

**Report on Survey Findings from the  
2012 Commune Council Candidate Debates**

**September 2012**



## **Table of Contents**

- I. Executive Summary**
- II. Background**
  - 1. Debates Program**
  - 2. Radio Stations Selected**
- III. Design and Methodology**
  - 1. Sampling**
  - 2. Data Analysis**
  - 3. Demographics**
- IV. Findings on Media Access, Usage and Station Popularity**
  - 1. Media Access and Usage**
  - 2. Station Popularity**
- V. Findings on the Awareness and Influence of Debates**
  - 1. General Awareness of the Commune Council Debates**
  - 2. Debate Listenership**
  - 3. Debate Influence on Listeners' Opinions**
- VI. Findings on the Voting Process**
- VII. Summary of Findings**
- VIII. Appendix**

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Estimated Coverage of Radio Sarika FM Figure 2: Estimated Coverage of Radio VAYO FM Figure 3: Media Usage Figure 4: Station Popularity Figure 5: Sources of Information on Political Party Platforms Figure 6: Percentage of Debate Listeners by Radio Station Figure 7: Listeners' Opinions of Debates Figure 8: Recommendations for Improving the Debates Figure 9: Best Times for Broadcasting the Debates Figure 10: Reasons for Not Voting	
--	--

## List of Tables

Table 1: Expected Coverage of Radio Sarika, VAYO and Moha Norkor Table 2: Respondents by Gender and Age Groups Table 3: Respondents by Gender and Education Table 4: Occupation of Respondents Table 5: Access to Media Devices Table 6: Popularity of Debate Stations Table 7: Sources of Debate Information	
---	--

## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From May 18 to May 30, 2012, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) organized 10 public debates for candidates competing in the June 3, 2012 commune council elections. The debates were held in the provinces of Battambang, Kandal, Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, Kampong Chhnang, Kampong Thom, Kratie, Prey Veng, Siem Reap and Takeo. A total of 43 candidates, including nine women, from the Cambodian People's Party, FUNCINPEC Party (FCP),<sup>1</sup> Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), Human Rights Party (HRP), Norodom Ranariddh Party (NRP), Cambodian Nationality Party (CNP), and League for Democracy Party (LDP) participated in the debates, along with more than 7,000 audience members. Candidates discussed priority commune issues and their platforms for the election.

To promote a wider audience than the public in attendance, NDI also recorded and broadcast the debates prior to the election on three Cambodian radio stations: VAYO (channel FM 105.5 in Phnom Penh, FM 88 in Battambang and FM 102.5 in Sihanoukville); Sarika (channel FM 106.5 in Phnom Penh and FM 95.5 in Siem Reap, through Angkor Ratha radio); and Moha Norkor (FM 93.5 in Phnom Penh). These stations estimated their programming reached at least some areas in approximately 20 out of the 24 provinces in the country.<sup>2</sup>

NDI commissioned the Center for Advanced Study (CAS), a Cambodian research firm, to conduct a personal interview (face-to-face) survey among a representative sample of people in the 20 provinces included in the broadcast reach of the above radio stations. The 1,200 person survey collected data between August 16 to September 4, 2012, approximately three months after the debates and election occurred. The survey included questions such as:

- the number of people who had listened to the debates, since the Cambodian media environment lacks any tracking capacity;
- which stations were most popular among all respondents and should be used for future activities;
- whether debate listeners reported any changes to their attitudes toward parties or candidates or influence of debates on their voting behavior;
- debate listeners' perceptions of the fairness of the debates to all candidates and parties; and
- self-reported voter turnout and reasons for not voting.

Highlights from the survey's findings included:

- 85% of respondents have access to a radio, and 74% of respondents listened to the radio at least once a week or more. Although 89% of respondents have access to a television, radio is the most popular choice (45%) for obtaining information about political party platforms. As a result, NDI will continue to use radio as a broadcasting medium for its National Assembly candidate debates in 2013, as it represents a significant portion of the population as a target audience. In addition, given the number of Cambodians with access to a television set, NDI will broadcast some of its debates on television.

---

<sup>1</sup> FUNCINPEC is a French acronym for Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif, which translates to "National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia."

<sup>2</sup> VAYO, Sarika and Moha Norkor did not have radio coverage in Kratie, Monduliri, Ratanakiri and Stung Treng provinces.

- Of the three radio stations contracted by NDI to broadcast the candidate debates, only Moha Nokor was consistently ranked in the top 20 for most listened to radio station and most popular news broadcast. While radio Sarika and VAYO were ranked 32nd and 34th respectively out of the 67 most listened to stations, VAYO was ranked highest among the three stations for listening to the candidate debates. NDI will make every effort to contact the three most popular radio stations, Radio ABC Cambodia FM107.5, Radio Beehive FM 105 and Radio Bayon, for future broadcasting of NDI candidate debates to promote a wider audience, while acknowledging that some stations' management may not be willing or interested in broadcasting programs of a political nature.
- 17% of respondents were aware of NDI's commune council candidate debates conducted during the campaign period in May and June 2012. The survey results indicated a difference in the level of awareness for certain groups. Young people aged 18 to 24 were less aware than older age groups of the commune candidate debates. Young women were less aware of the debates than young men. For future debates, NDI should increase outreach to young people to promote political awareness of the elections and the debates.
- 25% of respondents reported they did not have adequate information about their electoral options. This was especially pronounced among youth, rural and less educated populations. NDI will increase its efforts to reach out to these populations, will continue to support the candidate debates, and promote its radio outreach program to help people better understand the various political parties and platforms involved in the elections.
- 13% of respondents reported listening to the debates, from listening to a partial debate to listening to three or more debates. This survey finding is equivalent to almost one million of the Cambodian adult population. Among the respondents who reported listening to the debates on the radio:
  - 79% said the debates changed their opinion of one or more of the political parties or their candidates;
  - 82% reported the debates treated the candidates fairly and respectfully;
  - 89% said the candidates spoke to the issues that are most important to them and their family; and
  - 85% reported the debates increased their confidence in election fairness in Cambodia.

NDI's candidate debates appear to have had a positive effect on electoral decision-making and general perceptions and knowledge of listeners. NDI plans to conduct and broadcast candidate debates prior to the National Assembly elections in July 2013 on both radio and television.

- Among the respondents who reported attempting to vote but were not able to, 39% said they lacked proper identification documents, 24% said they were unable to register, and 17% said they could not find their names on the voter list. These findings indicate that citizens still face difficulties in exercising their right to vote, and obstacles remain in the registration process. Some of these issues will be further explored in NDI's voter registration audit for the 2013 National Assembly elections.

## II. BACKGROUND

### 1. Debates Program

Commune councils play a critical role in the lives of citizens and are usually the public's first point of contact with government. As such, the commune elections are highly competitive, and all political parties need to develop effective and convincing campaigns to reach voters. Cambodia has little tradition of political rivals participating in a constructive contest of ideas. To address this deficit, NDI's candidate debates offered a unique space for voters to hear differing viewpoints and approaches from candidates and parties to concerns in their community.

NDI's commune council candidate debates aimed to provide a constructive discussion of ideas and opinions among candidates and to help voters assess their political options and make an informed choice on election day. NDI's candidate debates were open to all and allowed for unscripted questions from voters, giving citizens the ability to shape the debate and define the issues important for to them for the elections. Between 500 and 900 citizens attended each live debate, and many more listened to the debates broadcast on the radio afterward.

