of both groups’ attitudes, the workshop increased attitudes of the other two categories. The first group’s second most expressed attitudes are moderately inclusive, whereas the second groups’ are of an exclusive nature. Interviewees interviewed before they took part in the workshop more dominantly emphasized that only certain cadres can be perceived as generally good humans based on their intention to harm others. They justified their attitudes by claiming that former cadres were merely forced to harm others since the Khmer Rouge leadership demanded obedience to their orders. Furthermore, they asserted that former cadres were victims of malicious ideologization, as the following attendant of the first group demonstrates: “They are good people because they are Khmer. Only influences from outside can make them evil” (Female, 22). This outside influence was perceived to be deriving from the Khmer Rouge leadership, which reeducated their cadres according to the participant. Pre-service interviewed after they took part in the workshop, were more likely to express exclusive attitudes, which they justified by stressing former Khmer Rouge cadres’ evil intentions. In case they expressed inclusive attitudes, they reasoned in similar ways as pre-service teachers of the first group.
Concerning the question, how the pre-service teachers perceive former Khmer Rouge cadres` intentions to participate in violent conduct, both groups were of a rather similar nature in terms of the numbers of inclusive and exclusive attitudes. Moderately inclusive attitudes were not held by either group. However, qualitative differences pertaining to both groups’ justifications were visible. The first group strongly justified their inclusive attitudes by referring to former cadres` perceived lack of education, which according to them inhibited them from resisting violent orders. Furthermore, this group focused on former Khmer Rouge cadres` need to follow orders, which dominantly stems from their intent for self-preservation and protection of their families. The second group, however, emphasized the malicious ideologization of former cadres as their motivation to harm others. A lack of education and their need to follow orders were utilized as a justification in relative minor terms. Furthermore, it became apparent that exclusive attitudes were justified differently by both groups. The first group stressed former cadres` advantages by being violent to a larger degree than the second one, which did not utilize this justification at all. After all, this led to a decreased number of exclusive attitudes among pre-service teachers that were interviewed after they took part in the workshop.
Preliminary Conclusion

Conclusively it can be stated that inclusive attitudes regarding the humanization of former Khmer Rouge cadres were justified through emphasis on their lack of responsibility, which stemmed from them being forced to follow orders and being maliciously ideologized by the Khmer Rouge leadership. Those justifications were in accord with the pre-service teachers’ underlining of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ motivation to preserve their and their families’ security. Additionally, the pre-service teachers claimed that former cadres lacked education and therefore the intellectual capacities to question their orders critically. Moderately inclusive attitudes were based on the assertion that certain groups of cadres lacked morality due to their evil intentions to harm others. A generalization of this justification led to exclusive attitudes in addition to the pre-service teachers’ claim that former Khmer Rouge cadres maintained or even increased their privilege by acting violently. The workshop influenced the pre-service teachers’ attitudes quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Whereas the first group when being asked about former cadres’ morality were more likely to express inclusive attitudes, the second group expressed exclusive attitudes to a much larger extent. Interestingly, both groups’ attitudes differed between the question of former cadres’ morality and their motivation. Attitudes of both groups were rather equally distributed concerning inclusivity and exclusivity when being asked about former Khmer Rouge cadres’ morality, whereas inclusive attitudes dominated regarding former cadres’ specific motivation to harm others.

3.1.5 “Why did you kill?”: Forgiveness and Contact

This subsection examines the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards contacting and forgiving former Khmer Rouge cadres. First, the interviewees were asked to state their willingness to forgive former cadres before they were asked if they could imagine meeting them. Additionally, they were provided room to formulate questions they want to ask former cadres if given the opportunity. Similar to inclusive attitudes toward collective victimhood beliefs and humanization, the pre-service teachers emphasized former Khmer Rouge cadres’ lack of responsibility for their violent conduct and the belief that belonging to a new generation enables them to be more forgiving of them.

