REPORTING GOVERNANCE:

A Content Analysis of Cambodian Media Outlets

November 2013

Acknowledgements

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Preface

It is the DMCs great pleasure to collaborate with ABC International Development on this research project on media and governance and contribute to its aim of improving the media landscape in Cambodia. Australian Aid funding demonstrates the Australian Government's commitment to working with Cambodia to improve its public sector reforms and the media sector in particular. This research project is a testimony.

After decades of wars and conflicts, Cambodia is now an emerging economy and is heading towards becoming a normalised state, with good governance reform considered a 'life and death' issue, to quote Prime Minister Hun Sen's remark. The media can play an important role not only to disseminate information on governance and governance reforms in a timely and neutral manner to relevant stakeholders but also to increase citizens' knowledge and participation in such reform.

Perhaps now Cambodian media are at a crossroad or on a transformation path, 20 years after the introduction of the liberal multi-party system. Due to the intense political contests that occurred after the 1993 general elections, media have been seen as polarised rather than neutralised. However, in the upcoming fifth mandate of the National Assembly, the government intends to deepen the public sector reforms, and certainly media will need to play an active and neutral role in order to help the government achieve its mission. Toward this end, media should increase the quality and quantity of their reportage on governance and governance reforms so that the government is better informed of what happens on the ground and can carry out necessary reforms. In addition to this, media and media professionals should help people understand not only their rights but also their duties and responsibilities that come with their rights – that is, they can act as a bridge between the government and citizens, and facilitate this two-way communication.

It is the humble aim of this report to contribute to this mission of making a better Cambodia for all and all for a better Cambodia. We hope that readers will find this report useful and informative and we are happy to receive constructive comments to improve the next phase of the project. We also look forward to collaborating with ABC ID to enhance the role of media in democratic governance and democratic reforms.

The DMC and its staff are very thankful to everyone involved in this project, and we wish everyone a great success.

Ratana SOM,
DMC Acting Head

Abbreviations and Acronyms

Australian Aid	Australian Agency for International Development
ABC ID	Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development
BB	Battambang
CCAP	Cambodia Communication Assistance Project
CCHR	Cambodian Center for Human Rights
CTN	Cambodian Television Network
DMC	Department of Media and Communication
KC	Kampong Cham
KP	Kampot
LICADHO	Cambodia League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PDI	Provincial Departments of Information
RFA	Radio Free Asia
RFI	Radio France International
RNK	Radio National Kampuchea
TVK	National Television of Cambodia
SR	Siem Reap
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WB	World Bank
WMC	Women's Media Center of Cambodia

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Executive Summary

Introduction

Academic and development literature agrees that good governance, free flow of information and quality media news coverage go hand in hand. As a post-communist state and a state in the process of rapid transformation, Cambodia is in need of a capable fourth estate to help achieve good governance. The media's role is thus not only to report on governance issues, but also to build and enhance knowledge around the concept of governance.

CCAP Context and Research Objectives

This report, therefore, aims to assess the quality of media coverage of governance by key media outlets and outlets of interest to CCAP, which is a two year initiative (2012-2013) funded by Australian Aid, and implemented by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development (ABC ID). The project works in close collaboration with four Provincial Departments of Information (PDI) in Battambang (BB), Kampong Cham (KC), Kampot (KP), and since end of January 2013 with Siem Reap (SR) PDI to improve their governance coverage in the last few years.

This research is a part of this broader project, and it intends to study the news coverage, more specifically the governance coverage, of three local newspapers, one online publication, three local television (TV) stations, 10 local and international radio stations (of which three are international broadcasters and four are the outlets of interest to CCAP).

This report analyses and discusses the news reportage in the newspapers, online, radio and TV. The news reporting and news programs for a period of two weeks between 5th and 18th December, 2012 are sourced from the selected media outlets and are analysed. In total, 5,722 story items are studied. The report mainly covers the following aspects of governance: extent of governance coverage, prominence of governance coverage, thematic focus of governance coverage and bias in governance coverage. Where necessary and as much as possible, it also compares and contrasts this governance coverage with the coverage of governance relevance more broadly and non-governance issues in general.

Methodology and Data Analysis

The study employs a quantitative content analysis method to analyse the data. Initially, key radio outlets were identified, and those key outlets were selected for the study based on their popularity and/or political and journalistic prominence. The three provincial broadcasters (KC, KP and BB radio stations) under the CCAP project and a potential NGO-run radio outlet were then added to the list. This was followed by defining and operationalising governance through a rigorous discussion between the Department of Media and Communication (DMC) researchers and the ABC ID staff members with advice from Inter Media Research and Consulting Europe.

The data collected was analysed at three different levels. All stories were first coded for their story format, section, placement, primary and secondary topic and story size or length. The second level of analysis focused on identifying stories based on their governance relevance. This included identifying governance themes, number of sources and source representation. The third and final level of analysis focused on governance stories only. This further analysed the subjects in the story, protagonist in the story, subject identification and subject sentiment. The variable for analysis were identified, defined and specified in the codebook.

Key Findings

News coverage by key media outlets and outlets of interest is dominated by reports of daily safety and security issues (except for TV and key radio outlets), administrative affairs, investment and international cooperation and international and regional affairs. This is understandable given the government's attention to peace and stability maintenance and the hierarchical nature of Cambodian news reportage. Newspapers cover sport quite extensively, while the *DAP Online* and TV have quite wide coverage of social affairs and administrative affairs, respectively. Of all types of media outlets, the data suggests that the topics covered by radio outlets, especially the key ones, are more diverse, and that such topics as political conflicts and affairs, corruption, law and justice and human rights receive quite significant coverage. This diversity of topics is probably attributed to the diverse ownership of radio outlets, some of which are operated by NGOs or foreign government-funded international radio broadcasters.

At 24% of total coverage, governance relevant coverage across every type of media is low. Of the four types of media, radio has the most governance relevant coverage (34%). Governance issues and routine functioning receive the most extensive coverage, while reporting of problematic incidents is quite minimal across every media type.

Coverage of governance issues itself is likewise low (10%). Key radio outlets have the most extensive coverage of governance issues, while newspapers rank last. Amongst the three newspapers, *Koh Santepheap* has the least coverage of governance issues, whereas *Rasmei Kampuchea* ranks top in the chart. As for radio outlets, the international broadcaster, *Radio Free Asia (RFA),* and the state-owned *Radio National Kampuchea (RNK)* rank first and second, respectively, in governance coverage, while the France-based *Radio France International (RFI)* has the least coverage. The Kampot PDI radio station has the most governance coverage while the Kampong Cham PDI radio station and Battambang PDI radio stations have very limited coverage. Like the state-owned radio outlet, the state-owned television, *National Television of Cambodia (TVK),* is the outlet that has the most coverage of governance issues.

While the governance coverage is low, the prominence given to governance relevance and governance coverage, as measured by the placement of news items and length of coverage, is generally a bit more promising, although there is still room for improvement. Almost half of the governance relevance and a quarter of governance news items in the three newspapers appear in the front page, last page and section front; moreover; the governance relevance and governance news items are usually bigger than the average of news items and non-governance news items. This prominence can also be observed in the *DAP* Online. Radio outlets also give considerable prominence to governance relevance and governance news items in comparison to the average length of the news items and length of non-governance news items. Of all types of media covered in this study, the three TV stations seem to give less prominence to governance relevance and governance news items as less than 50% of the governance coverage occupies the first 10 stories in their news programs. This can also be seen in the shorter coverage on governance relevance (except for problematic incidents) and governance news items relative to the average news items and the non-governance news items.

The dominant thematic focus of governance coverage across every type of media and every type of governance-relevant stories is accountability. This is distantly followed by transparency, sub-national administration reforms, law and justice and land rights. Such themes as civic engagement, youth empowerment, anti-corruption, gender and ethnic minorities receive little or no coverage at all. Of the three newspapers, the *Phnom Penh Post* has the most diverse coverage in terms of thematic focus. Amongst the four types of media covered in this study, radio has the most diverse thematic governance focus, and some of the outlets have dominant

governance themes, which even deviate from the general pattern above. The dominant thematic focus of *FM103*, for example, is land rights, whereas *RFI* focuses heavily on law and justice. Again, this diversity may be a result of the diversity of ownership of radio stations. As for TV programs, *Cambodian Television Network (CTN)* and *Bayon News* have more diverse thematic focus than the state-owned *TVK*.

Minimal source attribution and sentiment towards protagonists and subjects can indicate bias in coverage. Overall, the number of sources of information across every type of media is small, with key radio outlets topping the chart. However, there are several noticeable observations. The *Phnom Penh Post* has the highest number of sources and the average number of sources relative to the other two newspapers. The three international broadcasters also have more sources of information than their local counterparts. The three provincial radio outlets have the fewest sources of information relative to the key outlets and other types of media outlets generally.

While the small number of sources can indicate bias in governance coverage, restricted diversity of sources and sentiment towards the protagonists and subjects in each story can also lead to such bias. Overall, the main source of information is the national government. This is distantly followed by law enforcement officers, citizens and civil society organisations. In addition to the higher number of sources, the *Phnom Penh Post* also relies less on the government for information, and this is balanced by voices from civil society organisations. Like the *Phnom Penh Post,* the NGO-run *WMC FM102* and the three international radio outlets also have more diverse sources of information, and they balance the information from the government with voices from civil society organisations and/or citizens. Of the three international radio outlets, *RFA* relies the least on the government for information, while *RFI* and *ABC Australia* have the most diverse sources of information, drawing information from other sources, including legislature and political parties. Amongst the four types of media, TV seems to depend most heavily on the government for information – this is probably because of the perception that the role of TV is to disseminate government information.

Finally, the sentiment towards the protagonists and subjects varies considerably across types of media and even within each type of media. However, a general observation is that the national government is usually presented in a positive light, while in many cases the sub-national governments and other state agencies are presented more negatively. The *Phnom Penh Post* defies this general pattern as it presents the government in a less positive light and/or in a more neutral manner. This pattern also applies to the three international broadcasters.

Implications

Based on the findings of this content analysis, the following are the key considerations for all stakeholders with an interest in media and governance in Cambodia.

Increased and Enhanced Coverage of Key Governance Topics

As seen throughout the report, coverage of governance issues is limited in both quality and quantity across every type of media; therefore; the governance coverage should be increased, and the quality of governance reporting must be enhanced. There is no denial that well-informed citizenry and society can help them make better decisions and increase the level of their participation in development and governance. To contribute to achieving this goal, the role of media in disseminating quality news about governance is indispensible, if not paramount.

Apart from increasing the governance coverage, there should be effort to increase coverage of the topics and themes that are important to achieve good governance too. As discussed above, such topics as corruption investigation, human rights abuses, political conflicts and affairs, law and justice, land and environment issues, youth, and gender are hardly reported. Yet to push for better governance, the role of media to report such issues is very important. While the coverage of accountability is laudable, media outlets should also draw their attention to other key governance thematic areas such as transparency, sub-national administration reforms, voice and civic engagement, ethnic minorities and youth empowerment and participation.

Expand the Focus of Governance Reporting

The protagonist and subject that is the main focus of the governance stories is the national government. To achieve a more balanced focus, media outlets should focus on other state and non-state actors such as other state agencies, sub-national governments, businesses, social and political organisations and citizens in general. The Cambodian political system is centralised, and power is still concentrated in the executive, despite donors' and government's effort to decentralise and de-concentrate power and functions to sub-national administration, especially in the last decade and the political rhetoric of broad civil society participation. Such focus mainly on the national government might intentionally or unintentionally aggrandise the role it plays in Cambodian development and thus not only perpetuate the lack of checks and balances between the different branches of the state but also fail to emphasize the importance of civic engagement in attaining good governance.

Diversify Reporting Format Beyond Traditional News Reporting

As reported above, almost all the reporting is in the news format. This is understandable given that a majority of the programs/content selected for this analysis are 'news programs'. However, media outlets should diversify their reporting format to include more feature stories, live or recorded interviews, professional panel discussions, etc. even within their news programs.

Encourage the Use of Multiple Sources to Reduce Reporting Bias on Governance Topics

Media outlets should also try to balance the different sources of information to reduce bias. The state-owned or government-aligned media outlets, in particular, rely heavily on government agencies and officials for information and present the state, the central government agencies in particular, in a positive light. Nonetheless, to achieve more balanced reporting, it is crucial that they try to balance the voice from the government with those from other state institutions, civil and political society groups, and professional organisations and citizens.

Besides limited source diversity, some of the media outlets, including the radio outlets of interest to CCAP and local TV stations, seem to have limited number of sources of information. Because the number of sources depends very much on the length of each story, it is impossible to propose an ideal number of sources; nevertheless, it would be of great benefit for media outlets to increase the number of sources of information. For some media outlets, this could mean increasing the length of items and the length of news programs.

Provide Opportunities for Knowledge Sharing Between Media Practitioners

Although there are limitations to governance coverage across every type of media and within each type of media, some media outlets have better governance coverage and reporting than others. This is not to say that they provide an ideal benchmark for others to follow. Nevertheless, it may beneficial if there is an exchange of experiences and knowledge between media practitioners so that they can learn from one another to improve governance coverage.

1 Introduction

Governance reform has in the last decade been given priority in Cambodia's development agenda (Hughes 2010). Indeed, as seen in various donor and government documents, it has become the cornerstone of Cambodia's development agenda (see AusAID, 2012; RGC, 2010). Good governance is believed to bring about economic development, poverty reduction, better public service delivery and improved democratic process. However, it requires citizen participation, free flow of information, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness and the rule of law. It is in this context that media and communication processes become integral to good governance (see Servaes, Carah, Hadlow, Louw, & Thomas, 2007). To understand and improve Cambodia's governance process, therefore, an evaluation of its news media is important.

