

The Media Map Project Cambodia

Case Study on Donor Support to Independent Media, 1990-2010

by Margarete Roberts



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The Media Map Project Case Studies: An Introduction

By Tara Susman-Peña

The field of media development assistance – support provided by foreign donors to promote independent, professional news media in developing and transitioning countries – dates back at least to the 1950s. Almost never recognized as a sector in its own right, media development is a relatively tiny portion of overall development assistance.¹ Despite this marginal status, media development veterans passionately believe that their work plays a critical role in improving the governance and development of the countries where they work. Successful support to local media should facilitate its independence from government and other outside influences, promote freedom of information, represent the public's needs to decision-makers, and improve the quality of the news that is produced. In turn, by maintaining a free-flow of information, improved news media should keep government transparent and hold it to account, give life to the market economy, and provide citizens with the information they need to make all kinds of critical decisions that impact them as individuals, and their families, communities, and countries.

In theory then, media development supports all other development, both directly and indirectly. However, media development stakeholders have not always been able to make a compelling, evidence-based case to the greater development community that what they do matters critically for both governance and development. Former World Bank president James Wolfensohn, Nobel prize-winning economists Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz, and many other policymakers have made a strong case for the media's importance, but this has yet to be translated widely into systematic incorporation of media development support into aid policy and budgets. The Media Map Project was created to interrogate the

evidence on the connections between media and development, as well as to make global data on the media sector more accessible to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

This series of case studies addresses more specific questions regarding the impact of donor interventions that support the media in developing countries.² The following key questions focus on the last two decades of donor support to independent media in seven countries. Who are the major actors? What are the major activities? Which activities have a positive impact? Which activities fail? Why? Finally, we go beyond the reflective exercise of “best practices and lessons learned” to offer evidence for donors interested in improving the effectiveness and relevance of their media support. These studies are intended for donors, policymakers, and media development practitioners alike.

In a perfect world, we would have been able to identify all of the donors supporting media from 1990-2010, precisely outline their activities, goals, partners, and budgets, collect monitoring and evaluation reports, and, armed with nationally representative data measuring the many facets of the health of the media sector,³ we would have been able to determine precisely which projects had impact, the return on investment, and perhaps even the collective impact of all projects. Given the constraints of a pilot project, and the limits of the donors' own documentation, we were not able to perform exhaustive research. Instead, our methodology was designed to build a solid foundation for understanding each country's media development history, illuminated by rich, revealing detail. Further, we have carefully out-

1 Estimates of current spending on media development are extremely difficult to make with precision, due to poor donor documentation, and range from 0.3% of all U.S. aid (the United States is the largest bilateral donor to media development) (Mottaz, 2010) to 0.6% of all aid (as estimated by D. Kaufmann in a presentation entitled “On Media Development & Freedoms in a Governance Context: An Outsider's Reflections, with Some Empirics,” presented at OECD DAC GOVNET meeting on June 7, 2011.)

2 The vexing question of how to define impact of a particular media development intervention, and further, how to measure that impact, is addressed in another report for the Media Map Project (Alcorn et al., 2011).

3 The Media Map Project defines the health of the media sector: “The health of the media sector refers to the extent of its development. A healthy media sector is independent from both government and business, generates quality outputs that reach citizens, and engages them to make informed decisions that impact their own lives and the lives of their community” (Roy, 2011a: 3).

lined any remaining gaps in the research. Building upon this work, we have proposed a design for quantifying the impact of donor support to the media that could be undertaken in a subsequent phase of the research.⁴

The original design of the project included four or five countries as case studies. We selected the countries to represent a range of development challenges, political situations, media development history, and geography (with a slight emphasis on Sub-Saharan Africa). In consultation with the Media Map International Advisory Board, we selected Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, Peru, Ukraine, and Indonesia. As the project progressed, we formed partnerships that enabled us to add Kenya (Center for Governance and Human Rights, Cambridge), and Cambodia (Australian Broadcasting Corporation). The basic research design includes:

- 1) Qualitative desk research providing context on each country's development, political, historical, and media landscapes
- 2) Quantitative desk research creating a portrait of each country's media sector progress over the last 20 years, to the extent that data is available, also some comparison between the country and its region
- 3) Primary data collected from in-country fieldwork, which includes interviews, focus groups, and observation

Pilot projects come with constraints, but they also come with great opportunities for exploration and creativity, and we have pursued the case study research very much in this spirit. However, while each of the countries contains all of the above components, and thus a consistent line of inquiry, there is some variation across the studies. First, as to format, the lead researcher for each country was provided with a template meant to structure the report. All of the reports cover the key areas in the template, but they do not share a perfectly uniform structure. Both the template and sampling guide are provided at the end of this report. Model discussion guides for interviews were provided, adapted for language and context, and used to guide semi-structured interviews and focus groups during the field work.

Mali and Peru were chosen to coincide with two of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) Governance Network's (GOVNET) case studies that lay the groundwork for improving donor support to

domestic accountability. We provided GOVNET with summary reports on these two countries focusing on the media's role in domestic accountability in support of GOVNET's preparation for the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in November 2011 in Busan, Korea.

To the Peru and Ukraine case studies, we added Network Analysis, a social science methodology that investigates connections among organizations to probe relationship patterns in areas such as information sharing, prestige, and trust. In Peru, we also piloted a methodology called Participatory Photographic Mapping, a technique that has been used principally in the U.S. and Canada to investigate community health and safety issues. This produced visual, oral, and textual data showing where people get their information and what sources they trust. The experiment yielded some insights about information sources, but was even more useful as a process to refine the methodology appropriately for future research.

In recent years, news media have been evolving and significantly overlapping with the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector. An overview of the Internet and mobile phones is included in the media landscape portraits. The question of new media and social media was included in the primary research to the extent that donors support these areas. We excluded any donor assistance consisting of pure infrastructure provision. In recognition of the rapidly shifting information landscape, we chose to focus the Kenya case study more pointedly on the convergence of old and new media, and on what donors are focusing on today, rather than conducting an extensive review of the past.

Finally, each of the individual case studies is meant to illuminate the specificity of each country context, but also feed into a broader evidence base of why and how better to support the media sector around the world. Out of this research, our aim is to identify clear guidelines for donors about the best approaches to media support across a variety of contexts. The final Media Map Project report will assimilate findings from all of these components, including the seven case studies, an econometric study that demonstrates that a healthy media sector has a positive impact on political stability in the sub-Saharan Africa region (Roy, 2011b), and a study of donors' approaches to assessing the impact of their media development projects. All of these reports, the quantitative data used in the reports, and a wealth of other data that can be used to further investigate the role of information and media in governance and development is freely available on our project website, www.MediaMapResource.org.