Qualitative Analysis

The dominant inclusive justification among those who saw themselves as being able to forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres was demonstrated by the following participant: “I can forgive them
because they were only following orders. Most of them did not do it voluntary; they were scared of being killed” (male, 17). Another aspect of this justification is collective victimhood beliefs, which lead the pre-service teachers to have emphasized former cadres’ suffering: “I can forgive them, they only followed their orders and it was their duty to kill. They did not do it voluntary. They did it because they hoped to save their families at some point” (Male, 16). As previously underlined, the perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres as obedient executioners of the Khmer Rouge leadership also served as justifications for inclusive attitudes regarding their forgiveness. Showing this, another participant expressed himself as follows: “Yes, I can forgive. They had to have received a lot of pressure from above to do that. Even killing an animal is extremely hard. Killing a human is so much more difficult than that” (male, 23). Additionally, the previously widely utilized justification of perceiving oneself as being part of a new generation also became relevant here: “For those who were directly affected or were tortured by the cadres they would find it hard to forgive them but for me, as a next generation person, I can forgive them” (Female, 22).

Interviewees who expressed moderately inclusive attitudes were only able to forgive certain former Khmer Rouge cadres and related their unwillingness to certain cadres’ perceived motivation to harm others, as visible in this pre-service teacher’s reply: “For most people, it was not their intention to do evil. I can forgive them for what they did. I cannot forgive the ones who enjoyed killing. If it was his intention to do so, he is intrinsically a bad person. I cannot forgive those” (Female, 22). Another participant differentiated between former Khmer Rouge cadres who intentionally harmed others in gruesome ways and those who restrained themselves from such conduct: “I think those cadres who terribly tortured people should not be forgiven and they should be imprisoned because there were so many innocent people who suffered because of them. But for those who were not that horrible towards people, they should be forgiven” (Male, 20). However, those justifications were not specified enough to define what particular actions would exempt former cadres from being forgiven. Interestingly, a certain number of interviewees emphasized a differentiation between Khmer Rouge leadership and the cadres it commanded even when being directed to focus on low-level groups: “Two conditions. First, I can forgive them if they really were under orders and just followed the rule. Second, I wouldn’t forgive them if they were the one who came up with the ideology of torturing and killing people” (Male, 21). In addition, this statement also highlighted again the importance of a perceived responsibility of former Khmer Rouge cadres in order determine if attitudes are of inclusive or exclusive nature. The more former cadres were perceived as following orders, the more likely were inclusive or at least moderately inclusive attitudes.
Exclusive attitudes were justified by perceiving former cadres as intentionally evil, stemming from their past violent conduct. In this regard, interviewees highlighted that cadres actively enjoyed harming others and therefore cannot be forgiven: “I cannot forgive them because some of them received orders to kill 3-5 people but in the end, they killed 6-7 people. Sometimes they were ordered to torture their victims but to make it short they just killed them. I can understand that they were not well educated enough to make their own clear decisions but I still cannot forgive them” (Male, 22). This reply also brings attention to another dominant assertion that was present concerning this justification: former Khmer Rouge cadres that overdid their orders. Given that former Khmer Rouge cadres were dominantly perceived as being forced to follow rules, overextending their orders is perceived as particular cruelty. In addition, exclusive attitudes were justified through emphasis on the need to punish former Khmer Rouge cadres instead of forgiving them: “I would not forgive them [because] we should sentence them so that they could realize what they’ve done wrong” (Male, 19).

In the second instance, the interviewees were to ask to imagine a situation of contact with former cadres and to specify which information they would be most interested in. Attitudes in that regard could not have be examined regarding their justifications since they were not asked to present their underlying reasons. However, they offered an opportunity to understand the pre-service teachers’ dominant interests in former Khmer Rouge cadres, which were guided by four schemes of interest. First, the majority of pre-service teachers wanted to ask about former cadres’ intention to harm others: “How could you kill and torture innocent people?” (Female, 20). Most of the questions were guided by the interest in distinguishing former cadres’ intention in terms of being evil or rather being forced to harm others. The following participant exemplifies this interest: “Was it your intention or was it just an order you followed?” (Female, 22). Second, the pre-service teachers wanted to ask former Khmer Rouge cadres about the specific orders they thought were legitimizing their violent conduct: “When you put those policies into use was it originally meant to be cruel or was the rule good and you who made it cruel?” (Male, 20). This interest often was related to the pre-service teachers need to understand former cadres’ particular intention. It also related to their third interest, which is located in their lack of information regarding former cadres’ (lack of) empathy: “You got your own regime after your victory, why did you not understand the suffering of the victims?” (Female, 22). The least-present scheme of interest identified stems from the pre-service teachers need to understand former Khmer Rouge cadres’ lack of resistance: “Why did you not resist against your bosses? Was it necessary to torture people like this? If you knew that the Khmer Rouge were so evil, why didn’t you unite with the other cadres and fight back?” (Male, 16).
**Impact Analysis**