In advance of each debate, NDI's local civil society partners held small group discussions with citizens in communes where the debates were held to identify the priority issues in each community. The issues were noted and shared with participating parties and candidates to help prepare them for questions that participants might ask at the debates. NDI also held a week of training for the candidates participating in the debates, reviewing the debate format and rules and addressing skills such as message development and public speaking. NDI provided additional training to debate moderators, who were NDI staff with experience moderating the Institute's constituency dialogues program with sitting members of the National Assembly. Moderator scripts were drafted to ensure consistent information on the rules and proceedings was provided at each debate.

Debates were held in the following areas:

	Location	Date
1.	Chanchaeng pagoda, Thkov village, Cheung Kuon commune, Samraong district, Takeo province	May 18, 2012
2.	Samraong pagoda, Samraong village and commune, Soutr Nikom district, Siem Reap province	May 19, 2012
3.	Daeum Mien village, Sangkat Daeum Mien, Krong Ta Khmau, Kandal province	May 20, 2012
4.	Russei Chroy pagoda, Ta Sen village, Soutip commune, Cheung Prey district, Kampong Cham province	May 22, 2012
5.	Pha' Ak pagoda, Kat Dai village, Snuol commune and district, Kratie province	May 23, 2012
6.	Serei Sokun Bopha (Than Khann) pagoda, Roluos village, Cham commune, Kampong Trabaek district, Prey Veng province	May 24, 2012
7.	Sdau Kaet pagoda, Banang village, Sdau commune, Rotonak Mondol district, Battambang province	May 27, 2012

	Location	Date
8.	Lvea pagoda, Lvea village, Samprouch commune, Stoung district, Kampong Thom province	May 27, 2012
9.	Kansaeng Sam pagoda, Komar Meas village, Amleang commune, Thpong district, Kampong Speu province	May 30, 2012
10.	Tep Thida Ram (Yeay Tep) pagoda, Phsar Chhnang village and commune, Sangkat Phsar Chhnang, Krong Kampong Chhnang, Kampong Chhnang province	May 30, 2012

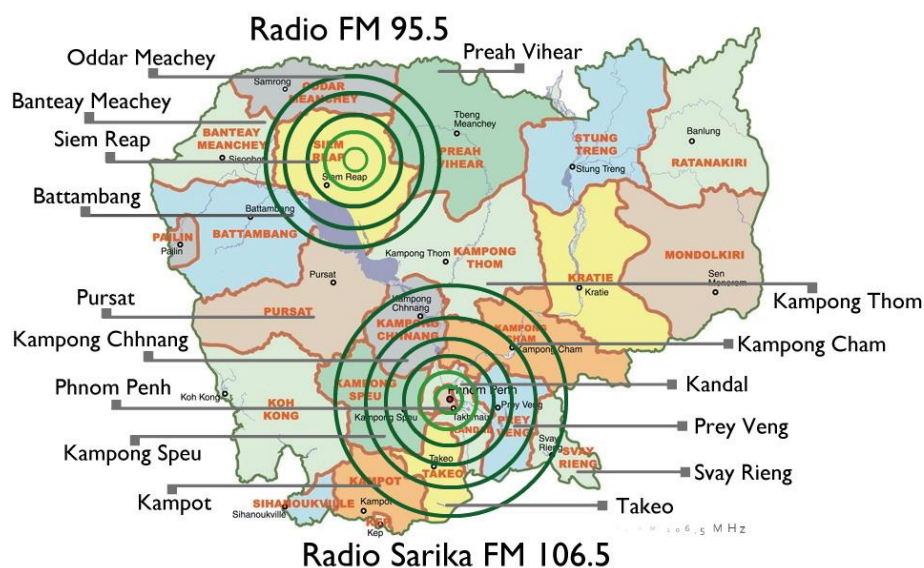
## 2. Radio Stations Selected

NDI selected three radio stations to broadcast the debates, VAYO, Sarika and Moha Norkor, based on their estimated broadcast range, the number of provinces reached, and the station management’s willingness to broadcast programs with political content. Each debate was broadcast once on all three stations at different times of day. Some stations broadcast the debates in two parts because of their two to three-hour length.

Radio stations in Cambodia do not have definitive methods to measure their listenership and can only make estimates of their geographic coverage. Based on the self-reporting of these three stations, the coverage was as follows:

**Radio Sarika** broadcasts from two locations: Siem Reap (through Angkor Ratha radio 95.5 FM) and Phnom Penh (106.5 FM). Siem Reap’s show is broadcast in five provinces: Siem Reap and parts of Banteay Meanchey, Oddar Meanchey, Preah Vihear, Kampong Thom and Battambang. Phnom Penh’s show is broadcast in 10 provinces: Phnom Penh, Kandal, Kampot, Takeo, Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Kampong Chhnang, Pursat, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng, as well as a small part of Kampong Thom.

**Figure 1: Estimated coverage of Radio Sarika FM**



**Radio VAYO** broadcasts from three locations: Battambang (88 FM), Phnom Penh (105.5 FM), and Sihanoukville (102.5 FM). Battambang’s show is broadcast in five provinces: Siem Reap,

Banteay Meanchey, Battambang, Pailin, and Pursat (partial coverage). Phnom Penh’s show is broadcast in 11 provinces: Phnom Penh, Kandal, Kampot, Takeo, Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Kampong Thom (small part), Kampong Chhnang, Pursat (small part), Prey Veng and Svay Rieng. Sihanoukville’s show is broadcast in three provinces: Sihanoukville, Koh Kong, and Kampot.

**Figure 2: Estimated coverage of Radio VAYO FM \***



\* Map translation unavailable.

**Radio Moha Norkor FM93.5** from Phnom Penh could not provide an accurate description of their coverage. According to the radio’s administrator, the station covers part of Phnom Penh, Kandal, Kampot, Takeo, Kampong Speu, Kampong Cham, Kampong Chhnang, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, and parts of Kampong Thom and Pursat provinces.

**Table 1: Expected coverage of Radio Sarika, VAYO and Moha Norkor**

Provinces	Sarika FM106.5	Sarika FM95.5	VAYO FM105.5	VAYO FM205.5	VAYO FM88	Moha Norkor FM93.5
Banteay Meanchey		X			X	
Battambang		X			X	
KG. Cham	X		X			X
KG. Chhnang	X					X
KG. Speu	X		X			X
KG. Thom	X		X			X
Kampot	X			X		X
Kandal	X		X			X
Koh Kong				X		



Provinces	Sarika FM106.5	Sarika FM95.5	VAYO FM105.5	VAYO FM205.5	VAYO FM88	Moha Norkor FM93.5
Phnom Penh	x		X			x
Preah Vihear		x				
Prey Veng	x		X			x
Pursat	x				x	x
Siam Reap		X			x	
Sihanoukville				x		
Svay Rieng	x		X			x
Takeo	x		X			x
Uddar Meanchey		X				
Kep				x		
Pailin					x	
Kratie						
Mondulkiri						
Ratanakiri						
Stung Treng						

### III. Design and Methodology

#### 1. Sampling

The survey's sampling design covered 20 out of 24 provinces and was not a nationally representative sample. Four provinces in the northeast of the country (Kratie, Mondulkiri, Ratanakiri and Stung Treng) do not receive coverage from the radio stations used to broadcast the debates and were not included in the study to avoid skewing the results. The total sample size was 1,200 respondents. Based on this sample size, the confidence interval was 95% and the margin of error was approximately 3%.