4 See Roy and Susman-Peña, 2011.

Acronyms

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABC RA	Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Australia
AECID	Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation
AM	Amplitude Modulation
API	Advocacy Policy Institute
APSARA	Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BBC WST	British Broadcasting Corporation World Service Trust
CAPJ	Cambodian Association for the Protection of Journalists
CCI	Cambodian Communication Institute
CCIM	Cambodian Center for an Independent Media
CCJ	Club of Cambodian Journalists
CCJAP	Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CHEMS	Cambodia Health Education Media Service
CIMS	Cambodia Institute for Media Studies
CMDG	Cambodian Millennium Development Goals
COMFREL	The Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CRDAP	Cambodia Radio Development Assistance Project
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CTN	Cambodia Television Network
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DED	German Development Service
DfGG	Demand for Good Governance
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DMC	Department of Media and Communication, Royal University of Phnom Penh
EAP	East Asia Pacific
FM	Frequency Modulation
OSI	Open Society Foundation
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GF	Global Fund
GFATM	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
HRP	Human Rights Party
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IMPACS	Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISP	Internet Service Provider
KAF	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes, Practices
KHANA	Khmer HIV/AIDS NGO Alliance
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
MoInf	Ministry of Information
MONASRI	Ministry of National Assembly-Senate Relations & Inspection
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OSI	Open Society Institute
Oxfam Novib	Oxfam (Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) Netherlands Organization for International Assistance
PCC	Press Council of Cambodia
PIS	Provincial Information Services
PLHA	People Living with HIV and AIDS
RFA	Radio Free Asia
RFI	Radio France International
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RNK	Radio National Kampuchea
RUPP	Royal University of Phnom Penh
SMS	Short Message Service
SRP	Sam Rainsy Party
TBP	Talk Back Program
TAF	The Asia Foundation
TV	Television
TVK	National Television Kampuchea
TWG	Technical Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNOHCR	United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VOA	Voice of America
VOD	Voice of Democracy
WMC	Women's Media Center
WPFDF	World Press Freedom Day

Part 1: Executive Summary

The majority of media outlets are political assets rather than conventional business assets, facilitating broader political or business interests.

The Cambodian media is relatively young, with the country, people and its organizations emerging from decades of repression and civil war. The concept of a free media first emerged in Cambodia in the early 1990s, following decades of civil war and communist rule, with Radio United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) showcasing professional and balanced political and human rights reportage without being subject to government controls. While some independent media outlets, predominantly newspapers, were granted a license, an independent and robust media environment was not an immediate objective of government or donors.

Much of the Cambodian media is owned by the state or the business elite with close ties to government being an unspoken requirement. Consequently most, but not all media outlets, are better viewed as political assets rather than business assets. A few small-scale media operators are supported or run by the opposition party. The only media primarily run as business entities are the Women's Media Center (WMC) and Voice of Democracy (VOD), which are non-governmental organizations (NGOs); international NGOs or organizations such as BBC WST; independent production houses such as Khmer Mekong Films; and lastly Cambodian Television Network (CTN) and My TV.

The most active donors (including NGOs who subcontract to local implementers) who have supported media development initiatives include Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation (KAF), Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), The World Bank and The United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Over the past 20 years, there has been modest improvement in the professionalism of some journalists, improvements to technical production and, more recently, a willingness by members of the Cambodian public to speak openly on radio, facilitating new or previously unreported issues that are broadcast on television as well as the beginnings of improvements in the quality of some Khmer newspaper reports.

Long-term media projects funded over the past 20 years include:

- Radio UNTAC which was funded by UNTAC to deliver election and human rights messages
- Department of Media and Communication (DMC), the first ever undergraduate degree in Media and Communications funded by KAF since 2001
- Training initiatives with Cambodian Communicative Initiative (CCI) prior to the establishment of DMC
- TVK Equity Weekly, a 40 minute weekly television production on topical issues broadcast on state television, funded by UNDP since 2006
- Radio National Kampuchea (RNK) Cambodian Radio Development Assistance Project (CRDAP) funded by AusAID since 2005 and subsequently Demand for Good Governance (DfGG) funded by World Bank and AusAID from 2009 to introduce talkback radio programming followed by news and features on governance issues
- Provincial radio talkback programs funded by AusAID and implemented by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) since 2009 in Battambang, and more recently in Siem Reap and Kampong Cham

In addition, short to medium term initiatives have included the training of journalists, support to journalist associations, and small-scale social media projects. Various development communications initiatives have

also been funded, ranging from a few months to 2 or 3 years in duration, many of which have focused on health, women's rights, and governance.

The most successful media development projects have been medium to longer term projects, some implemented over several stages or using several media platforms, that were independently assessed, enabled lessons to be incorporated into the next stage and benefited from donor commitment, flexibility, and an understanding of the realities of the local context. Cutting-edge media development projects relied on a strong relationship of the implementing agency with government champions that enabled implementers to negotiate with champions on the parameters of a project prior to submitting a proposal to a donor.