The workshop's impact regarding attitudes towards contacting and forgiving former Khmer Rouge cadres was rather diverse. Strong influence became apparent concerning the pre-service teachers’ willingness to be forgiving, whereas minor influences were visible when being asked if they could imagine contacting former cadres.

![Table of Willingness to Forgive]

The workshop's impact concerning the pre-service teachers’ willingness to forgive former cadres was located in the proportion of moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes. The first group’s second most expressed category of attitudes were exclusive, which's extent makes it the most exclusively perceived element of an inclusive group identity regardless which group was asked. Among pre-service teachers of the first group, justifications based on former Khmer Rouge cadres’ perceived evil intentions was among the most utilized ones in all three categories of attitudes. Furthermore, they held moderately inclusive attitudes reasoned by differentiating between evil intended cadres from those, who merely followed orders. The second group’s second most expressed category of attitudes was moderately inclusive instead of exclusive. There, the justification was based on differentiating groups of former cadres was among the
most dominant ones. Qualitative influences were not visible as both groups justified each group of attitudes similarly. Both groups emphasized former Khmer Rouge cadres` obedience to their leadership or their sense of belonging to a new generation when having expressed inclusive attitudes. In terms of exclusive attitudes, the most dominant justification was based on the claim that former cadres intended to harm others, regardless if the pre-service teachers took part in the workshop or not. The same accounted for moderately inclusive attitudes since they were mostly justified by differentiating between former cadres who were perceived as either having evil intentions or being forced to follow orders.

**Figure 10 Willingness to Contact**

Concerning the pre-service teachers` willingness to establish contact with former Khmer Rouge cadres, the workshop did influence neither the pre-service teachers’ attitudes nor justifications. Both groups unanimously asserted that they would be eager to meet a former cadre in order to have the opportunity to pose questions. Inquirers they would be interested in did not differ between both groups since they dominantly posed the question concerned with former Khmer Rouge cadres` intention to participate in violent conduct. Furthermore, they wanted to understand in what ways their orders determined their actions, as well their ability to be
empathic with their victims. Finally, both groups had an interest in former cadres’ lack of resistance and the reasons why they restrained from challenging their leadership.

Preliminary Conclusion

This examination can be concluded by stating that most dominant justifications for inclusive attitudes regarding forgiveness and contact of former Khmer Rouge cadres were based on perceptions of them as following orders they were violently forced to obey. Furthermore, the pre-service teachers claimed to belong to a new generation, which enables them to establish contact with former Khmer Rouge cadres as well to forgive them. Moderately inclusive attitudes were justified by exempting groups of former cadres from forgiveness, which were perceived as being guided by evil intentions, which also reflects in similar ways in the interviewees’ questions. Finally, exclusive attitudes were justified by emphasizing former Khmer Rouge cadres’ general evil intentions without any differentiation and calling for their punishment instead of offering forgiveness. These justifications also reflected on questions, the interviewees wanted to ask former cadres, which most dominantly consisted on inquirers about their intention to harm others and the nature of their orders. The workshop's influence was visible in regard to the pre-service teachers’ willingness to forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres, since exclusive attitudes were less likely to be express among pre-service teachers of the second group. Furthermore, moderately inclusive attitudes were expressed by the second group to a larger degree.

3.2 Common Denominators among Justifications of Inclusive Attitudes

In the previous examination, it became apparent that certain justifications were utilized for inclusive attitudes towards multiple elements of an inclusive group identity. Of particular relevance in that regard were justifications based on three notions. First, it was frequently claimed former Khmer Rouge cadres merely followed orders violently enforced by their leadership. This common denominator was particularly present regarding collective victimhood beliefs, humanization, and the willingness to forgive. Second, the pre-service teachers heavily emphasized their belonging to a new generation that values cooperation based on inclusion and therefore relates to the conceptual framework of peace vision. These commonly utilized justifications became apparent concerning an inclusive ideology and the willingness to contact. Finally, it was stressed that both the pre-service teachers and former cadres share a common
Khmer ethnic identity serving as a uniting superordinate group identity and therefore relating to a common in-group identity.