The *New Villages* database, compiled by the Cambodian National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning in 2008 for the General Population Census, was used as the parameter for the sampling selection. The database includes comprehensive information about village names and codes with the number of households and the new classification of urban areas.

The survey employed a multi-stage sample selection process: 150 communes were chosen as the primary sampling units using the Probability Proportional to Size with Linear Systematic Sampling (PPSLSS) and the "random start" method, whereby a random start is selected between 1 and the sampling interval. Then 300 villages were selected as secondary sampling units using the Simple Random Sampling without Replacement (SRSWOR) method. The third stage involved the selection of 1,200 households as tertiary sampling units, using a random walk interval with a random starting point. The last stage was the selection of 1,200 individual respondents at the household level using a Kish Grid map.

The questionnaire was designed by NDI and translated into Khmer. Field data was collected approximately three months after the debates and the election over a period of 20 days from

August 16, 2012 to September 4, 2012. Gender was stratified between 50% male and 50% female respondents during the selection of respondents in the household.

## 2. Data Analysis

Survey data was entered using a double entry method to minimize mistakes. The data was then cleaned and analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) by CAS's in-house data manager under the direct supervision of CAS's research manager.

## 3. Demographics

The background characteristics of the sample population included in the data set were:

Rural/urban location of the household/respondent: Surveys conducted in Cambodia frequently use the census classification of rural and urban areas. Of the 300 villages randomly selected for this sample, 20% are classified as urban and 80% as rural by the sampling frame used for the forthcoming 2013 Cambodian Inter-Census Population Survey. The urban/rural distribution used in this survey is taken directly from the census.

Gender: Females and males were stratified by 50/50%. Compared to the 2008 census, which showed 51.36% female and 48.64% male, respondents' gender was not a significant factor of variation and weighting would have changed results by less than 0.1%

Age: The questionnaire recorded respondents' ages in actual years, but for analytic purposes the sample was divided into four aggregated categories: 18-24 year olds, 25-34 year olds, 35-49 year olds, and 50 and older. The age group proportions for the survey were identified by the use of a Kish Grid methodology, resulting in 14.4% in the first age group, 25.1% in the second age group, 31.7% in the third, and 28.8% in the fourth. The 2008 census shows the following respective breakdown: 25.5%; 24.4%; 28.3%; and 21.9%. Compared to actual population age distribution, the survey resulted in an under-representation of youth (likely due to migration) and over-representation of the oldest age group.

**Table 2: Respondents by Gender and Age Groups**

Age groups	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
18-24	89	14.8%	84	14.0%	173	14.4%
25-34	135	22.5%	166	27.7%	301	25.1%
35-49	192	32.0%	188	31.3%	380	31.7%
50+	184	30.7%	162	27.0%	346	28.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Educational attainment: The questionnaire recorded respondents' educational attainment on an eighteen-level scale. For analytic purposes, the sample was consolidated into five aggregated levels of educational attainment:

- No educational attainment: those with no formal schooling at all.
- Primary educational attainment: those who completed any grade level of primary school.

- Secondary level 1 educational attainment: those who completed any grade level of lower secondary school.
- Secondary level 2 educational attainment: those who completed any grade level of higher secondary school.
- Higher education: those who completed any grade level of a higher institution or technical school.

The survey resulted in a higher distribution of educational attainment than the 2008 Census proportions for Cambodians.

**Table 3: Respondents by Gender and Education**

	Male		Female		Total		Vs. 2008 Census	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No education	68	11.3%	126	21.0%	194	16.2%	2,018,116	25.5%**
Primary	266	44.3%	318	53.0%	584	48.7%	3,208,916	40.6%
Secondary level 1	143	23.8%	110	18.3%	253	21.1%	1,601,196	20.2%
Secondary level 2	94	15.7%	33	5.5%	127	10.6%	709,119	9.0%
Higher+	29	4.8%	13	2.2%	42	3.5%	370,098	4.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>7,907,445*</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

\* The 2008 census shows that 529 individuals *among adults from 18+ years old* did not report their level of educational attainment.

\*\* The 2008 census did not include those who started grade 1 but did not complete primary level but the survey did, therefore there is discrepancy between the differences in primary education and no education.

*Occupation:* In terms of occupation, survey respondents were predominately farmers, while the second most common occupation was self-employed in a small business.

**Table 4: Occupation of Respondents**

	N	Percent
Farmer	695	57.9
Industrialist / businessperson	22	1.8
Laborer/skilled worker	12	1
Laborer/unskilled worker	58	4.8
Technician/skilled professional	45	3.8
Homemaker	74	6.2
Student/pupil	44	3.7
Fisherperson	11	0.9
Civil servant	33	2.8
Employee of private company/NGO	10	0.8
Self-employed in small business/mobile seller	162	13.5
Unemployed	3	0.2
Retired	9	0.8
Disabled and unable to work	22	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>100</b>

In summary, the survey sample reflected an approximate breakdown of the Cambodian population as a whole. Differences between the survey and the census could reflect the exclusion of the four northeastern provinces.

#### IV. FINDINGS ON MEDIA ACCESS, USAGE AND STATION POPULARITY

The number of media establishments in Cambodia has increased markedly over the past few years, especially radio stations (state owned and private) in the capital city of Phnom Penh and other provinces and municipalities. However, the coverage of many of these stations is limited. Radio AM frequencies were widely used in the past, but today, the majority of Cambodians are using FM frequency as their preferred means of broadcast. According to the Ministry of Information, Cambodia has 53 radio channels broadcasting from Phnom Penh, 64 channels from other provinces, and 49 relay channels.

The survey attempted to assess the popularity of radio stations in Cambodia and especially the three radio stations chosen by NDI to broadcast the candidate debates.

##### 1. Media Access and Usage

The survey asked respondents whether they have access to a variety of media devices. The results showed that 89% of respondents had access to a TV set, while 85% had access to a radio. Access depended on the respondent's location – urban versus rural – and by level of education.

In addition to radio and television, respondents also had access to mobile phones, VCRs, and land line phones. Devices such as iPod/MP3 players, computers and flash drives were more frequently reported in urban areas among those who already have access to a computer or the internet.