Nevertheless, despite donor support over the past 20 years, many challenges remain, including:

- Lack of professional and independent editorial leadership and reportage, especially related to news and political reportage

- Widespread tendency for the public to believe what is written or broadcast
- Increasing legal action against journalists leading to a climate of self-censorship and fear
- Journalists associations are fragmented, some politically affiliated and they lack one strong, united, professional voice
- No independent watchdog to ensure the journalism profession is protected and to uphold journalism ethics and the content of reports
- No broadcasting law and, to date, no freedom of information law
- No public service broadcaster
- No ongoing mechanism for all media to effectively dialogue with government and to follow up and seek resolution to strategic issues they face



Battambang Youth Voices uses cell phones to receive calls from listeners. (Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

Part 2: Media Overview

Historical and Development Background

Key Political, Social and Economic Events and Trends Over the Past 20 Years

Following decades of communist and military rule, and conflict, Cambodia held its first election in 1993. The elections were administered by the United Nations Transitional Authority Cambodia (UNTAC) and resulted in two parties entering into a power sharing arrangement. This period of optimism envisaged that Cambodia set forth on a path to democracy and donors and civil society organizations (CSOs) flocked to the country. Over the past two decades, Cambodia has enjoyed political stability with Hun Sen ruling since 1985 and with political power increasingly concentrated by the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), which now occupies more than two-thirds of National Assembly seats.¹

Cambodia comprises 13.4 million people and has experienced a population growth rate of 1.5 percent over the past decade. It is also a youthful country, with 36 percent of the population aged 10-24 years.

Cambodia has achieved considerable economic growth with the average annual growth rate of real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) averaging more than 9 percent between 2001 and 2007, largely a result of foreign investment and trade (IMF, 2011). The country has a relatively narrow economic base with more than half the population relying on agriculture for their livelihood; the garment manufacturing, construction, and tourism sectors follow closely behind.

Key Development Challenges Facing Cambodia

While Cambodia has shown considerable improvements, albeit coming off a relatively low base, it

continues to face development challenges. Thirty percent of Cambodians live below the national poverty line, most residing in rural areas. (UNDP Cambodia, n.d.) The nation's Human Development Index (HDI) increased from 0.407 in 1995 to 0.523 in 2011, giving the country a rank of 139 out of 187 countries and territories. Cambodia's HDI falls below the 2011 East Asia and Pacific regional average of 0.671 (UNDP, 2011).

Cambodia has made improvements in health with both HIV prevalence and fertility rates declining and life expectancy at birth increasing from 55 years in 1990 to 62.2 years in 2010 (UNDP, 2011). Yet unacceptably high maternal mortality rates remain, with 540 pregnancy-related deaths for every 100,000 live births in 2005 (National Institute of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics, 2005). The new Gender Inequality Index measurement in the HDI, which reflects women's disadvantages in health, empowerment, and economic activity, ranks Cambodia 99 out of 146 countries (UNDP, 2011).

The male adult literacy rate in 2008 was 85.1 percent and female 70.9 percent (National Institute of Statistics, 2009). The geographic breakdown is noteworthy, with the urban literacy rate being 90.4 percent and rural being 74.5 percent.² Equally significant, only about half of Cambodians have completed primary school.³ These educational indicators have implications for media literacy and media consumption patterns.

Public and civil society participation in decision-making remains limited due to capacity constraints, fear of participation, poorly developed institutional mechanisms and insufficient access to information (UNDP, 2010). Journalists fear exposing certain truths, largely a legacy of communist rule, when the media was fully controlled by the State. Furthermore, CSOs and some United Nations (UN) agencies expressed concerns about declining public space over recent years, a phenomenon that has further implications for press freedom. Finally, Cambodia is plagued by a weak rule of law, with jour-

¹ Various coalitions have enabled Hun Sen to rule Cambodia since 1985. Following the 2008 elections, the CPP won a majority of seats and now longer shares power with FUNCINPEC.