### 3.2.1 Functionalism

When Christopher Browning published his well-known book about Reserve Police Battalion 101, which carried out mass executions of Jews during the Holocaust, he sparked a discussion about the intention of genocidal perpetrators. Did soldiers participate in mass executions of innocent civilians due to primal hatred, or did they find themselves in a social context that pressured them into being violent? Browning argued that the latter, in fact, was true with the battalion he researched, which prompted him to give his book the title *Ordinary Men*. According to him, genocidal perpetrators are seldom intrinsically motivated by their emotions or ideology, but rather by group and hierarchical pressure (Browning 1998). Browning's research is mentioned here not to discuss the intention of former Khmer Rouge cadres, but to emphasize the relevance of functionalism and intentionalism concerning attitudes towards an inclusive group identity. Within the field of Holocaust & Genocide Studies, both schools of thought have aimed to make sense of the origins of mass violence by researching the motivation of the people who became perpetrators. Whereas functionalism highlights the social context of perpetration, including obedience to authority and group pressure, intentionalism ties down perpetration of genocide violence to motivations rooted within the perpetrators themselves, including hatred or a psychological need to be violent. A well-known representative of intentionalism within the field of Holocaust & Genocide Studies is Daniel Goldhagen, who asserts that the Holocaust could only have been perpetrated due to the intrinsic willingness of its executioners (Goldhagen 1996). However, his theory was widely acclaimed to be inaccurate (Littell 1997).

After the examination of attitudes towards the five elements of an inclusive group identity, it becomes apparent that functionalist and intentionalist perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres heavily determined the pre-service teachers’ likelihood to express inclusive or exclusive attitudes, respectively. To be more precise: the more the pre-service teachers perceived former Khmer Rouge cadres in functionalist terms, the more they expressed inclusive attitudes, whereas those who had intentionalist perceptions of them rather hold exclusive attitudes. This can be made visible by concluding that inclusive attitudes were justified by functionalist perception, in contrast to exclusive attitudes based on intentionalist perceptions. The most dominant functionalist justifications were based on the claim that former Khmer Rouge cadres
had obediently followed their orders, were maliciously ideologized by the Khmer Rouge leadership and feared punishment, with their lack of education inhibiting any critical reflection on their actions. These justifications were utilized for inclusive attitudes regarding collective victimhood beliefs, humanization as well as the willingness to forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres. To the contrary, exclusive attitudes were based on justifications that emphasized former Khmer Rouge cadres’ evil intentions and that their privileges could be maintained or even increased through violence. Following these results, it can be asserted that functionalist perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres guided the pre-service teachers to express attitudes supporting an inclusive group identity. The more pre-service teachers perceived former Khmer Rouge cadres as being guided by intentionalist motivations, the more exclusive the attitudes they expressed.