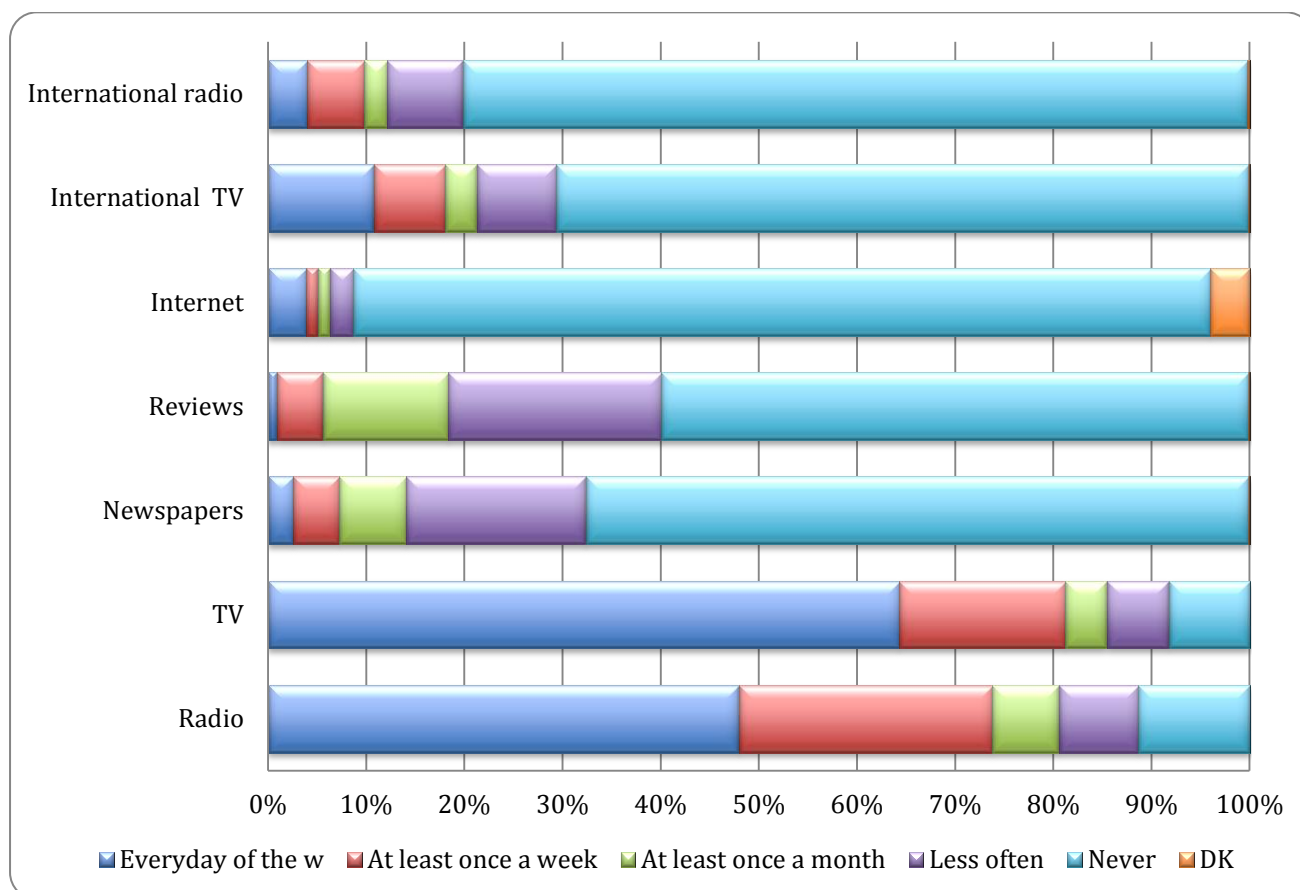
**Table 5: Access to Media Devices**

Devices	Yes		No		DK	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TV Set	1069	89.1	131	10.9	0	0
Radio	1017	84.8	183	15.2	0	0
Mobile phone	868	72.3	332	27.7	0	0
VCR	632	52.7	562	46.8	6	0.5
Landline phone	468	39	732	61	0	0
iPod/MP3 player	171	14.2	816	68	213	17.8
Loud Speaker	169	14.1	814	67.8	217	18.1
Computer	112	9.3	1026	85.5	62	5.2
Internet	102	8.5	978	81.5	120	10
Walky-talkie	101	8.4	1035	86.2	64	5.3
Flash drive	62	5.2	846	70.5	292	24.3

The survey measured how often different types of media were used: local and international radio programs, local and international television programs, newspapers, magazines, and the

internet. Results showed that electronic media is more popular than print media; 73.8% of respondents listen to local radio at least once a week and 81.1% of respondents watch local television at least once a week, while only 7.3% of respondents reported reading newspapers at least once a week. The use of the internet is still limited, with only 5.1% of respondents reporting usage.

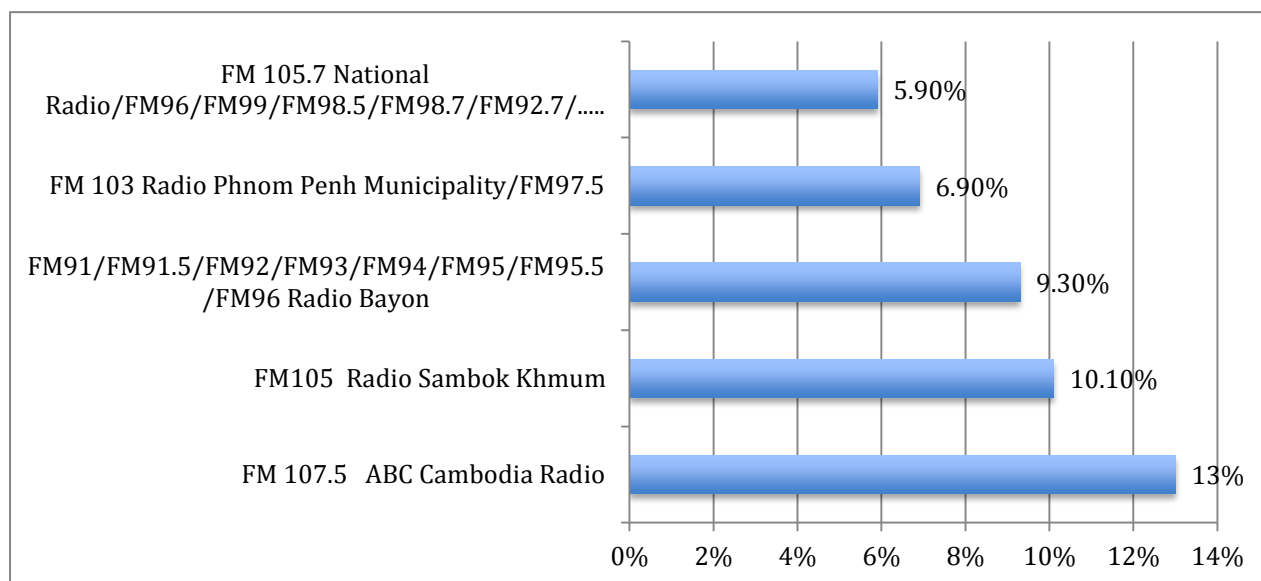
**Figure 3: Media Usage**



## 2. Station Popularity

The survey measured the general popularity of radio channels broadcasting in Cambodia, allowing respondents three choices in order of ranked preference.

**Figure 4. Station Popularity**



Eight radio channels were among the three top choices: Radio ABC Cambodia FM107.5; Radio Beehive FM 105; Radio Bayon (with all relay channels); Women’s Media Center (with all relay channels); National Radio (with all relay channels); Radio Phnom Penh Municipality FM 97.5; Radio Khemarak Phoumin; and Radio Norkor Watt FM101.

In addition to general popularity, the survey also measured the popularity of channels for sources of news. The five most popular radio stations for news programs are:

1. Radio ABC Cambodia FM107.5 (14.3%)
2. Radio Beehive FM105 (10.6%)
3. Radio Bayon (9.8%)
4. Women’s Media Center (8.2%)
5. Radio Phnom Penh Municipality FM 97.5 (5.6%)

Of the three radio stations (six channels) broadcasting NDI’s candidate debates, only two channels – Moha Norkor FM 93.5 from Phnom Penh and Sarika FM 95.5 through channel Angkor Ratha FM 95.5 in Siem Reap – were among the top ten most popular radio stations for listening to news in Cambodia.

The survey also asked how often people listened to any of the six radio channels commissioned by NDI for broadcasting the candidate debates, allowing for the options “every day of the week,” “at least once a week,” “at least once a month,” “not often” and “never.”