² Data could not be sourced on functional literacy rates, which are thought to provide a better indication of day to day capabilities.

³ Ibid.

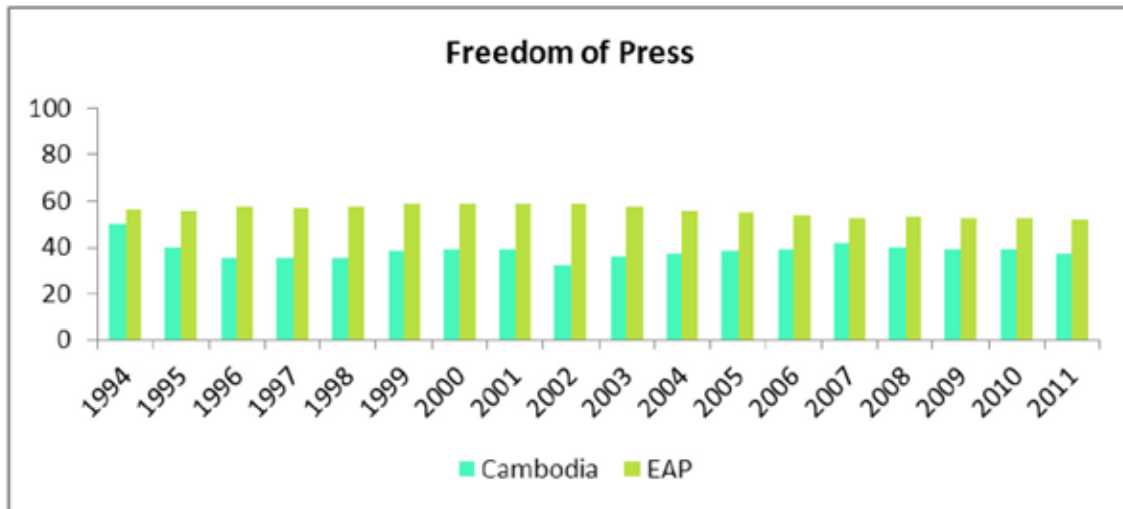


Figure 1: Cambodia vs. (EAP) East Asia Pacific region: Press Freedom (Freedom House)

nalists facing an increase in litigation largely brought against them by the state or business elite.

Figure 1 shows scores for freedom of the press in Cambodia as compared to the averages for the East Asia Pacific Region (EAP) from 1994 to 2011, as assessed by Freedom House. It shows there was a gradual decline in press freedom in the region over time, but despite overall declines, the region stays within the “partly free” range. By contrast, in the 1990s and again in the late 2000s, Cambodia drops to a “not free” rating because of declines in press freedoms.⁴

Most Active Donors

Cambodia has seen continuous growth in aid since 2004. Total disbursements in 2009 were \$989.5 million, an annual increase of 3.5 percent and equivalent to 9 percent of GDP. Japan remains the largest single source of development assistance, estimated to disburse \$148.4 million in 2009, an 18 percent increase from the previous year, followed by China who with \$114.7 million to the infrastructure sectors, representing 13 percent of total aid and an annual increase of 20 percent and the United States coming in third with \$56.9m.⁵ Health and education account for about 30 percent of the allocation followed by infrastructure,

which is allotted 25 percent of funds. Information and communications falls under the infrastructure sector and accounted for 2.7 percent (\$26.6m) of the distributed funds (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2010). However, this sector allocation does not account for all media development or development communications projects, many of which are discussed in this paper.⁶ There is no dedicated provision for the media sector so the amount of donor funds allocated specifically to the media, for either media development or development communications, is not known.