### 3.2.2 Peace Vision

The second most common denominator of justifications for inclusive attitudes are seen in the pre-service teachers’ claim of belonging to a new generation that has learned to leave Cambodia's violent past behind and instead focus on inclusion and cooperation. As the following pre-service teacher emphasizes: “We need to work together for our future. [Former Khmer Rouge cadres] should not be excluded from that” (Female, 21). Inclusive attitudes similar to this can be embedded within the conceptual framework of peace vision, which is further elaborated on by Noor et al.. Even though their understanding of peace vision is based on the context of intractable conflicts, it has relevant implications on reconciliation since the root cause of conflict is here perceived as representing an exclusive group identity. Following this, peace is in congruence with an inclusive group identity. Noor et al. assert that peace vision is based on three beliefs, of which desirability is the first one because it “requires group members to realize that despite its inevitable costs, the cessation of conflict is in their best interest” (Noor et al. 2015, p. 645). The second belief is concerned with feasibility since peace visions “must include not only the belief that peace is desirable but also the belief that it is viable; that is, peace must not be viewed as a vague and romantic future option, but rather as a concrete possibility” (Noor et al. 2015, p. 645). Finally, the third belief is based on the assertion that peace visions have to include compromise since it “must refer to the means through which peace can actually be achieved—it must articulate the realization that peace requires a cut-to-the-bone compromise on both sides” (Noor et al. 2015, p. 645). All three of these beliefs were commonly present among the justifications of inclusive attitudes, particularly regarding the elements of an inclusive ideology and the willingness to establish contact with former Khmer Rouge cadres.
The belief in desirability is present in the perspective of the pre-service teachers’ assertion that developing the country is of high importance. The pre-service teachers emphasized that development is necessary in order to cope with Cambodia’s destructive past and can only be achieved through cooperation: “We need cooperation. Everybody should be part of it” (Male, 20). Peace visions are therefore perceived as desirable. Furthermore, the pre-service teachers highlighted the opportunity of learning from the past by including and cooperating with former Khmer Rouge cadres. Going beyond mere acceptance and stressing the positive effects of perceiving them as being part of the pre-service teachers’ identity group, one claimed the following while being interviewed: “They need to be included because our generation can learn a lot from them [...] It would be a wasted opportunity to not learn from them. Ultimately, we can avoid repeating the Khmer Rouge again with that information” (Female, 22). Following this, peace visions are perceived as feasible. Finally, inclusive attitudes were commonly justified by the pre-service teachers’ willingness to contact former Khmer Rouge cadres in order to pose questions to them. Their interests were mainly concerned with the former cadres’ intention to harm others as well as the nature of their orders and their lack of resistance. However, it has to be mentioned that imagining contact does not habitually lead to its actual realization, which leads to the conclusion that compromise is the least present belief in terms of this common denominator.

3.2.3 Superordinate Khmer Ethnic Identity

Mass violence perpetrated in Democratic Kampuchea was based on newly defined political identities that categorized the majority of the population into base people and new people. The latter were directly targeted due to the perception that they intrinsically cannot belong to the utopian society planned by the Khmer Rouge leadership (Kiernan 2008). However, both groups were still maintained to be of Khmer origin, which seems to represent a highly relevant fact to consider within the framework of reconciliation based on an inclusive group identity. So-called superordinate identities are a subject of academic research concerning reconciliation to a large extent, as they are considered to influence positively overarching identification among former hostile groups (Pachuau 2009; Gaertner et al. 1993; Baysu et al. 2018). Particular attention to the influence of a superordinate identity on humanizing among former enemies was given by Ruth Gaunt, who concludes her study in this subject as follows: “The findings shed light on the role of [superordinate categorization] that apparently reduces infrahumanization even in a naturalistic context of severe intergroup conflict” (Gaunt 2009, p. 744). Are the effects of a
superordinate Khmer ethnic identity also pertinent regarding the examination of pre-service teachers who participated in the genocide education workshop?

Pre-service teachers who perceived former Khmer Rouge cadres as common Khmer people and therefore expressed inclusive attitudes towards them were able to overcome past identity boundaries that were violently enforced in DK. For them, sharing the same ethnicity with former Khmer Rouge cadres was of more relevance than perceiving them as perpetrators. This common denominator was of particular importance regarding attitudes towards a common in-group identity and an inclusive ideology. Interestingly, a common Khmer identity was not utilized for inclusive attitudes towards the humanization of former Khmer Rouge cadres, even though previous related research might have predicted it. In terms of a common in-group identity, the pre-service teachers overwhelmingly justified their attitudes by claiming the Khmer ethnic identity shared by them and former Khmer Rouge cadres. Considering this, it is not surprising that replies such as the following were common: “We are all Khmer. We are equal people” (Male, 18). The same accounts for questions regarding an inclusive ideology, which was frequently replied to by stating that exclusion instead of cooperation would be counter-productive since every Khmer individual should strive towards the same future goal. The following example sheds light on this circumstance: “Without cooperation we cannot develop. We need to stick together as Khmer” (Female, 22).

3.3 Overall Impact of the Genocide Education Workshop

The workshop's impact on the pre-service teachers' attitudes and their justifications can be concluded as being of various natures. This section will therefore provide an overall illustration of how both groups of pre-service teachers differed concerning their expressed attitudes and the justifications they utilized. Furthermore, it will elaborate on possible explanations that could help with understanding the lack of impact present in terms of the expression of inclusive attitudes towards all elements of an inclusive group identity.