In the past decade, the media landscape in Cambodia has been enhanced by an increased number of platforms, technological improvements and growing demands, yet freedom of expression and freedom of the press remain constrained by the country's political environment (DMC, 2011; Roberts, 2011). The Cambodian news media is, in general, politicised, lacking in professional capacity and hampered by intimidation and censorship (CCHR, 2012; LICADHO, 2008, 2009; Ung, 2011). This limits the role news media could and should play in promoting good governance. Indeed, a recent study by Equal Access found that leading news outlets report very little on governance issues, and much less on critical ones such as land rights and natural resource management. When media outlets do report these issues, the voice from the government is predominant (Equal Access, 2011).

There have been donor-funded projects in recent years to improve the part played by media to promote good governance. These include the TVK show Equity Weekly, funded by United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the RNK call-in shows, funded by the World Bank's Demand for Good Governance Project and the Australian Agency for International Development (Australian Aid). In keeping with this increased focus on better governance in Cambodia, the *Cambodia Communication Assistance Project* (CCAP) collaborates with PDIs (provincial stations) to enhance the role of news media in promoting good governance. This content analysis has been undertaken as part of CCAP to contribute to an understanding of governance-related coverage by leading news media outlets, including key radio outlets of interest and those key to the CCAP implementation.

1.1 Background: The Cambodia Communication Assistance Project

The Cambodia Communication Assistance Project (CCAP) is a two-year initiative (2012-2013) funded by Australian Aid, and implemented by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development (ABC ID).

The project works in close collaboration with four PDIs in Battambang, Kampong Cham, Kampot, and since January 2013 with Siem Reap PDI. CCAP also partnered with DMC at RUPP for this Content Analysis study.

The goal is to contribute to the achievement of better governance in Cambodia. And the purpose of the project is to improve the capacity of local media services in select provinces to play an active role in facilitating engagement and access to information that contributes to improved voice, transparency and accountability on issues that impact on people's daily lives. Specifically, the dialogue and information processes will help build a better understanding of the aspects of governance between people and their government officials.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This content analysis aims to illustrate the extent and form of current news coverage of governance provided by leading news outlets and outlets of interest. The understanding from this analysis can help to assess the quality of media in relation to governance within the country and hence can help assess the role of media and communication in promoting good governance within Cambodia.

Specifically, the research objectives for this study are to:

- Analyse the extent of governance coverage by leading news outlets and outlets of interest (the type and proportion of reporting on governance-related issues).

- Investigate the prominence of governance news coverage.

- Examine thematic scope of governance news.

- Explore bias of governance reporting, in terms of source attribution and subjects in the coverage with a specific focus on subject and protagonist sentiment.

1.3 Limitations of the Study

The following are the two main limitations of the study:

- While the codebook was intended to be exhaustive in operationalising many of the variables, the challenge of presenting more accessible results required us to collapse some of the values in certain variables during the analysis. For the categorisation of the protagonist and subject(s) – item 21A and 21B in the codebook – for instance, the district and commune governments or their representatives were collapsed as one.

- The relative placement of governance items on radio presented below is subject to interpretation against each particular news program. For example, *Battambang Radio* has only 19 news items in total from its news program over the two weeks, making every single item a top-five story, compared to a *RFI* story competing with 213 other stories in a news program.

2 Methodology

This study employed a quantitative content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002), a method widely used in the field of media and mass communication. Basic quantitative research procedures were followed to ensure a systematic and objective analysis. We began by conceptualising and operationalising key concepts and variables (particularly 'governance' relevance) for coding, based both on previous studies and reports on governance and our practical knowledge of Cambodian reporting. This was followed by a multi-staged sampling strategy to meet the research objectives. A rigorous process of constructing a codebook and training human coders was undertaken before the actual coding and final analyses were conducted.

2.1 Sampling Procedure

The sampling procedure involved a two-step approach involving first the selection of media outlets and followed by selection of stories (program/content). The stories from selected outlets were the units of analysis for the study. The selection of all media outlets was based on the accessibility and local knowledge of the research team and informed by findings from previous studies such as Content Analysis by Equal Access on the Cambodia media environment. Various types of media outlets were included - local and international as well as state and privately owned outlets.

Selection of Media Outlets

The selection of media outlets was purposive and aimed to meet the objectives of the study to analyse governance coverage of four different media types: newspapers, online, television and radio. Among those four types of media platforms, radio outlets were grouped into two main categories: key media outlets and outlet

of interests (for an in-depth analysis further exploring on governance coverage of three stated-owned radio stations supported by CCAP Project and *Sarika FM 106.5*). A total of 13 media outlets across all four types of media platforms were chosen for analysis.

The following steps were followed for the selection of media outlets including key outlets and outlets of interests:

- First, the analysis focused on only Khmer language outlets and programs.

- Second, as updated audience research figures are not readily available, we defined 'key' outlets based on previous research on media and governance such as Comparative Analysis of News Coverage in Cambodia and local knowledge of the research team. 'Key' outlets are those with the largest audience share, and/or worthy in terms of their significant professional or political standings (see footnote 2). That is, those outlets that were aligned with a political entity and/or those that better adhered to journalistic standards. Therefore, state broadcasters *(National Television of Kampuchea (TVK)* and *Radio National of Kampuchea (RNK))* were included as 'key' outlets, and so was the *Phnom Penh Post Daily,* which was growing in popularity and has explicitly stated its intention to raise journalistic standards. The selection of 'key' radio outlets was more diverse as the sector comprised not only state *(RNK),* but also commercial *(FM103),* non-commercial *(FM102)* and international broadcasters *(RFA, RFI and ABC Radio Australia),* which had large audience shares. *DAP Online* was the only publication selected for the analysis. In addition, 'key' outlets – in the case of Cambodian media – are based in Phnom Penh, the country's political, economic and cultural centre, but their publication or broadcast reaches many parts of the country through national/regional coverage or relay distribution.

- Media 'outlets of interest' to CCAP in the study refer primarily to radio channels. Three provincial radio stations, where CCAP was supporting the Provincial Departments of Information, were selected. Not-for-profit radio *Sarika FM106.5,* run by a non-governmental organisation, was also identified by ABC ID as an emerging station with journalistic potential, and hence included for the analysis.

Table 1: Key Media Outlets and Outlets of Interest

Media Type	Key Outlet	Outlet of Interest
Newspaper	(1) Rasmei Kampuchea Daily (2) Koh Santepheap Daily (3) Phnom Penh Post Daily	N/A
Online	(4) DAP News	N/A
TV	(5) National Television of Kampuchea (TVK) (6) CTN (7) Bayon News	N/A

Table continued over...

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[1] A story and a news item are used interchangeably in this report.

[2] For discussions on media outlets, see, for example, CCHR 2012. *New Media and the Promotion of Human Rights in Cambodia,* Phnom Penh, CCHR, Equal Access 2011. *Comparative Analysis of News Coverage in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh, RNK, McCarthy, C. 2012. *Media Development in Transitional Democratic Cambodia.* Master's Degree, Malmo University.

[3] ibid

Media Type	Key Outlet	Outlet of Interest
Radio	(8) Radio National of Kampuchea (RNK) (9) WMC FM102 (10) FM103 (11) Radio France International (RFI) (12) Radio Free Asia (RFA)	(13) ABC Radio Australia (14) Sarika FM106.5 (15) KC Provincial Radio (16) BB Provincial Radio (17) KP Provincial Radio

Selection of Stories/ Content

All the news items in newspapers and *DAP Online,* including the national and social news section, sports section and business and economy section, were coded and analysed. However, in case of radio and TV, a decision was made on the selection of news programs. For a program to be selected for the analysis, it first had to be designated by its broadcaster as a 'news program'. Second, it had to be broadcast in time slots considered prime time by its broadcaster, which was partly based on advertising rates. These 'prime' slots varied between TV and radio and were sometimes rather arbitrarily determined by each broadcaster. Table 2 below lists the programs selected for the analysis.

In the last step, we selected a period of two-weeks between 5th and 18th December 2012, within which all stories in the selected media outlets (and selected programs for radio and TV) were included for analysis. This selection was not random and thus is not claimed to yield representative results of the selected outlets. Nevertheless, covering a two-week period was practically and analytically sufficient for demonstrating a typical picture of news coverage by the selected outlets. In addition, prior to and during this selected period, there were no events that could have had no news coverage, governance-related or otherwise, in the country.

Table 2: Selected TV and Radio Programs

Media	Program	Broadcast Time	Program	Broadcast Time
TV	TVK Afternoon News TVK Evening News CTN Evening News	12:00 – 14:00 19:00 – 21:00 17:30 – 18:00	Bayon Afternoon News Bayon Evening News	11:00 – 13:00 17:00 – 19:00
Radio	RNK Daily News Bulletin (1) RNK Daily News Bulletin (2) RNK Daily News Bulletin (3) RNK News Feature WMC Daily News (1) WMC Daily News (2) FM103 Daily News FM103 Evening News Sarika Morning News Sarika Evening News	8:00 – 8:10 12:00 – 12:10 16:00 – 16:10 15:00 – 15:10 17:00 – 17:10 19:00 – 19:10 8:30 – 8:40 17:00 – 17:05 6:00 – 6:30 18:00 – 18:30	RFA Daily News (1) RFA Daily News (2) RFI Daily News ABC Radio Australia Daily News KC Radio Daily News (1) KC Radio Daily News (2) BB Radio Daily News KP Radio News (1) KP Radio News (2) KP Radio News (3)	5:30 – 6:30 19:30 – 20:30 17:00 – 20:00 12:00 – 13:00 8:00 – 9:00 15:00 – 16:00 7:05 – 7:20 6:00 – 6:10 9:00 – 9:10 15:00 – 15:10

2.2 Coding Procedure

The coding process and quantitative content analysis demands a codebook that is both valid in operationalising variables and reliable in generating consistency among different coders. The construction of the codebook for this study involved a rigorous process, whereby initial brainstorming and drafts of the codebook were produced by the DMC team in consultation with ABC ID and advice from InterMedia Research and Consulting Europe. Commonly used definitions and measures were used for standard variables including size and length of items, item placement, source attribution, and subject sentiment. Governance-related variables (i.e. governance relevance, governance theme, and sub-theme) were based on consultation with existing literature and local contextualisation. Other variables were defined and measured based on the journalistic practices of the Cambodian media, including the story format, story section and topic. Based on feedback from a pilot coding session with 10 coders, the final codebook was produced for the study (see Annex I).

After producing the codebook, nine senior students at the Department of Media and Communication were recruited as coders for this exercise. Utilising media students was advantageous not only in that they had a considerable foundation in engaging in detailed analysis of many journalistic features (such as source attribution and subjects), but also because the absence of any substantial experience/knowledge in the field of 'governance' prevented any pre-existing bias in understanding and operationalisation of governance-related variables. The nine coders were initially trained twice before they undertook a one-day pilot coding session, during which their coding results were compared against those completed on the same items by the Principal Investigator of this analysis project. The results were used first for refining and finalising the codebook and second for retraining the nine coders to increase the validity and reliability of their coding. A one-day retraining session was conducted in December 2012 before the actual coding began.

The coding was undertaken between 21st January and 11th February, 2013. Each of the nine coders was allocated a separate set of data sourced from the selected news media between 5th and 18th December 2012 (with 20 news items double-coded by all the nine coders and the Principal Investigator for inter-coder reliability examination). Each item was first read/watched/listened to by the coder for attribute data.
 The item was then re-examined for a second time in more detail for content data and detailed coding for 'governance' items. The coding was first done on paper and later entered into a computerised database prepared for analysis.

After coding the attribute data, in the second part of the coding, each coder was asked to identify the story format, the section in which the news item appeared, the primary and secondary (if any) topics of each item, item size or length, item placement and whether the item was governance relevant (to be defined in the next section). If the item was not governance relevant, the coding stopped here. However, if it was governance relevant, then the coding continued. In this case, coders were asked to identify the governance primary and secondary (if any) sub-theme and source presentation, and to count the number of sources and source attribution in each item. When the item dealt with issues or events that involved decisions, action or power of a state or government actor that affected the common interests of the citizens, coders were asked to write down the headlines (or in the case of TV and radio, to summarise each story); to count the number of subjects in each item; to identify the category of the protagonist and subject(s) in each item, and to identify the subject and protagonist sentiment amongst others (for details, see Annex I).

Inter-coder reliability: Simple percentage agreement, or 'measure of crude association' (Neuendorf, 2002), was used to examine inter-coder reliability. Although this measure was not able to examine the co-variance of coding, which would have been a thorough inter-coder reliability test, we deemed using percentage agreement,

both item- and variable-based, sufficient for the purpose of the study. The nine coders and the Principal Investigator independently coded 20 story items selected from the sourced data, and the coding results between each coder and the Principal Investigator were compared for both overall agreement as well as variable-based agreement. The calculation for the overall agreement per story item was:

$PAx = A/n$ (PAx = the percentage of agreement observed; A = the number of agreements between the two coders; and n = the total number of variables the two coders had coded for the item)

An average of the overall agreement for the 20 items was then calculated to represent the agreement between each coder and the Principal Investigator. The overall agreement ranged from 93% and 97% among the nine pairs, providing reasonable agreement levels.