The results below show that radio channels broadcasting from Phnom Penh had more listeners than those from the provinces due to wider coverage.

**Table 6: Popularity of Debate Stations**

Radio Channels	Listeners*		Non-listeners		Don't Know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VAYO FM 105.5 from Phnom Penh	397	33.1	775	64.6	28	2.3
VAYO FM 88 from Battambang	168	14	981	81.8	51	4.2
VAYO FM 102.5 from Preah Sihanouk	117	9.7	1035	86.2	48	4
Moha Norkor FM 93.5 from Phnom Penh	321	26.8	847	70.6	32	2.7
Sarika FM 106.5 from Phnom Penh	270	22.5	904	75.3	26	2.2
Sarika FM 95.5 from Siem Reap	151	12.7	984	82	65	5.4

\*The category "Listeners" includes respondents who reported listening to the channels "every day of the week," "at least once a week," "at least once a month" and "less often."

## V. FINDINGS ON THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATE DEBATES

### 1. General Awareness of the Commune Council Debates

The survey measured public awareness of the commune council debates and attempted to assess the extent to which the debates had an influence on citizens' electoral decision-making. Of the 1,200 person sample, 16.5% answered yes to the question, "Did you know that the commune council candidate debates were happening in May and June 2012, during the period of the election campaign for the 2012 commune council elections?" The results show differences between young and old age groups, with youth less aware of the debates than older age groups. Furthermore, the survey also showed men to be more aware than women.

Those who were aware of the debates learned of them primarily through local authorities (47.7%), radio advertisements (31.5%), and random radio listening (11.2%). Family members or neighbors (15.7%), friends (8.1%) and political parties (7.1%) also served as sources of information.

**Table 7: Sources of Debate Information**

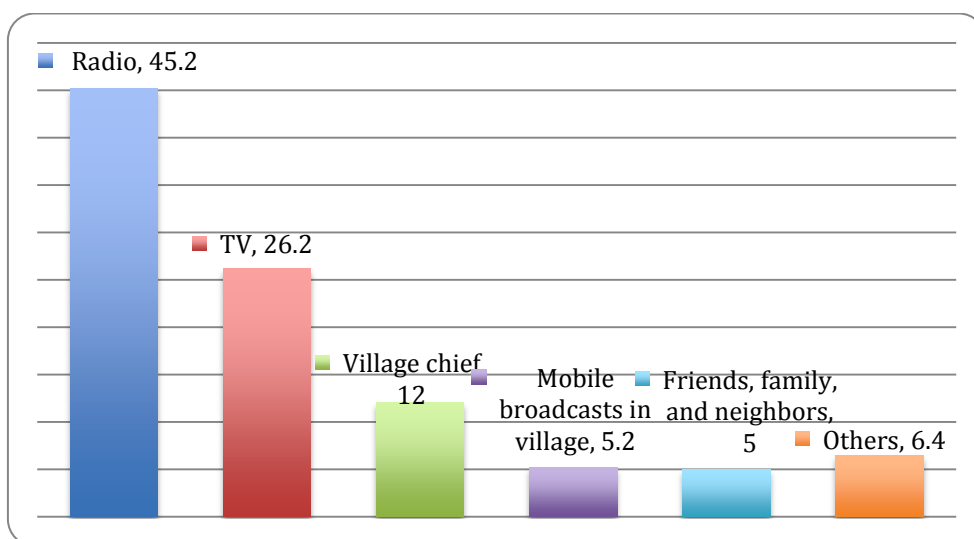
Sources of Information	Number	%
Local authorities	94	47.5%
Radio ads	62	31.3%
Family members or neighbors	31	15.7%
Random radio listening	22	11.1%
Friends	16	8.1%
Political parties	14	7.1%
Local NGOs	4	2.0%
Newspaper ads	2	1.0%
Loudspeaker announcements	2	1.0%
Leaflet distribution	1	.5%

Although 83.5% of people were not aware that the debates were happening during the election campaign, among these respondents, 66.1% reported they were either "very interested" or

“somewhat interested” in the debates. This was prominent among people with advanced education and male respondents.

The survey also found that 45.2% of respondents obtain their information on political party platforms via radio broadcast. Television was the second most reported method, followed by village chiefs.

**Figure 5: Sources of Information on Political Party Platforms (%)**



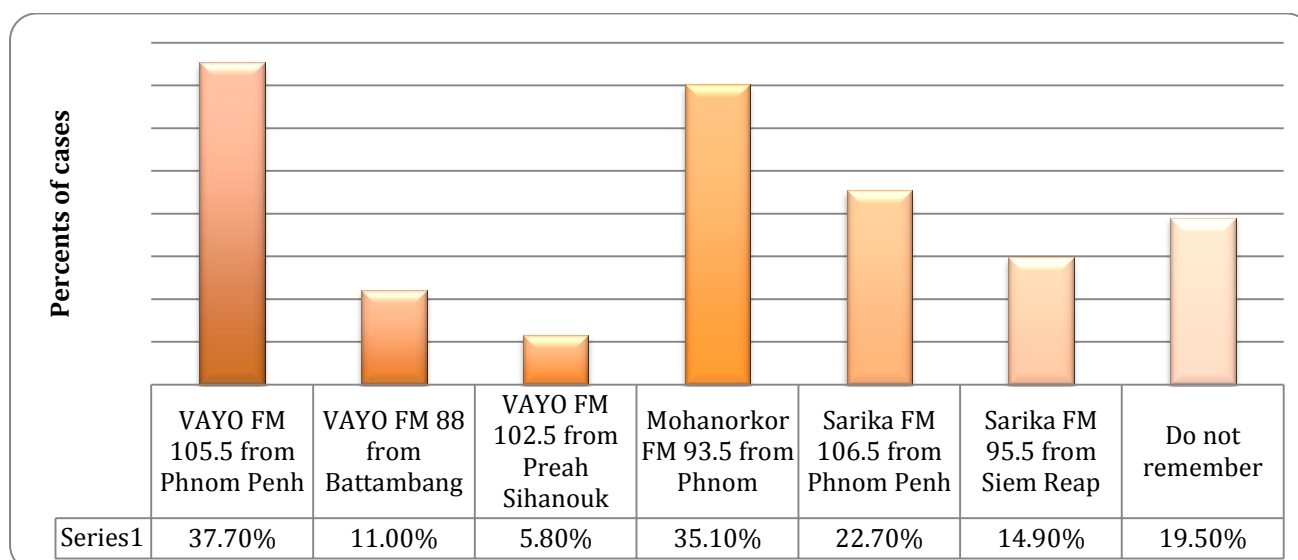
Moreover, 25.1% of respondents reported that during the council election they did not have adequate information about their electoral options. Those with lower levels of education, rural respondents, and youth made up a significant portion of the 25.1%.

## ***2. Debate Listenership***

The results of the survey reveal that 12.8% of respondents listened to at least part of one debate through the radio broadcasts. Among this 12.8%, 21.4% reported listening to three or more debates, 20.8% listened to two debates, 26.6% to one debate, and 31.2% listened to only part of one debate. People may have listened to partial debates because each debate lasted two to three hours and radio time was divided into different broadcasts. In addition, men were more likely than women to have listened to the debates, as were those with higher education levels.