In some instances, both groups of pre-service teachers did not differ visibly regarding their justifications or attitudes. This particularly holds true for attitudes towards an inclusive ideology. Regardless of whether the pre-service teachers participated in the genocide education workshop or not, they were mostly expressing inclusive attitudes towards the inclusive ideological statement presented to them and towards the possibility of cooperating or even being friends with children of former Khmer Rouge cadres. A qualitative lack of impact is
visible concerning the pre-service teachers’ attitudes towards collective victimhood beliefs since both groups utilized justification in similar terms. The same accounts for attitudes towards the willingness to establish contact with former Khmer Rouge cadres and towards forgiving them. In other instances, the workshop increased moderately inclusive and exclusive attitudes. This influence took place above all concerning attitudes towards a common in-group identity.

After the pre-service teachers participated in the workshop, they were more likely to utilize justifications emphasizing the demand that former Khmer Rouge cadres first have to change before being perceived as belonging to a common in-group identity. Furthermore, they were more likely to perceive the inclusion of former Khmer Rouge cadres as a possible threat due to the belief that diminishing discrimination could further their ability to organize themselves again.

Finally, the workshop's impact concerning humanization and collective victimhood beliefs was rather diverse. Whereas exclusive attitudes regarding the perceived morality of former Khmer Rouge cadres heavily increased, the latter decreased regarding inquiries about perceptions of their intention to have participated in violent conduct. The same holds largely true for attitudes towards collective victimhood beliefs. In this case, the difference of impact concerning perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres as victims and their degree of suffering was even of a larger extent than towards their humanization. The workshop heavily increased moderately inclusive attitudes concerning their perceptions as equal victims, which were based on the justification that former Khmer Rouge cadres suffered less than others due to their privileges. However, it decreased the frequency of this justification when the pre-service teachers were asked about their perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres’ degree of suffering. Interestingly, the workshop did not significantly increase inclusive attitudes towards any element of an inclusive group identity. What could be possible explanations for this lack of impact?

To begin with, it should firstly be mentioned that attitudes towards all elements of an inclusive group identity were of a mainly inclusive nature, except those concerned with the forgiveness of former Khmer Rouge cadres. Hence, the workshop did not have much room to increase inclusive attitudes. Secondly, the workshop was of a rather short nature since it merely took place over three days. Anticipating a meaningful impact on such deeply anchored subjects as group identity should therefore be avoided. A more detailed understanding concerning the limits of the educational promotion of an inclusive group identity can be derived from Allport, who claims that “learning prejudice and learning tolerance are […] subtle and complex processes [and] the home is undoubtedly more important than the school (Allport 1979, p. 511).
Following this, it can hardly be expected that short-term educational interventions will diminish the presence of a former exclusive group identity mostly transmitted through a traumatized parental generation. However, academic examination of attitudes towards an inclusive group identity of those subject to an educational intervention can nevertheless help in understanding possible additions for strengthening its impact.

3.4 Conclusion

The Khmer Rouge's disastrous rule over Democratic Kampuchea still has manifold relevance in contemporary Cambodia. While the ECCC continuously works towards trying infamous figures of the Khmer Rouge leadership, grass-root approaches are eager to further national reconciliation. Among those approaches is the genocide education workshop organized by the Documentation Center of Cambodia. This thesis did not only aim to advance understanding of the possible influences educational interventions like the workshop can have on promoting an inclusive group identity, but also to provide analytically studied information on how to strengthen this impact. Based on the theoretical framework, which was intended to illustrate the relevance of an inclusive group identity to overcome a past exclusive one, this thesis approached the subject of reconciliation from a social psychological perspective. By gathering attitudes towards five elements of an inclusive group identity and their underlying reasoning, it enabled the formulation of three common denominators that represent certain justifications utilized by a majority of pre-service teachers expressing inclusive attitudes. Furthermore, it offered understanding on the overall impact of the workshop and elaborated on possible explanations for minor influences on the expression of inclusive attitudes. In order to follow the research aims stated in the introduction to the full extent, this conclusion will provide recommendations that can be utilized to strengthen the impact of future genocide education workshops on the promotion of an inclusive group identity. Additionally, it will present an outlook on future research that includes lacunas related to this examination.