For item-based analysis, percentage agreement varies more considerably. There was perfect agreement for objective variables but lower levels of agreement for variables requiring more conceptual understanding or reasoning, among which were the 'governance relevance' (91% agreement), 'governance primary sub-theme' (79% agreement) and 'governance secondary sub-theme' variables (79% agreement).

2.3 Defining 'Governance'

Prior to producing the codebook and conducting the coding itself, it was necessary to define and operationalise 'governance'. The concept of 'governance' is still an evolving concept, and hence there is no consensual definition of the term. It is defined in terms of either structures or process and can be understood in a number of ways (For a good discussion, see Pierre & Peters, 2000). Generically, it refers to "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)" (UNESCAP, 2004). Such a process can involve both formal and informal and state and non-state actors, which can broadly be categorised into three groups: government, private sector, and civil society (UNDP, 2007). Based on the research objectives and for the purpose of this analysis, the focus of this study is on the decision and exercise of authority by state or government actors, as well as in national and local governance, rather than such areas as corporate and international governance. Therefore, the World Bank's definitions of governance, focusing on the public sector, are particularly useful for operationalising 'governance' news items. According to the World Bank, it is "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development"(WB, 1992, p. 3), or "the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authority to shape public policy and provide public goods and services"(WB, 2007).

However, defining 'governance' news items simply in terms of involving state/government actors, public policy, or public goods and services remains imprecise and inadequate for detailed analysis for a number of reasons. First, it neglects the general practice and sensitivity of news reporting in Cambodia. Journalists may report on events by state or government actors in relation to issues of potential public interest but in forms akin to a description of administrative events and thus neglecting issues of public interest per se. Matters of public goods and services that involve public or state authorities are sometimes raised as personal parting shots by reporters towards the end of stories. This requires further differentiation of news items relevant to governance.

Second, the content and priority of the governance reform agenda in Cambodia needs to be taken into account for adequately operationalising 'governance' in a way that is contextually significant. Governance reform programs in Cambodia have been concentrated on the armed forces, judiciary, public administration, public finance, and devolution of functions and authority to sub-national governments (Hughes, 2010). This reform approach accentuates the notions of accountability and transparency, which also underlie the need for this content analysis.

Therefore, this content analysis defines four types of story items in terms of their 'governance relevance'. They are operationalised as follows, with the third type being of most interest and relevance to this content analysis exercise:

1. *Routine functioning:* reporting on routine or typical activities or events of government bodies, and representatives of other branches of the state, but without discussing the action or events in relation to the common interests of the citizens.

2. *Problematic incident:* reporting on daily incidents in a descriptive and straightforward manner but adding a brief personal comment at the end of the report to criticise or call for action from the authority/authorities involved.

3. *Governance:* reporting on issues or events that involve the decisions, action or power of a state or government actor that affects the common interests of the citizens, by discussing how the use or result of the decision or power affects the citizens. Often, reports of this nature hold the state or government actor(s) to account for the events, decisions, or exercise of power – either in positive or negative manner.

4. *Non-governance:* reporting with no governance relevance.

It is worth reiterating that although routine functioning and problematic incidents are categorised as governance relevance, it is not necessary that the news items focus mainly on governance, but it may indicate that part of the news story is related to governance. As an illustration, a news story may mainly focus on a robbery, but at the end of the story the news anchor or writer calls for the relevant authority to take measure to improve public safety and security.

2.4 Analysis

The purpose of this exercise is a descriptive analysis to understand the extent and journalistic features of governance coverage in the selected media outlets, that is, key outlets and outlets of interest to CCAP to assess the overall quality of governance coverage by Cambodian media. To do this, common descriptive statistics were utilised using both univariate and bivariate analyses.

The data collected was analysed at three different levels. All stories were first coded for their story format, section, placement, primary and secondary topic and story size or length. The second level of analysis focused on identifying stories based on their governance relevance. This included identifying governance themes, number of sources and source representation. The third and final level of analysis focused on governance stories only. This analysis further analysed the subjects in the story, protagonist in the story, subject identification and subject sentiment. The variable for analysis were identified, defined and specified in the codebook as summarised in Table 3, below.

Table 3: Level of Analysis

Level of Analysis	Measure/Indication
1st Level of Analysis	
Story Format	News, feature, opinion/commentary, interview/discussion, vox pop, advertorial, and other.
Story Section, Primary and Secondary Topic Identification	
Story Length and Depth of Coverage	• Story size for newspaper: record size of the item in 'square centimetres' • Story length for DAP: record the length of the item in "number of characters" • Story length for Radio and TV: record the items in seconds.

Table continued over...

Level of Analysis	Measure/Indication
1st Level of Analysis	
Item Placement	• Newspaper: front page, section front, middle and last. • DAP Online: items are classified by the numbers of order of their appearances on the page within the dates of the time frame. • Radio & TV: items are placed based on the numbers of order of their broadcasting in the whole selected programs
2nd Level of Analysis	
Governance Relevance	• Routine functioning • Problematic incident • Governance • Non-governance
Governance Primary Sub-theme	Refers to the theme that item is concerned with primarily by mentioning it in the lead paragraph and/or headline, and referring to it throughout the context of the entire story
Governance Secondary Sub-theme	Consider important governance sub-theme, but secondary to the primary sib-theme above
Numbers of Sources and Source Representation	• A source is a person, institution, or organisation to which certain information in the item is attributed. Report how many sources the item has • An item usually has more than one source of information. A source may have more than one form of representation
3rd Level of Analysis	
Subject Coded	One subject is counted once only no matter how many times it is mentioned.
Protagonist of the Story	Indicate who the main subject of the story is.
Subject Sentiment	Indicate whether each subject is mentioned in a (1) positive, (2) negative, or (3) neutral light, based on the context of the story or the issue the subject is involved in the story.

3 Scope of Data for Analysis

Selecting two weeks of content published/broadcast provides an extensive scope of data for the content analysis. 5,722 story items, with almost equal numbers from each of the two weeks (2,882 and 2,840, respectively), from the 17 media outlets were coded; four newspaper outlets, one online *DAP*; nine radios outlets (6 key radios outlet and 4 radios outlets of interest) and three TV outlets. There were total of 434, 830 column centimeters of printed newspapers and 75 and 73 hours of all radios and TV broadcast including 1,357,505 characters of one online outlet has been coded for the analysis of this content analysis study to access the governance coverage.

Newspaper items make up 36%, and *DAP Online* items 13% of the total. Radio items comprise 25% of the total data set, with over 75 hours of broadcast (of which 75% are from key radio outlets and 25% from radio outlets of interest) coded. The other 26% of total items, equal to over 73 hours of news broadcast, are from the three TV channels. The size and length of stories are outlined below to provide an insight into the depth of data that has been analysed as part of the content analysis. The detailed distribution of our data set is shown in *Table 4,* below.

Table 4: Data Distribution by Media Type

Total Media Outlet Items	5722	
Length of Newspaper	434830 cm2	
DAP Online	1357505 characters	
Radio Outlets Broadcast	75 hours	
TV Outlets Broadcast	73 hours	
Newspaper Media OutletsTotal	**Items**	**Total Length (cm2)**
Rasmei Kampuchea	793	185677
Koh Santepheap	797	154689
Phnom Penh Post	466	94464
Rasmei Kampuchea	793	185677
Total Newspapers Outlets	2056	434830
Online Media Outlets	**Total Items**	**Total Length (characters)**
DAP Online	746	1357505
Radio Media Outlets	**Total Items**	**Total Time (hh:mm:ss)**
RNK	201	8:26:09
FM102	75	2:44:17
FM103	54	1:41:35
RFA	289	22:02:12
RFI	214	10:39:11
ABC Radio Australia	163	10:44:29

Table continued over...

Outlets of Interests*		
Sarika	130	7:59:06
Kampong Cham Radio	191	7:06:17
Battambang Radio	19	0:33:08
Kampot Radio	100	3:07:31
Total Radio Outlets	1436	75:03:55
TV Media Outlets		
TVK	682	41:31:45
CTN	96	3:01:51
Bayon News	706	28:59:03
Total TV Outlets	**1484**	**73:32:39**

4 Key Findings

The following section provides discussion of the key findings on governance news coverage. This is divided into five subsections: (A) type and scope of stories; (B) extent of governance coverage; (C) prominence of governance coverage; (D) thematic focuses of governance coverage, and (E) bias in governance coverage. In each subsection, we first provide an overview on the matters in question, and then consistently present the findings into four separate segments: newspaper, *DAP Online,* radio, and TV. Although this produces minor repetition, we hope to offer a quick and accessible reading on the findings.

4.1 Type and Scope of Stories

Tables 5 and 6 (below) provide further information about the data set by showing the formats of stories and their topics, respectively, of the items coded for the analysis. An overwhelming majority of the items (over 90%) is in 'news' format. Although this is expected since our selection focused on 'news outlets' or 'news programs', we could also see subtle differences between TV and the radio outlets of interest to CCAP and the other media. TV news programs appear to offer virtually no variety of information, with about 99% of their stories in 'news' format. This limited variety of the news format also applies to the radio outlets of interest. Key radio and newspapers offer a bit more variety of information with a higher proportion of feature stories. Advertorial items – the presentation of products or services in the news section – were noticeable in newspapers and *DAP Online.*

Table 5: Type of Stories Coded (No. of Stories by Media Type)

Media	News	Feature	Opinion/ Commentary	Interview/ Discussion	Advertorial	Others	TOTAL
Newspaper	1784 (86.8%)	136 (6.6%)	21 (1%)	3 (0.1%)	110 (5.4%)	2 (0.1%)	**2056 (100%)**

Table continued over...

Media	News	Feature	Opinion/ Commentary	Interview/ Discussion	Advertorial	Others	TOTAL
DAP Online	682 (91.4%)	7 (0.9%)	13 (1.7%)	2 (0.3%)	41 (5.5%)	1 (0.1%)	**746 (100%)**
TV	1464 (98.7%)	16 (1.1%)	2 (0.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.1%)	0 (0%)	**1484 (100%)**
Key Radio	872 (87.6%)	76 (7.6%)	12 (1.2%)	24 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	12 (1.2%)	996 **(100%)**
Radio of Interest	431 (98%)	6 (1.4%)	3 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**440 (100%)**
Total	5233 (91.5%)	241 (4.2%)	51 (0.9%)	29 (0.5%)	153 (2.7%)	15 (0.3%)	5722 (100%)

The range of topics provides an overall picture of the thematic attention of the selected media, which indicates the priority, agenda and/or normative practices of the Cambodian key news media. A number of general observations can be made. First, newspapers and the *DAP Online* are very similar in their thematic focus, as news websites are generally considered as an online version of print papers. Second, newspapers/*DAP* differ considerably from TV and radio, while key radio and radio of interest also differ slightly in their thematic focus.

Table 6: Scope of Story Topics

Primary Topic	Newspaper	DAP	TV	Key Radio	Radio of Interest
Crimes and Security	13.9%	16.0%	1.3%	1.8%	12.0%
Traffic Accidents	8.4%	6.2%	0.9%	0.7%	3.4%
Other Accidents	4.9%	5.0%	0.5%	1.9%	13.6%
Political Conflicts and Affairs	1.1%	2.9%	1.3%	2.5%	2.3%
Corruption	0.7%	0.7%	0.1%	2.1%	1.1%
Social Affairs	2.8%	6.4%	2.0%	6.7%	5.7%
Law and Justice	2.2%	2.8%	1.3%	5.4%	4.1%
Administrative News	4.3%	6.4%	18.3%	3.1%	1.4%
Land Issues	2.4%	1.2%	2.8%	4.3%	2.0%
Investment, Business and Economy	7.2%	4.0%	6.2%	3.9%	2.3%
Human Rights	1.2%	1.5%	0.4%	4.8%	6.8%
International Cooperation	1.3%	3.2%	2.4%	1.8%	2.5%

Primary Topic	Newspaper	DAP	TV	Key Radio	Radio of Interest
Infrastructure	2.9%	0.9%	5.3%	3.8%	2.5%
Education	1.8%	2.1%	4.5%	1.3%	0.9%
Environment	0.8%	0.4%	0.9%	0.4%	0.0%
Agriculture and Fishery	1.2%	2.5%	3.8%	1.8%	2.3%
Forestry and natural resources	0.4%	0.8%	0.7%	0.5%	0.9%
Health	2.3%	1.7%	2.1%	2.8%	1.6%
Youth	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%
Gender	0.4%	0.3%	1.5%	1.2%	0.2%
Military	0.5%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
International/Regional Issues	19.6%	20.0%	29.0%	29.6%	25.2%
Entertainment and Celebrity	3.7%	3.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%
Culture and Art	1.0%	0.5%	1.2%	1.7%	0.7%
Science	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Sports	7.2%	1.1%	1.5%	0.0%	0.7%
Others (Gift Presentation, Disability, Migration, and Election etc.)	7.6%	9.4%	11.5%	16.9%	7.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

From the thematic variation above, it appears that newspapers, *DAP Online* and our radio of interest provide considerable amounts of information that can be analytically characterised as everyday security and safety concerns, including crimes and accidents of various sorts (about 27% for both newspapers and *DAP Online* and 29% for radio of interest). In comparison, Cambodian TV is more concerned with state matters, with stories about administrative activities of the state and its representatives (such as diploma presentation, gift distribution or delivery of assistance to victims by public figures or state agencies) constituting up to 18%, while other topics – such as investment/business/economy (6.2%), infrastructure (5.3%), education (4.5%) and agriculture/fishery (3.8%) – are also closely connected to its administrative activities. The newspapers and *DAP Online* to a lesser extent also offer significant space for such state activities. International and regional issues feature prominently across all media but particularly in case of TV (29%) and radio (29.6%).