**Figure 6: Percentage of Debate Listeners by Radio Station**



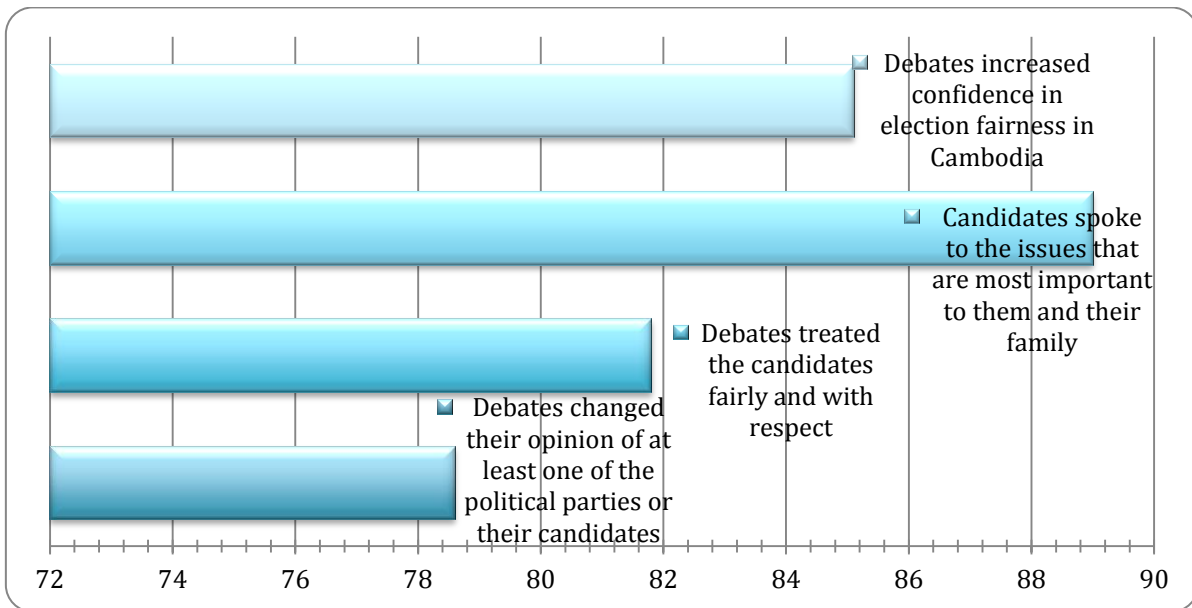
Respondents who listened to the debates over the radio reported hearing them on VAYO FM 105.5 (47.7%), Moha Norkor FM 93.5 (35.1%), and Sarika FM 106.5 (22.7%), all from Phnom Penh. These channels have a wider coverage than those from the provinces. Three other channels, radio Sarika FM 95.5 from Siem Reap had slightly more listeners (14.9%) than VAYO FM 88 from Battambang (11%), and VAYO FM 102.5 from Preah Sihanouk (5.8%).

### ***3. Debate Influence on Listeners' Opinions***

The survey showed that among respondents who had listened to the debates:

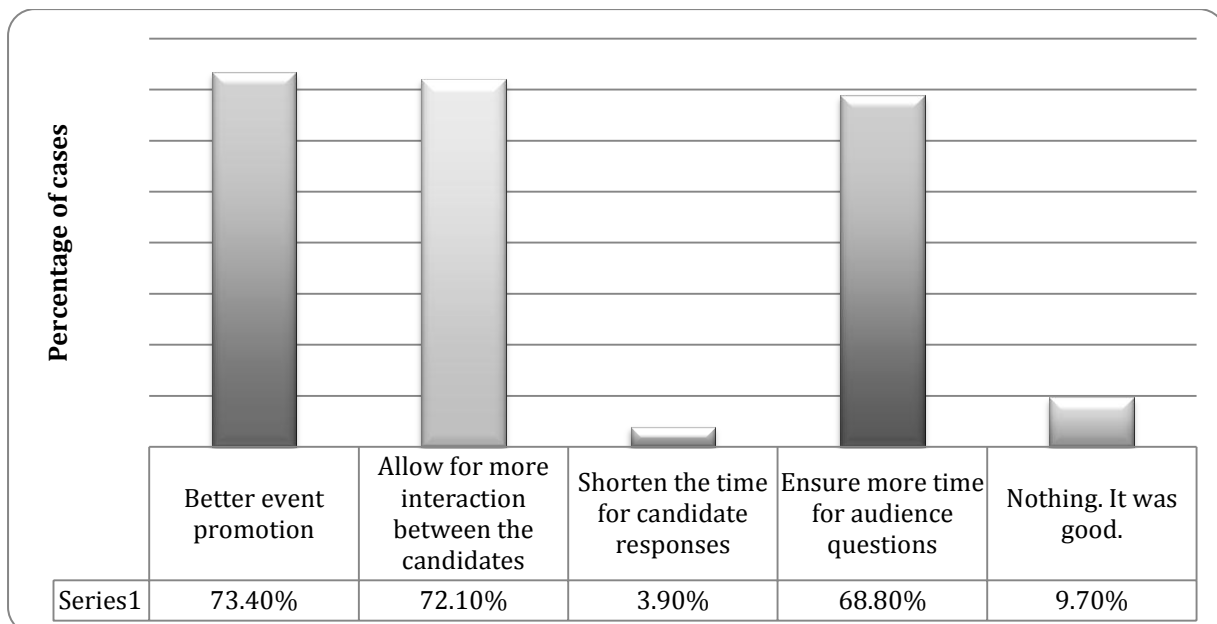
- 78.6% answered the debates changed their opinion of at least one of the political parties or their candidates.
- 81.8% of respondents reported the debates treated the candidates fairly and respectfully.
- 89% said the candidates spoke to the issues that were most important to them and their family.
- 85.1% agreed to the statement that the debates increased their confidence in election fairness in Cambodia.

**Figure 7: Listeners' Opinions of the Debates (%)**



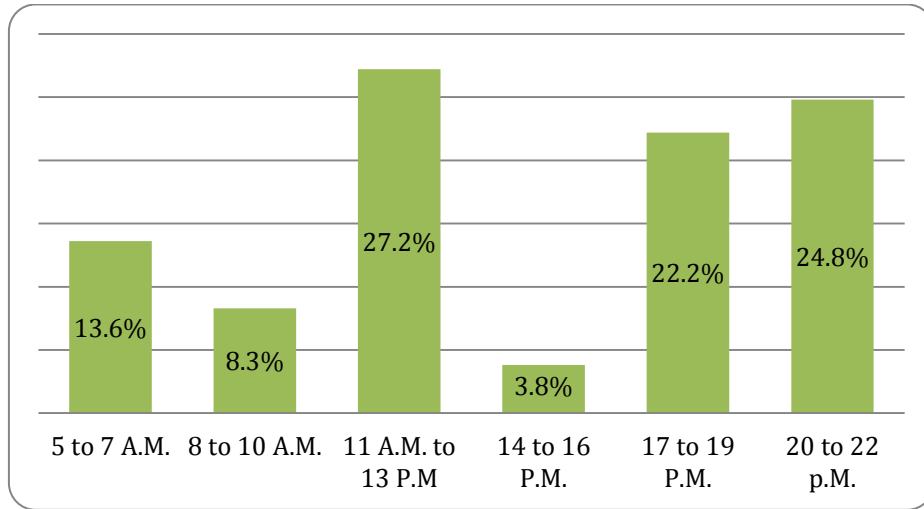
The most frequent recommendation cited by listeners on how to improve the debates was better promotion of the debate itself (73.4%). Furthermore, despite the debates lasting two to three hours, only 3.9% suggested shortening the time for candidate responses. Respondents recommended that the debates should allow for more interaction between the candidates (72.1%). Also, 68.8% of listeners believed the debates should allow more time for audience questions.