The impact of future genocide education workshops on the promotion of an inclusive group identity has the possibility of being strengthened by incorporating the three common denominators that represent the majority of justifications utilized to express inclusive attitudes. For such elements of an inclusive group identity could perhaps be a basis of more inclusive attitudes. During the examination, functionalist perceptions of former Khmer Rouge cadres became apparent in inclusive attitudes towards collective victimhood beliefs, humanization and
the willingness to forgive former Khmer Rouge cadres. Beliefs concerning peace visions were pertinent when examining justifications of inclusive attitudes towards an inclusive ideology and the willingness to establish contact with former Khmer Rouge cadres. The third most common denominator highlighted that a common Khmer ethnic identity was perceived in terms of a superordinate group identity and therefore utilized as a justification for inclusive attitudes towards a common in-group identity. Considering these three common denominators, it can be recommended to incorporate underlying narratives that support functionalist perceptions of former cadres and emphasize the importance of a common ethnicity as well as beliefs in peace visions. The following is assumed here: if these common denominators were able to be identified among justifications of inclusive attitudes towards an inclusive group identity, stressing them in future genocide education workshops might increase the possible impact they could have in furthering national reconciliation.

Simply through emphasis on aspects of these common denominators while addressing Khmer Rouge history, or more detailed subjects like Khmer Rouge cadres and their general organizational structure in Democratic Kampuchea, positive effects concerning inclusive attitudes could be achieved. One example could be to address the functionalist reasons that motivated former Khmer Rouge cadres to participate in violent conduct. Additionally, participants of the genocide education workshop could be motivated to perceive predominantly former Khmer Rouge Cadre as Khmer people instead of highlighting past exclusive group identities. Finally, it could be highlighted that development for Cambodia can be furthered through cooperation, and that the latter is particularly possible at this time since a new generation of Khmer people now inhabits the country. For these particular aspects do not have to be addressed with particular attention in a dedicated section, but could be mentioned when addressing general historical or contemporary developmental subjects. However, incorporating a specific section about elements of an inclusive group identity could be a possibility for directly transmitting reconciliatory narratives based on the three common denominators. A different option for increasing future workshops’ impact on an inclusive group identity would be to align educational efforts with cultural projects organized by DC-Cam. Because group-identity related subjects are of a rather complex nature, transmission via music or films could be an opportunity to relate more directly to the groups of people that are addressed by the workshop. This
recommendation is based on DC-Cam’s past film producing efforts, intended to incorporate aspects of Cambodia’s history but also contemporary relevant issues.³

This thesis has created new lacunas that might motivate future researchers to address the function of educational interventions within the framework of reconciliation in Cambodia and other international contexts. Of particular interest are the following questions. In what ways could the educational utilization of aspects present in the three common denominators impact on attitudes towards an inclusive group identity? How do functionalist perceptions of perpetrators relate to inclusive attitudes towards forgiveness and collective victimhood beliefs in international contexts of reconciliation? The same could be asked regarding belief in peace visions. However, research on superordinate identities based on ethnicity has already received great attention in academia. Therefore, it would be of relevance to examine if Cambodia’s context is of any different nature in this regard, since overall the perpetrators and victims share the same Khmer group identity. Since this thesis has been of a rather exploratory nature, a more large-scale examination of the common denominators’ function in increasing inclusive attitudes would be an interesting approach to address reconciliation from in international contexts. Does emphasizing these denominators in peace education increase inclusive attitudes in comparison to those interventions that do not focus on them? Additionally, internationally comparative research could identify common denominators in various contexts of reconciliation in order to understand their impact on attitudes towards an inclusive group identity. Of particular interest in that regard would be the identification of alternatives to a superordinate group identity in contexts that do not consist of two hostile groups sharing a common ethnicity. This might hold true for other instances of politically motivated mass violence, but is seldom when cases of ethnic-driven violence are examined.

³ A collection of movies produced by Youk Cchang can be found on IMDB: https://www.imdb.com/name/nm2795210/
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