There is overall little engagement with politically sensitive topics such as corruption, political conflicts, law and justice, land issues, human rights, and the military. Nevertheless, both key radio and radio of interest are a slight exception, as they generally include stories primarily about law and justice, land issues, and human rights more often than the other media. Finally, international and regional issues constitute significant proportions of primary topics covered by the selected media, which is likely due to the low cost of production on coverage of such issues and as it helps to add variety of information/content.

4.2 Extent of Governance Coverage

In Section 2.3, we provide our definitions of governance coverage for the purpose of this study and identify four types of governance stories.

- Routine functioning
- Problematic incident
- Governance
- Non-governance

The 'governance' type stories are most relevant to CCAP and this content analysis exercise, because this coverage can potentially enhance accountability and transparency, which are critical to Cambodia's governance reform agenda and development. This is not to disregard the other governance-relevant types of routine functioning and problematic incident reporting, which also potentially indicate how local reporters perform and cope within the Cambodian political context in their professional practice.

Governance coverage in key news media outlets in Cambodia is low, with only 10% of all stories coded during the two-week period classified as 'governance' items (see Table 7 below). The medium with the lowest levels of governance coverage is newspaper (7%), while the highest is key radio (14%). The governance coverage in the outlets of interest to CCAP is also low (8%).

Routine functioning reportage is generally common in the Cambodian media (11%), though in quantitative terms it is only slightly more than governance coverage (10%). Interestingly, problematic incident stories, which often show how a reporter criticises or calls for authority action, is marginal (3%). Finally, all media have a high level of reporting on non-governance issues (76%), with key radio outlets reporting less frequently on this sub-theme (67%).

Table 7: Proportion of Governance-Related Coverage in Key News Media Outlets (No. of Stories)

Media	Governance	Routine Functioning	Problematic Incident	Non-Governance	TOTAL
Newspaper	152 (7%)	179 (9%)	39 (2%)	1686 (82%)	2056 (100%)
DAP Online	66 (9%)	79 (11%)	12 (2%)	589 (79%)	746 (100%)
TV	182 (12%)	224 (15%)	5 (<1%)	1073 (72%)	1484 (100%)
Radio (Key Outlets Only)	135 (14%)	117 (12%)	80 (8%)	664 (67%)	996 (100%)
Radio (Of Interest Only)	36 (8%)	48 (11%)	11 (3%)	345 (78%)	440 (100%)
Total	571 (10%)	647 (11%)	147 (3%)	4357 (76%)	5722 (100%)

4.2.1 Newspapers

Governance coverage in the selected newspapers is low, at just over 7% (see *Table 8* below). Particularly interesting is the fact that the *Phnom Penh Post,* despite being an emerging newspaper that aims for a relatively higher journalistic standard, covers governance issues in only just above 6% of its total stories, compared to 9.5% in *Rasmei Kampuchea* and 6% in *Koh Santepheap.* The *Phnom Penh Post* also provides a far lower coverage of routine functioning (3%) than *Rasmei Kampuchea* and *Koh Santepheap* (10% each).

Table 8: Proportion of Governance-Related Coverage in Newspapers

Outlet	Governance	Routine Functioning	Problematic Incident	Non-Governance	TOTAL
Rasmei Kampuchea	9.5%	10.5%	1.9%	78.2%	(793) 100%
Koh Santepheap	6.0%	10.0%	2.3%	81.7%	(797) 100%
Phnom Penh Post	6.2%	3.4%	1.3%	89.1%	(466) 100%
All Newspapers	**7.2%**	**8%**	**1.8%**	**83%**	**(2056) 100%**

4.2.2 DAP Online

DAP Online's governance relevance coverage (Table 9, below) resembles that in the mainstream popular newspapers *Rasmei Kampuchea* and *Koh Santepheap.* Governance stories constitute less than 9%, while routine functioning reportage attracts a slightly higher number (above 10%).

Table 9: Proportion of Governance-Related Coverage on DAP

Outlet	Governance	Routine Functioning	Problematic Incident	Non-Governance	TOTAL
DAP Online	8.8%	10.6%	1.6%	79.0%	(746) 100%

4.2.3 Radio

Governance coverage, at just above 13% for key outlets and 8% for outlets of interest, is overall low in the news programs of the selected radio (see *Table 10* below). There are, however, considerable differences among the selected outlets, with three key outlets and one outlet of interest to CCAP having a quite significant level of governance coverage and the rest having less governance coverage. Interestingly, the state-owned *RNK* has a relatively high level of governance coverage (over 19%). In contrast, local *FM102,* an NGO-run and perceived independent radio, only a third as much governance coverage (over 6%). *FM103* has a relatively higher level of governance coverage (over 16%) and a very high level of routine functioning coverage (almost 52%), which is not surprising as it is a popular local radio affiliated with the government. Rather surprising is the wide disparity in the governance coverage of the three key international broadcasters: *Radio Free Asia* (RFA, 20%), *ABC Radio Australia* (almost 10%) and *Radio France International* (RFI, less than 4%). Generally popular for its coverage of politically sensitive issues, *RFA* has significant numbers of stories not only in the governance type but also in the problematic incident type stories.

For the radio outlets of interest to CCAP – with the exception of *Kampot Radio,* which is under the management of one of the Provincial Departments of Information (PDI) supported by CCAP – governance coverage is very low (4-10%). The reasons for the differences in governance reportage among different radio stations are not clear. Overall, governance coverage varies widely among the provincial radio stations of the three PDIs; state-owned *RNK;* non-state-owned local broadcasters (FM102, FM103 and Sarika) and also among international broadcasters (ABC, RFA and RFI).

Table 10: Proportion of Governance-Related Coverage on Radio

Outlet	Governance	Routine Functioning	Problematic Incident	Non-Governance	TOTAL
RNK	19.4%	19.9%	6.0%	54.7%	(201) 100%
FM102	6.7%	12.0%	0.0%	81.3%	(75) 100%
FM103	16.7%	51.9%	1.9%	29.6%	(54) 100%
RFA	20.1%	9.0%	20.8%	50.2%	(289) 100%
RFI	3.7%	2.3%	2.3%	91.6%	(214) 100%
ABC Radio Australia	9.8%	5.5%	1.2%	83.4%	(163) 100%
Total Key Radio	**13.6%**	**11.7%**	**8.0%**	**66.7%**	**(996) 100%**
Sarika*	8.5%	7.7%	5.4%	78.5%	(130) 100%
Kampong Cham Radio*	4.2%	12.6%	2.1%	81.2%	(191) 100%
Battambang Radio*	5.3%	5.3%	0.0%	89.5%	(19) 100%
Kampot Radio*	16.0%	13.0%	0.0%	71.0%	(100) 100%
Total Radio of Interest	**8.2%**	**10.9%**	**2.5%**	**78.4%**	**(440) 100%**

Outlet of interest

4.2.4 TV

Governance relevance coverage by local TV stations is overall low (12% for governance issues, 15% for routine functioning and virtually 0% for problematic incidents). In a pattern similar to radio, the state-owned *TVK* reports relatively more often on governance issues and routine functioning activities (15% and 23%, respectively) compared to local popular stations *CTN* (9.4% and 13.5%) and *Bayon News* (9.9% and 7.4%). The higher coverage of governance issues particularly routine functioning stories by *TVK* reflects their high level of coverage on government activities and functions. Overall, however, governance coverage in the prime news programs of the three TV channels is low (see *Table 11* below).

Table 11: Proportion of Governance-Related Coverage on TV

Outlet	Governance	Routine Functioning	Problematic Incident	Non-Governance	TOTAL
TVK	15.1%	23.3%	0.3%	61.3%	(682) 100%
CTN	9.4%	13.5%	0.0%	77.1%	(96) 100%
Bayon News	9.9%	7.4%	0.4%	82.3%	(706) 100%
All TV	**12.3%**	**15.1%**	**0.3%**	**72.3%**	**(1484) 100%**

4.3 Prominence of Governance Coverage

While the amount of governance coverage is low both in key news media outlets and in outlets of interest to CCAP, it is important to look further into the prominence of such coverage. In this study, we analyse two journalistic features to determine the prominence of governance stories in the selected outlets/programs. First, we look at the *placement* of governance items within the publication or program they appear in. Second, we look at the *depth* of governance items by comparing the average size/length of governance items with those of items of different types (i.e. routine function, problematic incident, and non-governance). Nevertheless, such comparison could be misleading for 'size' or 'length' of a story may not be determined by its importance alone, but also by the format a particular item appears in. Therefore, when comparing average length/size in the following, we only choose to compare the average length/size among 'news' items. This is not only practical but also essential, for 95% of governance items in our data set appear in a 'news' format (540 out of 571 governance items).

4.3.1 Newspaper

The page on which an item appears shows its importance in comparison to other items in the same publication. In our analysis, we consider the following categories (with descending prominence):

(1   Front page (of any folder of the newspaper).

(2)   Last page (of any folder of the newspaper);

(3)   Section front (i.e. for a story that, rather than starting on a front page, begins on the starting page of a particular section encompassing the story); and

(4)   Middle (i.e. for a story that starts neither on the front or last page, nor on section front).

Overall, there is not much difference among the three newspapers in prominence given to governance coverage, although *Koh Santepheap* tends to place more of it on the front and last pages than *Rasmei Kampuchea* and the *Phnom Penh Post* (see Table 12 below), whereas *Rasmei Kampuchea* and the *Phnom Penh Post* have more governance items in the section fronts than *Koh Santepheap.* More than half the time, in general, governance items are placed in the middle folder of the newspaper.

Table 12: Placement of Governance Items in Newspaper by Outlet

Outlet	Front Page	Last Page	Section Front	Middle	TOTAL
Rasmei Kampuchea	14 (19%)	0 (0%)	19 (25%)	42 (56%)	75 (100%)
Koh Santepheap	14 (29%)	4 (8%)	5 (10%)	25 (51%)	48 (100%)
Phnom Penh Post	6 (21%)	1 (3%)	5 (17%)	17 (59%)	29 (100%)
Total	**34 (22%)**	**5 (3%)**	**29 (19%)**	**84 (55%)**	**152 (100%)**

Table 13: Average Governance News vs. Other News in Newspaper (Cm2)

Outlet	Governance News	Routine Functioning News	Problematic Incident News	Non-News Governance News	Average of News Items
Rasmei Kampuchea	320	269	361	206	228
Koh Santepheap	254	264	247	166	184
Phnom Penh Post	346	199	247	187	200
All Newspapers	**305**	**261**	**297**	**187**	**206**

Generally, governance news items in the key newspapers are normally given relatively more depth. *Table 13* above shows the average size of governance news items against other types of news items. Overall, a governance news item is considerably bigger (305 cm2) than a non-governance news item (187 cm2) and an average news item in general (206 cm2). Specifically, *Rasmei Kampuchea* devotes more space to its problematic incident news items; *Koh Santepheap* and *Rasmei Kampuchea* provide slightly more room to their routine functioning news, and the *Phnom Penh Post* allocates more space for governance issues.

4.3.2 DAP Online

To determine the prominence of governance items on the *DAP Online,* we consider what percentage of the items are placed within the top 10 stories of the website for each day of its news archive. *DAP Online* publishes over 50 stories per day, and the top 10 stories account for approximately 20% of this. *Table 14* (below) shows that 33% (22 out of 66) of governance items on *DAP Online* are placed among the top 10. In addition, with a similar pattern to newspapers (particularly the *Phnom Penh Post*), governance news items are on average longer than all other types of news items except problematic incident items (see *Table 15* below).

Table 14: Placement of Governance Items on DAP (No. of Stories)

Outlet	Top Ten	Outside Top Ten
DAP	22 (33%)	44 (67%)

Table 15: Average Size of Governance News vs. Other News on DAP (No. of Characters)

Outlet	Governance News	Routine Functioning News	Problematic Incident News	Non-News Governance News	Average of News Items
DAP	2,093	1,872	2,557	1,657	1,737

4.3.3 Radio

For radio, we consider the first five stories of each program to be 'prominent'. However, this definition remains vague because some radio news programs are only 10 minutes long and consist of only a handful of stories, while others are 30 minutes long. Therefore, the relative placement of governance items on radio presented below is subject to interpretation against each particular news program. For example, *Battambang Radio* has only 19 news items in total from its news program over the two weeks, making every single item a top-five story, compared to a story competing with 213 other stories in a news program of the *RFI*. *Table 16* below presents the placement of governance items within the top five stories of radio news programs. However, rather than interpreting these figures as showing in absolute terms the high prominence of governance stories in the selected radio items, we suggest that readers interpret them against programs and outlets of interest.

Table 16: Placement of Governance Items on Radio (No. of stories)

Outlet	Top Five	Outside Top Five	Outlet	Top Five	Outside Top Five
RNK	39 (100%)	0 (0%)	Sarika*	9 (82%)	2 (18%)
FM102	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	Kampong Cham Radio*	3 (37%)	5 (63%)
FM103	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	Battambang Radio*	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
RFA	27 (47%)	31 (53%)	Kampot Radio*	16 (100%)	0 (0%)
RFI	7 (87%)	1 (13%)	**All Radio of Interest**	**29 (81%)**	**7 (19%)**
ABC Radio Australia	3 (19%)	13 (81%)			
All Key Radio	**89 (66%)**	**46 (34%)**			

Outlet of interest

Table 17 (below) shows the average length of governance news items in the selected radio outlets. Unlike governance news items in newspapers and online, governance news stories in most radio outlets selected are on average longer than (10-20%) or of similar length to other types of news stories or average news stories. While the length of the governance news items in the international broadcasters are longer than that of their local counterparts, the lengths of the other types of news items are also long and longer that those of their local counterparts. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that, unlike the key newspapers above, most radio outlets do not give governance news items more depth than other news items.