**Figure 8: Recommendations for Improving the Debates**



Most respondents also indicated that between 11:00am and 1:00pm and between 5:00pm and 10:00pm would be the best times for broadcasting the debates in the future.

**Figure 9: Best Times for Broadcasting the Debates**

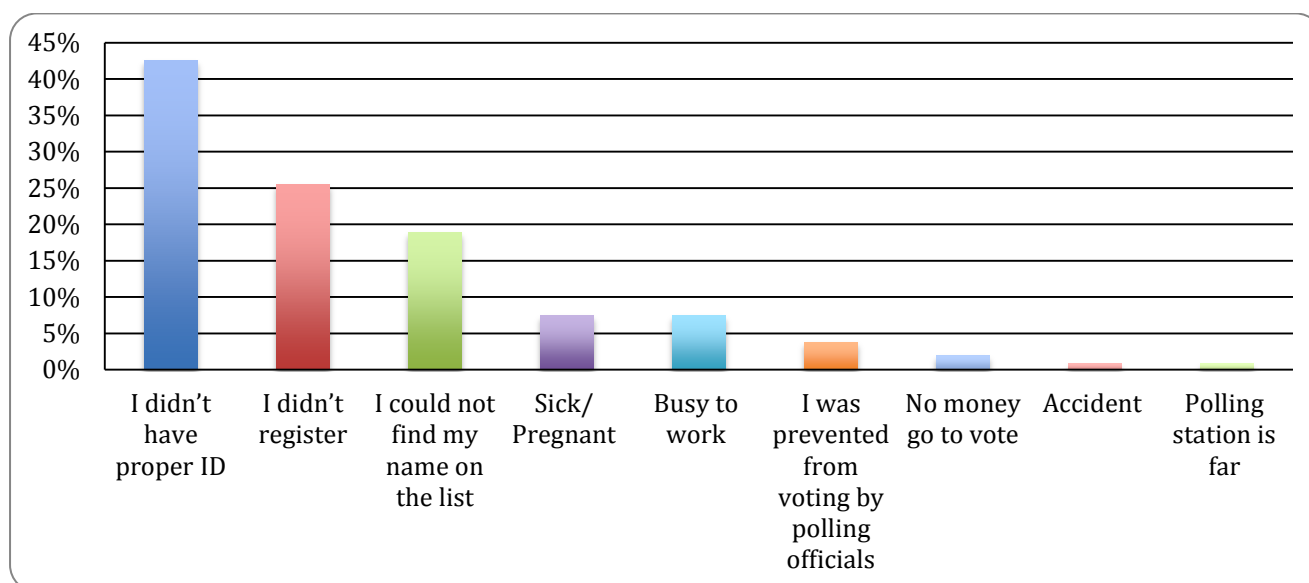


## **VI. FINDINGS ON THE VOTING PROCESS**

The survey asked if respondents voted during the 2012 commune council elections. A total of 13.8% of respondents reported that they did not vote. This number is inconsistent with the National Election Committee's data, which showed 34.87% did not vote. However, the radio survey asked respondents to self-report on behavior and also did not cover four provinces, possibly explaining the discrepancy. The survey found young people were less likely to participate in voting than those in older age groups.

The survey also asked respondents who did not vote during the commune council election 2012 whether or not they attempted to vote. The results showed that, of non-voting respondents, 63.9% tried to vote but were unable to, either because they lacked proper identification documents (42.5%), they failed to register (25.5%), or they could not find their names on the voters' list (18.9%).

**Figure 10: Reasons for Not Voting**



## VII. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The survey's main findings and recommendations include:

- 85% of respondents have access to a radio, and 74% of respondents listened to the radio at least once a week or more. Although 89% of respondents have access to a television, radio is the most popular choice (45%) for obtaining information about political party platforms. As a result, NDI will continue to use radio as a broadcasting medium for its National Assembly candidate debates in 2013, as it represents a significant portion of the population as a target audience. In addition, given the number of Cambodians with access to a television set, NDI will broadcast some of its debates on television.
- Of the three radio stations contracted by NDI to broadcast the candidate debates, only Moha Nokor was consistently ranked in the top 20 for most listened to radio station and most popular news broadcast. While radio Sarika and VAYO were ranked 32nd and 34th respectively out of the 67 most listened to stations, VAYO was ranked highest among the three stations for listening to the candidate debates. NDI will make every effort to contact the three most popular radio stations, Radio ABC Cambodia FM107.5, Radio Beehive FM 105 and Radio Bayon, for future broadcasting of NDI candidate debates to promote a wider audience, while acknowledging that some stations' management may not be willing or interested in broadcasting programs of a political nature.
- 17% of respondents were aware of NDI's commune council candidate debates conducted during the campaign period in May and June 2012. The survey results indicated a difference in the level of awareness for certain groups. Young people aged 18 to 24 were less aware than older age groups of the commune candidate debates. Young women were less aware of the debates than young men. For future debates, NDI should increase outreach to young people to promote political awareness of the elections and the debates.

- 25% of respondents reported they did not have adequate information about their electoral options. This was especially pronounced among youth, rural and less educated populations. NDI will increase its efforts to reach out to these populations, will continue to support the candidate debates, and promote its radio outreach program to help people better understand the various political parties and platforms involved in the elections.
- 13% of respondents reported listening to the debates, from listening to a partial debate to listening to three or more debates. This survey finding is equivalent to almost one million of the Cambodian adult population. Among the respondents who reported listening to the debates on the radio:
  - 79% said the debates changed their opinion of one or more of the political parties or their candidates;
  - 82% reported the debates treated the candidates fairly and respectfully;
  - 89% said the candidates spoke to the issues that are most important to them and their family; and
  - 85% reported the debates increased their confidence in election fairness in Cambodia.

NDI's candidate debates appear to have had a positive effect on electoral decision-making and general perceptions and knowledge of listeners. NDI plans to conduct and broadcast candidate debates prior to the National Assembly elections in July 2013 on both radio and television.

- Among the respondents who reported attempting to vote but were not able to, 39% said they lacked proper identification documents, 24% said they were not registered, and 17% said they could not find their names on the voter list. These findings indicated that citizens still face difficulties in exercising their right to vote, and obstacles remain in the registration process. Some of these issues will be further explored in NDI's voter registration audit for the 2013 National Assembly elections.

## VIII. APPENDIX

### Questionnaire – Effectiveness of NDI CC debate 2012 13 August 2012

Questionnaire Serial Number:	Date:
Interviewer's Name:	Province:
Interviewer's code:	District:
Starting Time :	Commune:
Finishing Time:	Village:

#### Demographics

1) Could you please tell me your age?

\_\_\_\_\_

2) Sex of Respondent

Male ..... 1  
Female ..... 2

3) What is the highest school year/class you have completed?