Table 17: Average Length of Governance News Items vs. Other News Items on Radio (hh:mm:ss)

Outlet	Governance News	Routine Functioning News	Problematic Incident News	Non-News Governance News	Average of News Items
RNK	0:03:06	0:02:22	0:03:49	0:02:14	0:02:31
FM102	0:01:58	0:03:21	-	0:02:02	0:02:11
FM103	0:02:49	0:01:50	0:02:40	0:01:24	0:01:53
RFA	0:04:23	0:05:11	0:05:42	0:04:05	0:04:35

Table continued over...

Outlet	Governance News	Routine Functioning News	Problematic Incident News	Non-News Governance News	Average of News Items
RFI	0:04:23	0:02:26	0:05:53	0:02:52	0:02:59
ABC Radio Australia	0:06:16	0:05:00	0:05:06	0:03:36	0:03:57
All Key Radio	**0:04:02**	**0:03:09**	**0:05:22**	**0:03:04**	**0:03:23**
Sarika*	0:03:49	0:03:09	0:04:02	0:03:42	0:03:41
Kampong Cham Radio*	0:01:59	0:02:35	0:01:52	0:02:12	0:02:14
Battambang Radio*	0:02:15	0:01:06	-	0:01:45	0:01:45
Kampot Radio*	0:02:27	0:02:22	-	0:01:39	0:01:53
All Radio of Interest	**0:02:45**	**0:02:37**	**0:03:15**	**0:02:31**	**0:02:34**

*Outlet of interest

4.3.4 TV

As with radio, it is difficult to interpret the prominence of governance items on TV based on placement only. However, the narrower range of TV programs selected for the study lessens this problem. Overall, there appears to be considerable importance given to governance coverage (see *Table 18* below).

Table 18: Placement of Governance Items on TV (No. of Stories)

Outlet	Top Ten	Outside Top Ten
TVK	46 (45%)	57 (55%)
CTN	9 (100%)	0 (0%)
Bayon News	28 (40%)	42 (60%)
All TV	**83 (46%)**	**99 (54%)**

The average length of governance news items in selected TV outlets compared to other types of news items varies among the outlets (see Table 19). Relative to its average news items, *TVK* in general gives less depth to governance news items, in contrast to *Bayon News* and *CTN*.

Table 19: Average Length of Governance News Items vs. Other News Items on TV (hh:mm:ss)

Outlet	Governance News	Routine Functioning News	Problematic Incident News	Non-News Governance News	Average of News Items
TVK	0:02:48	0:01:39	0:03:51	0:03:57	0:03:39
CTN	0:02:04	-	0:02:35	0:01:42	0:01:51
Bayon News	0:02:35	0:02:06	0:03:59	0:02:14	0:02:26
All TV	**0:02:43**	**0:01:55**	**0:03:50**	**0:02:53**	**0:02:58**

4.4 Thematic Focus of Governance Coverage

In analysing the thematic focus of governance coverage in the selected news outlets, we used a list of 10 thematic topics identified in consultation with ABC ID to be significant in the context of Cambodian good governance reforms. This list of topics was initially used to code each governance-relevant story for both primary and secondary themes. However, only 22% of 'governance' items have a secondary thematic focus, of which over 80% deal with accountability, transparency and citizen participation. As a result, in the following section we present only the primary themes on governance-related and 'governance' items.

The majority of governance stories in Cambodian key media outlets and outlets of interest focus on the issue of accountability (see Table 20 below). While this is not surprising for governance stories (58%), because our definition of 'governance' items are closely linked to notions of accountability and transparency, it is interesting that the other types of governance-relevant stories (routine functioning and problematic incident) also focus significantly on the theme of accountability (65% and 58%, respectively). According to this research, this focus on accountability is predominantly focused on accountability of state institutions for most governance relevance stories (61%). This confirms that, within governance-related coverage in Cambodian key news outlets, accountability is being given relatively significant attention. Other themes that appear relatively significant in governance coverage include transparency (9%), land rights (10%), and law and justice (8%). Nevertheless, such themes as sub-national administration reforms, voice and civic participation, anti-corruption, gender, youth empowerment and ethnic minorities, which are also crucial to achieving good governance, receive lesser coverage. As seen in Table 21 below, this limited coverage applies to all media platforms.

Table 20: Thematic Focus by Type of Governance-Related Stories (No. of Stories)

Governance Relevance	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
Governance	5%	58%	9%	3%	8%	1%	1%	<1%	1%	10%	4%	(571) 100%
Routine Functioning	4%	65%	10%	2%	4%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	10%	(647) 100%
Problematic Incident	<1%	58%	1%	8%	8%	6%	3%	1%	1%	7%	7%	(147) 100%
Total Governance-Related Items	4%	61%	9%	3%	6%	2%	2%	1%	1%	5%	7%	(1365) 100%

[4] A primary theme refers to the only theme, which is the main focus of a story – it is mentioned in the lead paragraph and/or headline and referred to throughout the entire story. A secondary theme is the other less important theme which is also the focus of a story.

Across different platforms and within the outlets of interest, accountability is also the most frequent primary theme, followed by land rights, transparency, and law and justice, as reflected below in overall coverage of governance reportage (see *Table 21* below).

Table 21: Thematic Focus of Governance Items in Key Media Outlets and Interest Outlets (No. of Stories)

Media	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
Newspaper	2%	62%	14%	7%	5%	3%	0%	0%	1%	5%	1%	(152) 100%
DAP	6%	54%	6%	6%	8%	3%	2%	0%	2%	9%	5%	(66) 100%
TV	7%	58%	7%	3%	6%	0%	2%	1%	0%	13%	3%	(182) 100%
Key Radio Outlets	3%	56%	7%	0%	10%	1%	2%	1%	1%	11%	9%	(135) 100%
Radio of Interest	8%	56%	6%	0%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	3%	(36) 100%
All Key Media Outlets	**4%**	**58%**	**9%**	**4%**	**7%**	**1%**	**2%**	**<1%**	**1%**	**10%**	**4%**	**(571) 100%**

4.4.1 Newspaper

Accountability is a major theme in governance stories in the three key newspapers, distantly followed by the theme of transparency (see *Table 22* below). However, less emphasis is given to accountability by the *Phnom Penh Post* (40%) compared to *Rasmei Kampuchea* (62%) and *Koh Santepheap* (72%). Also *Koh Santepheap* has the highest emphasis on voice/citizen participation compared to other media outlets. The *Phnom Penh Post* also deals more significantly with other themes, including land rights (16%), law and justice (12%), and anti-corruption (8%). Overall, there is limited thematic focus on such themes as sub-national administration reforms, anti-corruption and ethnic minorities, and virtually no coverage of gender, youth, and ethnic minorities.

Table 22: Thematic Focus of Governance Items in Newspapers

Outlet	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
Rasmei Kampuchea	1%	62%	18%	5%	4%	3%	0%	0%	1%	4%	1%	(75) 100%
Koh Santepheap	2%	72%	6%	11%	4%	0%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	(48) 100%
Phnom Penh Post	4%	40%	16%	4%	12%	8%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	(29) 100%
All Newspapers	2%	62%	14%	7%	6%	3%	0%	0%	1%	6%	1%	(152) 100%

4.4.2 DAP Online

Table 23 below shows the range of themes that governance items on *DAP Online* engages with as a primary topic. As in the case of the key newspapers, accountability is a major theme, while other themes are engaged much less often. The coverage of sub-national administration, law and justice and land rights by *DAP Online* is higher than the newspapers. However, *DAP Online* also gives minimal or no coverage to anti-corruption, gender, youth empowerment and ethnic minorities.

Table 23: Thematic Focus of Governance Items on DAP Online

Outlet	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
DAP Online	6%	54%	6%	6%	8%	3%	2%	0%	2%	9%	5%	(66) 100%

4.4.3 Radio

The thematic focus of governance items on radio is more diverse than that in newspapers and *DAP Online* (see *Table 24* below). Accountability tends to be the most common theme for key radio outlets (55%) and outlets of interest (56%). However, certain themes besides accountability become major primary or dominant themes. For instance, for *FM103*, the issue of land rights was considered as the most common theme (44%) while transparency and sub-national administrative reform are also significantly covered. *WMC FM102* focuses on three main themes – accountability (60%), transparency (20%) and land and justice (20%). Other findings are less surprising: for example, that international broadcaster *RFI* focuses more heavily on law and justice rather than accountability. However, due to the reliance of this study on very few cases, some figures are outliers, such the 100% focus on sub-national administration reforms by *Battambang Radio,* which only had a single governance story over the two-week period. Like other types of media, such themes as sub-national administration reforms, voice and citizen participation, anti-corruption, gender, youth empowerment, and ethnic minorities receive little coverage from both the key outlets and outlets of interest.

Table 24: Thematic Focus of Governance Items on Radio

Outlet	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
RNK	3%	51%	8%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	3%	13%	18%	(39) 100%
FM102	0%	60%	20%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	(5) 100%
FM103	11%	33%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	44%	0%	(9) 100%
RFA	2%	66%	5%	0%	7%	0%	5%	2%	0%	9%	5%	(58) 100%
RFI	0%	25%	0%	0%	63%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	(8) 100%
ABC Radio Australia	6%	56%	6%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	13%	(16) 100%
All Key Radio	**3%**	**56%**	**7%**	**0%**	**10%**	**1%**	**2%**	**1%**	**1%**	**11%**	**9%**	**(135) 100%**
Sarika*	0%	73%	0%	0%	27%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	(11) 100%
KC Radio*	0%	50%	25%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	(8) 100%
BB Radio*	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0% 100%	(1)
KP Radio*	13%	50%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	6%	(16) 100%
All Radio of Interest	**8%**	**56%**	**6%**	**0%**	**22%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0%**	**6%**	**3%**	**(36) 100%**

*Outlet of interest

4.4.4 TV

For the three selected TV outlets, the pattern of thematic focus is akin to other types of media (see *Table* 25 below). Accountability is a predominant primary theme (58%), and the focus on land rights is also noticeable (13%). This is followed by sub-national administration reforms (7%), transparency (7%) and law and justice (6%).

There are only minor differences between the three broadcasters in their thematic coverage of governance items. But these indicators should not be generalised because the small number of governance items (especially those on *CTN*) could be outliers within the relatively short two-week period of the study.

Overall, there is little coverage of voice and citizen participation, gender, and youth empowerment, and there is no coverage of anti-corruption and ethnic minorities on TV.

Table 25: Thematic Focus of Governance Items on TV (No. of Stories)

Outlet	Sub-National Administration Reform	Accountability	Transparency	Voice / Citizen Participation	Law and Justice	Anti-corruption	Gender	Youth Empowerment	Ethnic Minorities	Land Rights	Others	TOTAL
TVK	5%	61%	5%	2%	3%	0%	4%	1%	0%	16%	4%	(103) 100%
CTN	0%	56%	11%	11%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	0%	(9) 100%
Bayon News	10%	54%	10%	3%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	3%	(70) 100%
All TV	7%	58%	7%	3%	6%	0%	2%	1%	0%	13%	3%	(182) 100%

4.5 Bias in Governance Coverage

Source attribution and the presentation of protagonists and subjects are used as indicators of bias in reporting. We first present the extent to which information in reporting governance is attributed to sources. It is followed by an analysis of the sentiment of protagonists and subjects in the governance items.

A source is defined as a person, institution or organisation that provides a certain piece of information in the story, and the attribution of information to a source can be in the form of either a direct quotation or a paraphrased statement. The number of sources and source diversity in a story are important because a higher number and more diversity potentially indicate greater diversity of opinion and balance.

Table 26 gives a summary of the number of sources to which information is attributed in governance stories. Across the three newspapers, the *Phnom Penh Post* has on average a higher number of sources per story (3.84) than the government-aligned *Rasmei Kampuchea* (1.81) and *Koh Santepheap* (1.85). Across the radio and TV outlets, as well as *DAP Online*, the same pattern of source attribution also applies, whereby state-owned or

government-aligned outlets tend to use fewer sources of information (1-2 on average) than those perceived to be more independent (2-3.84 on average). The three international broadcasters, on average, use more sources of information than their local counterparts. As for the radio outlets of interest, the three provincial radio stations also use fewer sources than *SarikaFM106.5*.

Table 26: Number of Sources Used in a Governance Story

Outlet	Maximum	Minimum	Average
Newspaper	6	0	2.17
Rasmei Kampuchea	4	0	1.81
Koh Santepheap	4	0	1.85
Phnom Penh Post	6	2	3.84
DAP	5	0	1.57
Key Radio	8	0	2.60
RNK	5	0	1.82
FM102	3	1	1.80
FM103	2	0	1.33
RFA	8	0	3.47
RFI	3	1	2.00
ABC Radio Australia	5	1	2.69
Radio of Interest	5	1	1.61
Sarika	5	2	2.82
Kampong Cham Radio	2	1	1.13
Battambang Radio	1	1	1.00
Kampot Radio	2	1	1.06
TV	4	0	1.62
TVK	4	0	1.76
CTN	3	1	2.00
Bayon News	3	0	1.36

To examine the balance or bias of governance reporting, this study also observes the sentiment of protagonists and subjects in governance items. We initially identified 22 categories of actors for coding protagonists and subjects.[5] However, many of the actors are insignificant as they get mentioned on very few occasions or not at all. This is due to the low level of governance coverage in the selected key outlets and outlets of interest.

In *Table 27* below, we present 10 most important actors that appear as protagonists and subjects in the analysis, some of which will be combined in sentiment analysis later. The most prominent actor is the national government, followed by the citizens and the lower levels of sub-national governments.

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[5] The protagonist is the main person or entity of the story, while subject refers to the second main person or entity.

Table 27: Main Actor as Protagonist and Subject in Governance Stories[6]

Outlet	National Government	Provincial Government	District & Commune Government	Law Enforcement	Judiciary	Legislature	NGO (Local, National, International)	Opposition Party	Citizen	Commercial / Corporate Entity
Protagonist	54%	9%	4%	4%	1%	3%	1%	1%	13%	2%
Subject	29%	7%	3%	4%	1%	2%	3%	1%	22%	8%

4.5.1 Newspaper

Table 28 below shows government sources dominate governance reporting in the three newspapers. Two particular insights are worth mentioning. First, there is an opposite trend in citing government and civil society sources between the *Phnom Penh Post* and its two rivals. Although the *Phnom Penh Post* cites slightly less information from government sources (48%) compared to *Rasmei Kampuchea* (54%) and *Koh Santepheap* (55%), it cites about five times more information (25%) from civil society groups compared to the other papers (3% and 6% respectively). Second, it is also interesting that, after government sources, the most commonly used sources overall are private citizens (11%) and civil society sources (10%), which are higher than sources from law enforcement (7%).

Table 28: Diversity of Sources in Governance Stories in Newspaper

Outlet	Government	Law Enforcement	Judiciary	Legislature	Business	Academic	International	Civil Society	Ruling Party	Other Parties	Citizens	Others	TOTAL
Rasmei Kampuchea	54%	8%	2%	2%	4%	4%	1%	3%	0%	1%	12%	7%	100%
Koh Santepheap	55%	12%	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	6%	1%	0%	14%	8%	100%
Phnom Penh Post	48%	2%	0%	1%	8%	2%	0%	25%	0%	2%	8%	4%	100%
All Newspapers	**53%**	**7%**	**1%**	**1%**	**4%**	**3%**	**1%**	**10%**	**0%**	**1%**	**11%**	**7%**	**100%**

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[6] The protagonist and subject were analyzed based on the selected top 10 main actors.

The bias toward the government shown through the diversity of sources above is further confirmed in the analysis of protagonist sentiment in *Table 29* below. When reported as the protagonist, national and sub-national governments are portrayed in an overwhelmingly positive light by *Rasmei Kampuchea* and *Koh Santepheap,* whereas their portrayal by the *Phnom Penh Post* is less positive and more neutral or negative. However, although government protagonists are largely presented in a positive light, other authority figures (i.e. law enforcement, judiciary and legislature) have a mixed portrayal. Overall, the *Phnom Penh Post* appears to be more varied in its sentiment toward various protagonists, and as seen in *Table 29,* this variation in sentiment also applies to its sentiment toward the subjects.

Table 29: Protagonist Sentiment in Governance Stories in Newspaper

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
Rasmei Kampuchea	96%	0%	4%	60%	40%	0%	100%	0%	0%	88%	13%	0%	94%	0%	6%
Koh Santepheap	100%	0%	0%	60%	20%	20%	100%	0%	0%	25%	63%	13%	89%	11%	0%
Phnom Penh Post	63%	13%	25%	0%	100%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	67%	17%	17%
All Newspapers	88%	3%	9%	55%	36%	9%	100%	0%	0%	56%	38%	6%	87%	6%	6%

The analysis of subject sentiment (*Table 30* below) further supports and clarifies the bias toward government actors, and offers more insights into other actors. The biased stance of *Rasmei Kampuchea* and *Koh Santepheap,* compared to the *Phnom Penh Post,* is most noticeable in their sentiment toward the national and sub-national governments. But despite their apparent pro-government stance, this bias is less pronounced when it comes to presenting government or authority subjects other than the national government, such as the provincial government, district and commune governments, law enforcement, judiciary and legislature. Interestingly, in governance coverage, commercial entities are generally portrayed negatively.

Table 30: Subject Sentiment in Governance Stories in Newspaper

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen			Commercial Entity		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
Rasmei Kampuchea	93%	3%	3%	83%	17%	0%	64%	27%	9%	81%	19%	0%	78%	20%	2%	31%	69%	0%
Koh Santepheap	74%	4%	22%	48%	36%	16%	67%	33%	0%	41%	41%	18%	40%	8 %	53%	7%	93%	0%
Phnom Penh Post	5%	89%	5%	0 %	57%	43%	4 %	52%	44%	3 %	50%	47%	-	-	-	4%	91%	5%
All Newspapers	77%	9%	14%	58%	32%	11%	65%	29%	<1%	56%	34%	10%	61%	15%	24%	22%	77%	0 %

4.5.2 DAP Online

Tables 31, 32 and *33* below show the information on diversity of sources, protagonist sentiment and subject sentiment in *DAP Online*. The same patterns in the government-aligned newspaper coverage are largely applicable to *DAP Online* coverage – i.e., a bias toward the government, a slightly ambiguous stance toward low levels of government sometimes, a rather critical stance toward authority figures other than the government, and a critical perception of commercial entities.

Table 31: Diversity of Sources in Governance Stories on DAP Online

Outlet	Government	Law Enforcement	Judiciary	Legislature	Business	Academic	International	Civil Society	Ruling Party	Other Parties	Citizens	Others	TOTAL
DAP	53%	9%	0%	2%	1%	0%	3%	8%	0%	0%	14%	10%	100%

Table 32: Protagonist Sentiment in Governance Stories on DAP Online

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
DAP	85%	8%	8%	63%	13%	25%	78%	11%	11%	50%	50%	0%	60%	20%	20%

Table 33: Subject Sentiment in Governance Stories on DAP Online

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen			Commercial Entity		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
DAP	70%	15%	15%	50%	29%	21%	69%	23%	8 %	28%	39%	33%	34%	20%	46%	6 %	65%	29%

4.5.3 Radio

The diversity of sources presented in *Table 34* below again illustrates the bias toward the government by radio outlets that are perceived to be aligned with the government, including the three provincial radio outlets.

Outlets such as the *RNK* and *FM103* are dominated by government sources, while international broadcasters and those perceived to be distanced from the government have fewer government sources. In addition, the lower proportion of government sources is generally balanced by more sources from citizens and civil society groups and to a lesser extent other sources such as political parties and state institutions. Others (15%) which constitutes an important source for governance stories includes, but is not limited to, independent analysts, community representatives and autonomous bodies like National Election Commission.

Table 34: Diversity of Sources in Governance Stories on Radio

Outlet	Government	Law Enforcement	Judiciary	Legislature	Business	Academic	International	Civil Society	Ruling Party	Other Parties	Citizens	Others	TOTAL
RNK	68%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	4%	7%	0%	0%	12%	6%	100%
FM102	56%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	0%	22%	0%	100%
FM103	92%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
RFA	30%	3%	1%	0%	3%	1%	2%	16%	0%	0%	20%	23%	100%
RFI	50%	6%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	11%	6%	6%	6%	0%	100%
ABC Radio Australia	56%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	5%	21%	0%	5%	5%	7%	100%
All Key Radio	**55%**	**3%**	**2%**	**2%**	**0%**	**2%**	**0%**	**17%**	**0%**	**3%**	**10%**	**5%**	**100%**
Sarika*	35%	3%	3%	0%	0%	3%	0%	26%	0%	6%	19%	3%	100%
Kampong Cham Radio*	78%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Battambang Radio*	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Kampot Radio*	76%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	12%	100%
All Radio of Interest	**44%**	**3%**	**1%**	**1%**	**2%**	**1%**	**3%**	**14%**	**0%**	**1%**	**15%**	**15%**	**100%**

Outlet of interest

Tables 35 and 36 present protagonist and subject sentiment, respectively. Due to the small number of governance stories broadcast by many of the radio outlets selected, the protagonist and subject sentiment is not applicable to many of the actors. Nonetheless, the pattern is again visible where government actors, especially those at the national level, are portrayed positively or neutral by government-aligned radio outlets, in contrast to other outlets. In addition, commercial entity subjects are more often presented as neutral or negative.

Table 35: Protagonist Sentiment in Governance Stories on Radio

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
RNK	74%	0%	26%	40%	0%	60%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100 %
FM102	75%	25%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FM103	88%	0%	13%	100%	0%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RFA	25%	31%	44%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
RFI	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-
ABC Radio Australia	22%	11%	67%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
All Key Radio	48%	14%	38%	33%	22%	44%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Sarika*	33%	0%	67%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%
KCRadio*	71%	0%	29%	100%	0%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBRadio*	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KP Radio*	14%	0%	86%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%
All Radio of Interest	39%	0%	61%	33%	0%	67%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%

*Outlet of interest

Table 36: Subject Sentiment in Governance Stories on Radio

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen			Commercial Entity		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
RNK	63%	0%	37%	18%	0%	82%	50%	0%	50%	50%	0%	50%	0%	7%	93%	20%	0%	80%
FM102	75%	25%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	33%	67%
FM103	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
RFA	19%	28%	53%	0%	60%	40%	0%	67%	33%	0%	25%	75%	19%	4%	78%	7%	29%	64%
RFI	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-
ABC Radio Australia	40%	10%	50%	0%	33%	67%	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	33%	67%
All Key Radio	43%	1%	45%	23%	18%	59%	38%	2%	38%	16%	1%	74%	6%	4%	90%	7%	24%	69%
Sarika*	11%	0%	89%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
KC Radio*	71%	0%	29%	67%	33%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-

Table continued over...

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen			Commercial Entity		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
BB Radio*	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KP Radio*	8%	0%	92%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
All Radio of Interest	23%	0%	77%	40%	20%	40%	-	-	-	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%

*Outlet of interest

4.5.4 TV

Among the three TV outlets selected, *TVK* is state-owned and the other two are thought to be pro-government. Consistent with the above patterns of bias in newspapers, *DAP Online* and radio outlets, the three TV outlets should be expected to display a stance that supports the government through information attribution and protagonist and subject sentiment. *Tables 37, 38* and *39,* below, provide detailed figures about this. To some extent, the same bias tendency is noticeable, but surprisingly the state-owned *TVK* appears to often present the government protagonists and subjects in a neutral light (see *Tables 37* and *38*), despite the large proportion of government sources used in its governance stories (74%). Based on the data, the negative sentiment of stories on *Bayon News* among citizen's as protagonists relates to particularly negative stories like illegal logging activities for export demand, especially to Thailand, illegal fishery, illegal migration, and robbery. This presents an interesting contrasting example to the state-own *Radio National of Kampuchea (RNK)*. It is also worth noting that such sources of information as civil society groups and citizens are generally minimal.

Table 37: Diversity of Sources in Governance Stories on TV

Outlet	Government	Law Enforcement	Judiciary	Legislature	Business	Academic	International	Civil Society	Ruling Party	Other Parties	Citizen	Others	TOTAL
TVK	74%	0%	0%	4%	2%	2%	8%	1%	0%	0%	0%	9%	100%
CTN	72%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	11%	6%	100%
Bayon News	77%	7%	1%	0%	5%	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	2%	4%	100%
All TV	75%	2%	0%	3%	3%	1%	5%	1%	0%	0%	1%	7%	100%

Table 38: Protagonist Sentiment in Governance Stories on TV

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
TVK	36%	0%	64%	0%	0%	100%	-	-	-	43%	0%	57%	0%	0%	100%
CTN	75%	0%	25%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100%	0%	0%
Bayon News	83%	0%	17%	82%	0%	18%	100%	0%	0%	86%	0%	14%	50%	33%	17%
All TV	55%	0%	45%	64%	0%	36%	100%	0%	0%	64%	0%	36%	22%	11%	67%

Table 39: Subject Sentiment in Governance Stories on TV

Outlet	National Government			Provincial Government			District & Commune Government			Law Enforcement, Judiciary & Legislature			Citizen			Commercial Entity		
	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N	+	–	N
TVK	45%	0%	55%	0%	14%	86%	-	-	-	20%	0%	80%	3%	5%	92%	14%	0%	86%
CTN	58%	25%	17%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	38%	25%	38%	50%	50%	0%
Bayon News	84%	0%	16%	90%	7%	3%	67%	17%	17%	50%	19%	31%	53%	9%	38%	47%	24%	29%
All TV	60%	1%	38%	70%	11%	19%	57%	29%	14%	37%	15%	48%	27%	8%	65%	30%	13%	58%

5 Discussion

The main objective of this content analysis is to provide a baseline understanding of governance coverage by key news outlets, as well as several outlets of interest to CCAP, in Cambodia. In keeping with the priority of the country's governance reform agenda and with the research objectives of this study to provide measures of quality of media coverage on governance issues to enhance good governance through the promotion of accountability and transparency in local media news coverage, we specifically define governance coverage by focusing on stories that, in a broad sense, hold the government actors or authority figures to account for their decisions and the events or exercise of power resulting from such actions. Based on the key findings presented so far, we draw a number of key conclusions below. In lieu of specific recommendations on how to improve governance coverage, which would touch upon a wide range of actors and of political and organisational matters, we offer some key considerations that we feel are critical to improving governance news coverage in the country.