\_\_\_\_\_

Grade	Codes	Grade	Code
1	1	10	10
2	2	11	11
3	3	12	12
4	4	Vocational Training	13
5	5	Some University	14
6	6	University (Bachelors degree)	15
7	7	University (Masters degree)	16
8	8	University (terminal degree – PhD, MD, etc)	17
9	9	No education / (less than 1 year)	0

4) What is your occupation, that is, what work do you mainly do? SINGLE ANSWER

Farmer .....	1	Housewife .....	6
Industrialist / Businessman / businesswoman.....	2	Student/pupil .....	7
Laborer/skilled worker .....	3	Fisherman .....	8
Laborer/unskilled worker .....	4	Other (Write In _____) .....	9
Skilled worker/technician.....	5	Don't know/refused .....	99

## Media Consumption

- 5) Which of the following items do you have access to at any time and which you can use as you please? READ OUT AND CIRCLE ANY THAT THE RESPONDENT HAS ACCESS TO

	Yes	No	DK	Refused
Radio Set	1	2	9	8
VCR/DVD player	1	2	9	8
TV Set	1	2	9	8
iPod/MP3 Player	1	2	9	8
Cell/ Mobile Phone	1	2	9	8
Fixed/Land line phone	1	2	9	8
Computer	1	2	9	8
Internet access	1	2	9	8
Flash drive	1	2	9	8
Walky-talky	1	2	9	8
Speaker	1	2	9	8

- 6) For each one of the following, please tell me how often you use that media - every day of the week, at least once a week, at least once a month, less often or never? READ OUT – CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE PER ROW

		Every day of the week	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never	Don't Know	Refused
1	Radio (any)	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
2	Television (any)	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
3	Newspapers	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
4	Magazines	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
5	The internet	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
6	International TV	4	3	2	1	0	9	8
7	International radio	4	3	2	1	0	9	8

- 7) Through which of the following ways have you gotten the most the information about the political parties' platforms? (CIRCLE FIRST RESPONSE) Is there any other way you have gotten information about political parties' platforms? (CIRCLE SECOND CHOICE)

	1 <sup>st</sup> choice	2 <sup>nd</sup> choice
TV	1	1
Radio	2	2
Newspapers	3	3
Political party rallies, meetings, party representative	4	4
Political party leaflets	5	5
Mobile broadcasts in village	6	6

Village chief	7	7
Commune council members/chief	8	8
Religious leader	9	9
Friends and family and neighbors	10	10
NGO	11	11
Group chief	12	12
Other (specify _____)	13	13
Seminars/Public forums organized by NGOs/debates	14	14
Did not receive any information	88	88
Don't know / refused	99	99
No others / just one		77

8) During the commune council election 2007, do you think you had adequate information about your electoral options?

Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 0

9) What are 3 radio channels that you listen the most (OPEN ENDED – In order of importance)

1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_  
 DK ..... 9  
 NA ..... 8

10) What radio channels do you trust broadcasts best news program? (OPEN ENDED – In order of importance)

1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_  
 DK ..... 9  
 NA ..... 8

11) How often do you listen to any of the following radio channels?

		Every day of the week	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never	Don't Know	Refused
1	VAYO FM 105.5 from Phnom Penh	4	3	2	1	0	99	88
2	VAYO FM 88 from Battambang	4	3	2	1	0	99	88
3	VAYO FM 102.5 from Preah Sihanouk	4	3	2	1	0	99	88
4	Mohanorkor FM 93.5 from Phnom Penh	4	3	2	1	0	99	88
5	Sarika FM 106.5 from Phnom Penh	4	3	2	1	0	99	88
6	Sarika FM 95.5 from Siem Reap	4	3	2	1	0	99	88

12) How confident are you that women have the same access to information about politics as men do?

Very confident ..... 4  
 Somewhat confident..... 3  
 Somewhat unconfident..... 2  
 Not confident..... 1  
 DK ..... 9  
 NA ..... 8



## Commune council debates

13) Did you know that the CC candidate debates were happening in May-June 2012,( or during the period of election campaign for 2012 commune council elections)?

Yes ..... 1 →Go to Q. 15  
 No ..... 0 →Go to Q. 14

14) **If no** (in Q.13), how much would you say that you are interested in commune council candidate debates? (Circle one of the pre codes, then go to Question 16 )

Very interested ..... 4  
 Somewhat interested ..... 3  
 Not very interested ..... 2  
 Not at all interested ..... 1  
 Can't choose ..... 8  
 Decline to answer..... 9

15) If yes (in Q.13), how did you hear about the debates?

Friends .....	1	Radio ads .....	6
Family members or neighbor.....	2	Newspaper ads .....	7
Local authorities .....	3	Randomly while listening to radio .....	8
Local NGO .....	4	Other (write in) .....	88
My political party.....	5	Do not remember .....	99

16) Did you listen to a radio broadcasting of commune council candidate debates, in May-June 2012 before the elections?

Yes ..... 1 →Go to Q. 17  
 No ..... 0 →Go to Q. 25

17) How many debates did you hear on radio? (*Probe if difficult to define, by asking the debate in which communes or provinces*)

Part of one debate (didn't hear whole thing) ..... 1  
 One debate ..... 2  
 Two debates ..... 3  
 Three or more ..... 4

18) How did you learn about this broadcasting?

Friends .....	1
Family members or neighbor.....	2
Local authorities .....	3
Local NGO .....	4
My political party.....	5
Radio ads .....	6
Newspaper ads .....	7
Randomly while listening to radio .....	8
Other (write in) .....	88
Do not remember .....	99

19) On which radio channel did you hear the debate?

VAYO FM 105.5 from Phnom Penh ..... 1  
 VAYO FM 88 from Battambang ..... 2  
 VAYO FM 102.5 from Preah Sihanouk..... 3  
 Mohanorkor FM 93.5 from Phnom ..... 4  
 Sarika FM 106.5 from Phnom Penh ..... 5  
 Sarika FM 95.5 from Siem Reap ..... 6  
 Do not remember ..... 8

20-21		Please tell me how you feel about the following statements. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?				
		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
20)	The debate treated all candidates fairly and equally.	1	2	3	4	9
21)	This debate changed my opinion of one, or more, of the political parties or their candidate.	1	2	3	4	9

22) Did the candidates speak to the issues that are most important to you and your family?

Yes ..... 1  
 No ..... 0  
 Don't know..... 9

23) Did this debate increase or decrease your confidence in election fairness in Cambodia?

Increase ..... 1  
 Decrease ..... 2  
 No change ..... 3  
 Don't know ..... 9  
 Decline to answer..... 8

24) What would you change to make these debates better?

Prompts:

Better event promotion ..... 1  
 Allow for more interaction between the candidates..... 2  
 Shorten the time for candidate responses ..... 3  
 Ensure more time for audience questions ..... 4  
 Nothing. It was good. .... 5

25) What is the appropriate time for radio broadcasting the debates?

5 to 7 A.M. .... 1  
 8 to 10 A.M. .... 2  
 11 A.M. to 13 P.M..... 3  
 14 to 16 P.M. .... 4  
 17 to 19 P.M. .... 5  
 20 to 22 p.M. .... 6

## Voting

26) Did you vote?

Yes .....	1	→Go to Q. 29
No .....	0	→Go to Q. 27
No answer.....	9	

27) Did you try to vote?

Yes .....	1	→Go to Q. 28
No .....	0	→Go to Q. 29

28) Why were you unable to vote?

I didn't register .....	1
I didn't have proper ID .....	2
I could not find my name on the list.....	3
Someone had already voted under my name.....	4
I was prevented from voting by polling officials.....	5
I was prevented from voting by others .....	6
Other.....	7

29) Did the debate have any impact on who you voted for?

Big impact .....	1
Some impact .....	2
No impact .....	3
Not Applicable .....	8
Don't know .....	9