5.1 Governance Coverage: Scope, Prominence and Thematic Focus

First and foremost, although there is some variation in the level of governance coverage on each media platform and different media outlets, overall there is little coverage of governance matters in key news media outlets and outlets of interest to CCAP, comprising only 10% of the 5,119 stories included as part of this

analysis. This is a concern not only because such low coverage appears to lag behind the need for improving awareness and hence discussion of various issues by the citizens and other social and political actors in a time of wide-ranging governance reforms, but also because any noticeable improvement in the last few years has not been detected. A content analysis exercise on governance news coverage conducted by Equal Access over two years ago, though unable to be used for comparative analysis here due to different analytical frameworks, also expressed the concern over the marginality of governance reporting in key news media outlets in Cambodia (Equal Access, 2011).

Among the outlets of interest to CCAP, the concern is also a valid one. NGO-based *Sarika FM106.5* and the three broadcasters under the CCAP-supported Provincial Departments of Information (PDIs) also report relatively little on governance issues.

While the coverage on governance issues is low, governance stories are not necessarily given more importance than other types of issues. Although governance stories in the selected newspapers and online news site are generally longer than other types of stories, they are not always prioritised as top stories of the day. In broadcast news outlets, the situation is better in order priority but poorer in depth of coverage. Overall, the prominence of governance coverage in the key outlets and outlets of interest selected remains obscure at best.

The thematic analysis of governance stories, unfortunately, does not provide sufficient information base for drawing any decisive conclusion. On the surface, it may be encouraging to see the notion or issue of accountability dominate the thematic focus of governance stories. However, this may be due the fact that the notion of accountability is central to our operationalisation of 'governance' for this content analysis. Overall, the dominance of accountability in governance coverage by news media may also be due to the call for the accountability from relevant state institutions by newspaper and *DAP Online* reporters as well as TV and radio producers.

Amongst the three newspapers in this study, the *Phnom Penh Post* should be applauded for having more diverse thematic coverage than *Rasmei Kampuchea* and *Koh Santepheap.* Besides, radio and TV seem to have more diverse thematic coverage than other media platforms. However, limitations still exist. One of them is the limited or no coverage of some important themes like youth empowerment and gender issues.

Apart from the limited coverage of governance issues, it is also noticeable that a number of topics, which are critical to achieving good governance such as corruption, political conflicts, law and justice, land issues and human rights, receive limited coverage. This is not surprising due to the political and cultural climate in which the Cambodian media has developed and remains situated. This does not apply to radio. It may be a result of radio ownership, which remains relatively diverse, with NGO-run radio and international broadcasters playing a significant role.

A good governance reform process is critical to Cambodia's development, but it is a delicate process, and its success depends to a considerable extent on a free and well-informed public space. Any hope for a free and well-informed public space and citizenry to engage in governance reforms hinges upon an improved level of governance news coverage by key news media in Cambodia.

5.2 Bias, Organisational Affiliation, and Fear of Repercussion

The connection between reporting bias and affiliation or ownership of a news media outlet is not surprising, but this content analysis provides even more subtle insights. From the results on the protagonist and subject sentiment, it becomes clear that political independence from the government is a decisive factor in reporting balance or imbalance in governance news coverage. News media outlets thought to be aligned with the government in one way or another are largely positive or neutral about the government actors in their governance news coverage. In contrast, those generally perceived to be independent from the government,

such as international broadcasters and NGO-based media outlets are more often neutral or critical of the government actors. In addition, government-aligned outlets generally have fewer sources, lower than two on average – and non-government sources are often excluded. This potentially indicates that issues of governance in the news may sometimes follow the agenda set by government actors.

Besides the overall observation above, there are some other subtle differences worth highlighting. First, as in the case of thematic coverage, the *Phnom Penh Post* fares better than the other two newspapers in terms of diversity of sources of information. The paper has balanced its information from the government with the information from businesses, civil society organisations and the citizens. The three international broadcasters and the NGO-run *WMC FM102* and *Sarika FM106.5* likewise have balanced the voices from the government with voices from other non-state sources. In the context in which the government-aligned media are prone to present the government in a positive light and in which their dominant source of information is the very government that provides them with the information, this diversity of sources and the incorporation of voices from non-state actors are crucial to presenting a more balanced picture of the reality.

Despite the generally positive portrayal of the government, government or authority figures are not necessarily presented equally in a positive light, especially in government-aligned news media outlets. It appears that the top governmental actors, i.e. at the national level, are almost always portrayed positively. However, lower levels of government actors, especially at the district and commune levels, do not enjoy the same privilege, and they are at times presented in a rather critical manner. In addition, authority figures, such as the law enforcement bodies and judiciary representatives, are also relatively more likely to be critically presented. This suggests that the level of critical evaluation an authority figure receives is relative to his/her level of power. Such a relative evaluation by the reporter, editor or organisation further implies that the fear of negative repercussions could be an influential factor in taking a particular stance in reporting on governance issues, because the more powerful the criticised figure, the more likely there is to be a negative repercussion.

It is worth noting that state-owned media outlets such as *RNK,* and *TVK* present the protagonists and subjects in a more neutral light. Foreign-owned or run newspaper and radio often present the protagonists and subjects in both a negative or neutral light. This confirms the general perception that ownership of an outlet, to a large degree, determines its voices, and hence how an outlet reports governance issues.

5.3 Key Considerations

Because of the differences in media types and different level of governance coverage even within each type of media, instead of providing more specific recommendations, this report would propose some broad considerations to improve the governance news coverage. We suggest the following key considerations for improving governance coverage and reporting across media platforms:

Increased and Enhanced Coverage of Key Governance Topics

As seen throughout the report, coverage of governance issues is limited in both quality and quantity across every type of media; therefore; the governance coverage should be increased, and the quality of governance reporting must be enhanced. There is no denial that well-informed citizenry and society can help them make better decision and increase the level of their participation in development and governance. To contribute to achieving this goal, the role of media in disseminating quality news about governance is indispensible, if not paramount.

Apart from increasing the governance coverage, there should be effort to increase coverage of the topics and themes that are important to achieve good governance too. As discussed elsewhere above, such topics as corruption investigation, human rights abuses, political conflicts and affairs, law and justice, land and environment issues,

youth, and gender are hardly reported. Yet to push for better governance, the role of media to report such issues is very important. While the coverage of accountability is laudable, media outlets should also draw their attention to other key thematic governance areas such as transparency, sub-national administration reforms, voice and civic engagement, ethnic minorities and youth empowerment and participation.

Expand the Focus of Governance Reporting to Include Sub-national Governments, Business, Civil Society Organisations and Citizens.

The protagonist and subject that is the main focus of the governance stories is the national government. To achieve a more balanced focus, media outlets should focus on other state and non-state actors such as other state agencies, sub-national governments, businesses, social and political organisations and citizens in general. The Cambodian political system is somehow centralised, and power is still concentrated in the executive, despite donors' and government's effort to decentralise and de-concentrate power and functions to sub-national administration, especially in the last decade and the political rhetoric of broad civil society participation. Such focus mainly on the national government might intentionally or unintentionally aggrandise the role it plays in Cambodian development and thus not only perpetuate the lack of checks and balances between the different branches of the state but also fail to emphasize the importance of civic engagement in attaining good governance.

Diversify Reporting Format Beyond Traditional News Reporting

As reported above, almost all the reporting is in the news format. This may be understandable given that a majority of the programs/content selected for this analysis are 'news programs'. However, media outlets should diversify its reporting format to include more feature stories, live or recorded interviews, professional panel discussions, etc. even within their news programs.

Encourage the Use of Multiple Sources to Reduce Reporting Bias on Governance Topics

Media outlets should also try to balance the different sources of information to reduce its bias. The state-owned or government-aligned media outlets, in particular, rely heavily on government agencies and officials for information and present the state, the central government agencies in particular, in a positive light. Nonetheless, to achieve more balanced reporting, it is crucial that they try to balance the voice from the government with those from other state institutions, civil and political society groups and professional organisations and citizens.

Besides limited source diversity, some of the media outlets, including the radio outlets of interest to CCAP and local TV stations, seem to have limited number of sources of information. Because the number of sources depends very much on the length of each story, it is impossible to propose an ideal number of sources; nevertheless, it is of great benefit if media outlets can increase the number of sources of information. For some media outlets, this could mean increasing the length of items and the length of news programs too.

Provide Opportunities for Knowledge Sharing Between Media Practitioners

Although generally there are limitations to governance coverage across every type of media and within each type of media, some media outlets have better governance coverage and reporting than others. This is not to say that they provide an ideal benchmark for others to follow. Nevertheless, it may beneficial if there is an exchange of experiences and knowledge between media practitioners so that they can learn from one another to improve governance coverage.

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Annex: Codebook

1. **Coder ID:** Indicate the ID number of the individual who codes the item, according to the coder ID list:

   (1) ChounChanna

   (2) Kong Meta

   (3) Ty SamphorthVicheka

   (4) HengSokchannaroath

   (5) Sok Chan

   (6) Chin Panhavion

   (7) Prom Veasna

   (8) Sok Eng

   (9) Nov Povleakhena

2. **Item ID:** Write an ID number for the piece selected for coding both on the **coding sheet** and the **item itself** The item ID of a piece is the combination of the coder ID and a chronological number given to the piece that is:

   Item ID = Coder ID + a given number to the piece (starting from 001)

   For example: The first piece ChounChanna codes is given an item ID as 1001, and the second piece is 1002.

3. **Publisher/Broadcaster ID:** Indicate the ID number of the newspaper, radio or TV of the coded item, according to the list below:

   (1) Rasmey Kampuchea Daily

   (2) Koh Santepheap Daily

   (3) Phnom Penh Post Daily – Khmer language

   (4) DAP News

   (5) TVK

   (6) CTN

   (7) Bayon News

   (8) RNK

   (9) WMC FM102

   (10) FM103

   (11) Sarika FM106.5

   (12) RFA

   (13) RFI

   (14) ABC Australia

   (15) Kampong Cham Radio

   (16) Battambang Radio

   (17) Kampot Radio

4. **Program ID [for Radio & TV]:** Indicate the ID number of the radio or TV program in which the coded item appears, according to the program ID list below:

    (1)   TVK Afternoon News Program

    (2)   TVK Evening News Program (19:00-20:00 Monday-Sunday)

    (3)   CTN Afternoon News Program

    (4)   CTN Evening News Program (17:30-19:00 Monday-Friday)

    (5)   Bayon News Afternoon News Program (11:00 Monday-Saturday)

    (6)   Bayon News Evening News Program (17:00 Monday-Friday)

    (7)   RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (8:00) (Monday-Sunday)

    (8)   RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (12:00) (Monday-Sunday)

    (9)   RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (16:00)(Monday-Friday)

    (10) RNK10-minute news feature (15:00)

    (11) WMC Daily News Program (17:00-17:10)

    (12) WMC Daily News Program (19:00-19:10)

    (13) FM103 Daily News Program (8:30-9:00)

    (14) FM103 Evening News Program (17:00-18:00)

    (15) Sarika Morning News (6:00-6:30 Monday-Friday)

    (16) Sarika Evening News Report (18:00-18:30 Monday-Friday)

    (17) RFA Daily News Program (5:30-6:30)

    (18)   RFA Daily News Program (19:30-20:30)

    (19) RFI Daily News Program (19:00-20:00)

    (20) ABC Australia Daily News Program (12:00-13:00)

    (21) Kampong Cham Radio Daily News Program (7:00-8:00 Monday-Friday)

    (22) Kampong Cham Radio Daily News Program (15:00-16:00 Monday-Friday)

    (23) Battambang Radio Daily News Program (7:05-7:20)

    (24) Kampot Radio News Program (6:00)

    (25) Kampot Radio News Program (9:00)

    (26) Kampot Radio News Program (15:00)

5. **Date of Publication:** Write the date on which the item is published or broadcast.
    Use this format: DD/MM/YY, for example 13/11/12 for 13th November 2012.

6. **Date of Coding:** Write the date on which the item is coded. Use this format: DD/MM/YY,
    for example 13/11/12 for 13th November 2012.

7. **Story Format:** Decide on the journalistic format of the item being coded, according to the following types by choosing ONLY ONE:

    (1)   News: if the item is about an important current event and it is a fact-based reporting.

    (2)   Feature: if the item is about an event or subject and focused more deeply on certain particularly interesting aspects of the subject other than its currency.

(3) Opinion/commentary: if the item expresses the opinion and/or analysis of the writer/reporter/anchor/individual on a particular issue. The item attempts to draw a conclusion to convince the audience.

(4) Interview/discussion: if the item is explicitly structured and presented to the audience as an interview or discussion.

(5) Vox pop: if it is presented as an independent item consisting of only a quick survey of several ordinary people's short opinion on a topic.

(6) Advertorial: if the item is written as news or feature but is largely aimed at promoting a product, service or activity of an institution or commercial entity.

(7) Others (Specify)

8. Section: Choose ONLY ONE CHOICE, in which section the item is included, according to the following lists:

For Newspaper:

(1)   National news or Social news

(2)   Crime or Social Security or National Security

(3)   Traffic

(4)   Politics

(5)   Environment

(6)   Business and Economy

(7)   Culture, Education, Health

(8)   Social Activities

(9)   International news or World News

(10)   Entertainment/Lifestyle

(11)   Culture and Arts

(12)   Sports

(13)   Letter to Editor or Op-Ed or Commentary

(14)   Others (Specify)

For DAP:

(15)   National news

(16)   International news

(17)   Economic news

(18)   Arts and sports

For Radio:

(19)   National news or Social news

(20)   Crime or Social Security or National Security

(21)   Traffic

(22)   Politics

(23)   Business or Economics

(24) Social Activities

(25) International news or World News

(26) Entertainment or Lifestyle

(27) Culture and Arts

(28) Sports

(29) Education

(30) Health

(31) Environment or Science

(32) Letter to Editor or Op-Ed or Commentary

(33) None

(34) Others (Specify)

For TV:

(35) National News

(36) International News

(37) Sports

(38) Entertainment and Lifestyle

(39) Others (Specify)

9. **Primary Topic:** Decide on the main topic in the item. To decide on the "main topic" of the item, the coder has to read (or listen to) the entire item and ask: "what is the most important issue the item is dealing with?" Pay particular attention to the headline and lead paragraph for clues. Select ONE from the following:

(1) Crimes and security

(2) Traffic accidents

(3) Other accidents

(4) Political conflicts and affairs

(5) Corruption

(6) Social affairs

(7) Law and Justice

(8) Administrative news

(9) Land issues

(10) Investment, Business and Economic issues

(11) Human Rights

(12) International cooperation

(13) Infrastructures

(14) Educational issues

(15) Environmental issues

(16)   Agriculture and Fishery

(17)   Forestry and Natural Resources

(18)   Health

(19)   Youth

(20)   Gender

(21)   Military

(22)   International/regional issues

(23)   Entertainment and celebrity gossips

(24)   Cultural and artistic issues

(25)   Science

(26)   Sports

(27)   Others (Specify)

10. **Secondary Topic:** Decide on a secondary topic, if there is any. The coder should read the (or listen to) the entire item and find if the item also deals with another important issue, but secondary to the primary topic above. Select ONE from the following:

(0)   No secondary topic

(1)   Crimes and security

(2)   Traffic accidents

(3)   Other accidents

(4)   Political conflicts and affairs

(5)   Corruption

(6)   Social affairs

(7)   Law and Justice

(8)   Administrative news

(9)   Land issues

(10)   Investment, Business and Economic issues

(11)   Human Rights

(12)   International cooperation

(13)   Infrastructures

(14)   Educational issues

(15)   Environmental issues

(16)   Agriculture and Fishery

(17)   Forestry and Natural Resources

(18)   Health

(19)   Youth

(20)   Gender

(21)   Military

(22)   International/regional issues

(23)   Entertainment and celebrity gossips

(24)   Cultural and artistic issues

(25)   Science

(26)   Sports

(27)   Others (Specify)

11A. Story Size for Print Newspaper: Record the size of the item in "square centimeters". The item may have more than one column. First, calculate the size of headline by multiplying the width and height of each headline. Second, calculate the size of each column by multiplying the width and height of each column. This results in the size in 'square centimeters' (cm2) for each headline and column. Third, add the size of all the columns the item has. The result is the total size of the item in cm2.

11B. Story Length for DAP: Record the length of the item in "number of characters". To calculate the length of the item, first copy the item from the DAP web site and paste it onto a MS Word document. Second, delete graphic icons the come with the pasting. Make sure the story has only the headline (and sub-headline and teaser, if any), the location of the report, and the story. Finally, find the "number of characters" of the document. In MS Word 2007, you can do this by clicking on the "Words: XXX" information tab at the bottom of the screen. Record the "number of characters (with spaces)" onto the coding sheet.

11C. Story Length for Radio and TV: Record the length of the item in seconds. Listen to the story and start counting the second from when the story is announced by the presenter/anchor until it is concluded by the reporter, presenter or a sound bite.

12A. Item Placement for Newspaper: Newspaper items are classified by their placement order within the folds and sections as "Front Page" for stories start on front page, "Section Front" for stories that do not start on the front page, but start on the page that the section starts, "Middle" for stories that does not start on the front page nor the section front; and "Last" for stories that start on the last page.

(1)   Front page

(2)   Section front

(3)   Middle

(4)   Last

12B. Item Placement for DAP: DAP items are classified by the numbers of order of their appearances on the page within the dates of the times frame. For example, "1" for the first top item on the page and "10" for the tenth item.

12C. Item Placement for Radio: Radio items are placed base on the numbers of order of their broadcasting in the whole selected programs. For example, "1" for the first item in the program and "10" for the tenth item.

12D. Item Placement for TV: TV items are placed base on the numbers of order of their broadcasting in the whole selected programs. For example, "1" for the first item in the program and "10" for the tenth item.

13.   Governance Relevance: Decide if the item is relevant to governance in Cambodia.

"Governance" has been defined in a number of ways. Amongst the commonly used definitions are those

offered by the World Bank in relation to the public sector: "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of acountry's economic and social resources for development" (1992:3) or "the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authorityto shape public policy and provide public goods and services" (2007:para 3). This complex management of resources and exercise of authority involves both formal and informal actors, which according to the UNDP (1997) are categorized into three groups: government, private sector, and civil society.

For this content analysis, we begin with a generic definition of "governance" as "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)" (UNESCAP 2004:para 3). Within the context of the study, we are interested in national and local governance, rather than other areas of governance such as corporate and international governance.

In addition, the scope of this content analysis is limited to one key actor, that is, "the government" or "state", particularly in how they make decisions, exercise their power, or, in short, function to influence the economic and social resources of the country, as reported in the news media. However, the form in and extent to which news reporting engages with such governance aspect varies, usually among the following:

(1)   Reporting on routine or typical functioning or events of state or government bodies or representatives without discussing the action or events in relation to common interests of the citizens.

(2)   Reporting on daily incidents in a descriptive and straightforward manner but adding a brief personal comment at the end of the report to criticize or call for action from the authority/authorities involved.

(3)   Reporting on issues or events that involve decisions, action or power of a state or government actor that affects the common interests of the citizens, by discussing how the use or result of the decision or power affect the citizens. Often, reports in this nature hold the state or government actor(s) to account for the events, decisions, or exercise of power – either in positive or negative manner.

Therefore, for this variable (Governance Relevance), code the item as:

(1)   Routine functioning [see definition in (1) above; continue coding until Variable 18]

(2)   Problematic incident [see definition in (2) above; continue coding until Variable 18]

(3)   Governance [see definition in (3) above; continue coding till the end]

(4)   Non-governance [end coding here]

14.   **Governance Primary Sub-theme:** The "Primary Sub-theme", which refers to the theme that item is concerned with primarily by mentioning it in the lead paragraph and/or headline, and referring to it throughout the context of the entire story. Select ONE from the following:

(1)   Sub-national administration reform

(2)   Accountability

(3)   Transparency

(4)   Voice/participation of citizens

(5)   Law and justice

(6)   Anti-corruption

(7)   Gender

(8)   Youth empowerment

(9) Ethnic minorities

(10) Land rights

(11) Others (specify)

The following explanation provides a general guideline for coding the thematic relevance of governance items:

(1) *Sub-national administrations reform* refers to any item related to the sub-national institutional development (Capital/provincial, District/Khan/Municipality, & commune/Sangkat), the development of human resource management system, the transfer of functions and resources from national government, sub-national budget system (including financial and property), and support institutions for D & D reform process.

(2) *Accountability* in broad terms refers to the answerability and responsibility exhibited or required in the exercise of authority of state or governmental bodies or representatives. This answerability and responsibility could be expressed to the citizens, horizontally among them, or to the higher authority.

(3) *Transparency* refers broadly to the openness in the exercise of authority by state or governmental institutions or representatives. In order to achieve transparency, citizens' access to information and state/government's dissemination of information involving the state or governmental bodies are critical.

(4) *Voice and participation of citizens* refers to the participation of citizens through voicing opinion and other action in the interest of their community and groups to different levels of state authority.

(5) *Law and Justice* refers to any news on the legal and judicial issues, including: laws on sub-national administrations management, civil registration law, law against domestic violence, community safety and crime prevention, alternative dispute resolutions, land law, traffic law, traffic law, crime on illegal fishing and logging.

(6) *Anti-corruption* refers to any item involving the role of Anti-corrupt Unit (ACU), anti-corruption law awareness raising activities, and legal enforcement, and legal activities against corrupt officials.

(7) *Gender* refers to any item on gender and development, including: women empowerment, the role of women in development and politics, domestic violence against women, community dispute resolution mechanism and its effectiveness, and livelihood options for women.

(8) *Youth empowerment* refers to any item concerning the role of youths in politics and social development, including: livelihood options for youths, career counseling, modern technology and its usage, and the causes and consequences of youth and adolescent deviancy.

(9) *Ethnic minorities* refer to any item regarding the issues and development activities for ethic monitories, including indigenous minority rights, cultural preservation and development.

(10) *Land rights* refer to any item concerning land rights abuses, including evictions, land concession and land grabbing.

15. **Governance Secondary Sub-theme:** Decide on a secondary sub-theme, if there is any. The coder should read the (or listen to) the entire item and find if the item also deals with another important governance sub-theme, but secondary to the primary sib-theme above. Select ONE from the following:

(0) No secondary sub-theme

(1) Sub-national administration reform

(2) Accountability

(3)   Transparency

(4)   Voice/participation of citizens

(5)   Law and justice

(6)   Anti-corruption

(7)   Gender

(8)   Youth empowerment

(9)   Ethnic minorities

(10) Land rights

(11) Others (specify)

16. **Number of Sources in the Item:** A source is a person, institution, or organization to which certain information in the item is attributed. Report how many sources the item has.

17. **Source Representation:** A source is a person, institution, or organization that provides a certain piece of information in the story. An item usually has more than one source of information. A source may have more than one form of representation, in which case the coder needs to indicate all of them based on how the source is represented in the item. Select ONLY ONE.

(1)   National government or its representative

(2)   Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative

(3)   District/Khan/Municipality government/administrations or its representative

(4)   Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative

(5)   Law enforcement authority

(6)   Judiciary

(7)   Legislature

(8)   Corporate/commercial entity

(9)   Union

(10) Academia

(11) Professional association/group

(12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies

(13) Foreign government

(14) International NGO

(15) National or local NGO

(16) Local community / Community-based organization

(17) Ruling political party

(18) Opposition political party

(19) Other political parties

(20) Common citizen/private individual

(21) Anonymous

(22) Others (specify)

18. **Source Attribution:** Source attribution refers to the attribution of information to each source in both 'quotations' and paraphrase. Report the following features of each source on the table:

    18A. Number of time each source is quoted directly

    18B. Number of time each source is attributed for information without direct quoting

Continue coding only for only "Governance" story (type 3 in Variable 13).

19. **Headline Description:** In a newspaper or web item, a headline refers to the sentence on top of the story that tells the readers what the story is about. For a radio or TV item, the coders have to describe in their own words what the radio/TV item is about. Write the headline of the item in English.

20. **Subjects in the Item:** Count how many subjects there are in the item. "Subject" refers to an (1) individual person, (2) organization, or (3) group of individuals or organizations referred to as a single collective, which story discusses. <u>One subject is counted once only no matter how many times it is mentioned.</u>

    Note that "subjects" are different from "sources" in the story. The following example shows the "subjects" in highlighted areas:

> **Former commune chief under arrest for corruption**
>
> A former commune chief in Kampong Chhnang province was arrested on Thursday over allegations he pocketed $250,000 after offering to sell land owned by villagers or the state, police said yesterday.
>
> Chea Chhoeung, the former commune chief of Rolea Ba'ier district's Svay Chrum commune, was arrested on charges of fraud and faking public documents, Brigadier General Ath Khen, provincial police chief said.

21A. Protagonist of the story: Indicate who is the main subject of the story. Select ONLY ONE.

    (1)   National government or its representative

    (2)   Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative

    (3)   District/Khan/Municipality government/administrations or its representative

    (4)   Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative

    (5)   Law enforcement authority or its representative

    (6)   Judiciary or its representative

    (7)   Legislature or its representative

    (8)   Corporate/commercial entity or its representative

    (9)   Union or its representative

    (10) Academia/academic

    (11) Professional association/group or its representative

    (12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies or its representative

    (13) Foreign government or its representative

(14) International NGO

(15) National or local NGO

(16) Local community / Community-based organization

(17) Ruling political party

(18) Opposition party

(19) Other political parties

(20) Common citizen/private individual

(21) Delegates

(22) Others (specify)

21B. Subject Identification: Indicate who/what **each subject** mentioned in the item refers to, according to the following list of subjects by selecting ONLY ONE:

(1) National government or its representative

(2) Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative

(3) District/Khan/Municipality government/administrations or its representative

(4) Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative

(5) Law enforcement authority or its representative

(6) Judiciary or its representative

(7) Legislature or its representative

(8) Corporate/commercial entity or its representative

(9) Union or its representative

(10) Academia/academic

(11) Professional association/group or its representative

(12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies or its representative

(13) Foreign government or its representative

(14) International NGO

(15) National or local NGO

(16) Local community / Community-based organization

(17) Ruling political party

(18) Opposition parties

(19) Other political parties

(20) Common citizen/private individual

(21) Delegates

(22) Others (specify)

22. **Subject Sentiment:** Indicate whether each subject is mentioned in a (1) positive, (2) negative, or (3) neutral light, based on the context of the story or the issue the subject is involved in the story:

(1) Positive

(2) Negative

(3) Neutral

23. **Visual for TV:** Indicate if the TV item is accompanied by visual illustrating the issue in the item.

(1) Yes

(2) No

24. **Photo/Image for Newspaper and DAP:**

24A. **Number of photo/image**

Write the number of photo/image the item is accompanied with, (for example, 0, 1, 2, 3, etc.)

24B. **Description of each photo/image**

For each photo/image, describe it in one sentence by using this following format: "WHO is doing WHAT?"