The most active donors (including non-government organizations (NGOs) who subcontract to local implementers) in media development include Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation (KAF), Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and World Bank. Noting that there is overlap between media development and development communications, development communications donors include UNDP, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Global Fund, and Oxfam Netherlands Organization for International Assistance (Oxfam Novib).⁷

Figure 2 shows rates of foreign direct investment (FDI) and foreign aid inflow to Cambodia against media free-

⁴ All statistical charts in this report are original research from existing data, produced by Sanjukta Roy. The data used is from the Freedom House Freedom of the Press Index. Freedom House scales its ratings from 0 (best) to 100 (worst). We have rescaled the scores for the graphs in this report so that 0 is best and 100 is worst, to make the graph more intuitively understandable.

⁵ Japan and China invest heavily in infrastructure projects. Media development is not a priority for these donors so they were not interviewed for the purposes of this paper. (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2010: i).

⁶ The Cambodia ODA Database (2012) lists a total of 7 active projects for the whole of the Information and Communications sector. A significant number of media development and development communications projects are not included. http://cdc.khmer.biz/Reports/reports_by_sector_list.asp?OtherSubSector=-1.

⁷ This is not always clear-cut, as there is often significant crossover, with development communications and media development components being incorporated into the same projects. In theory, media development supports the media as an independent professional sector, while development communications uses the media to relay development messages. More on this distinction in Part Four.

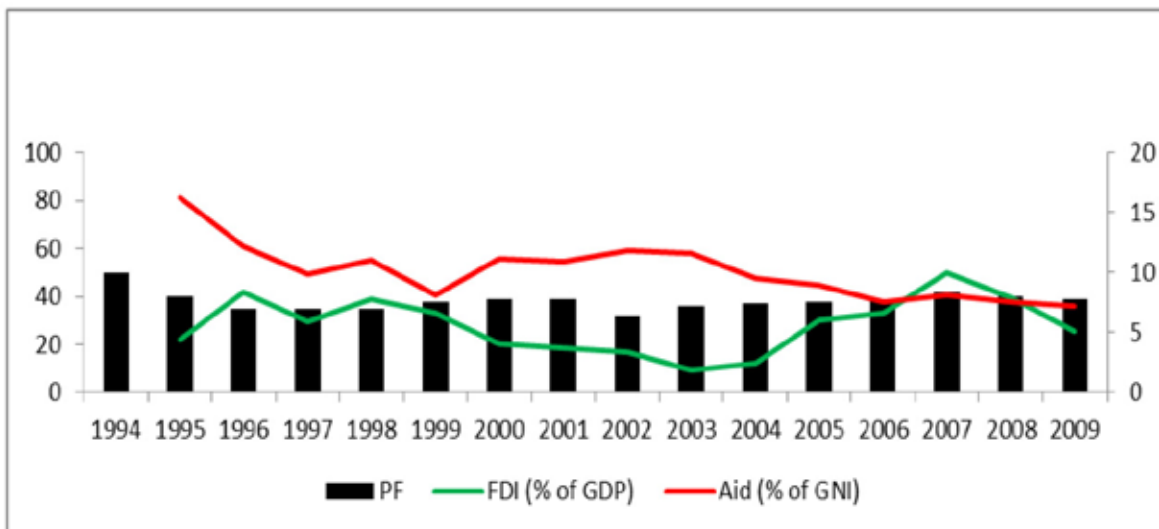


Figure 2: Rates of Foreign Direct Investment and Foreign Aid inflow against press freedom

dom as assessed by Freedom House (see Figure 2). Although press freedom in Cambodia shows very slight improvement, there is a steady decline in foreign aid against GDP. There does not seem to be a clear correlation between media freedoms and either aid flows or FDI.

Information Landscape

Setting the Scene: History of the Media

Cambodia's recent history has borne witness to regime changes, civil war and periods of isolation, all impacting on the media. From 1953 to 1970, during King Norodom Sihanouk's rule, the number of newspapers increased from four to thirty, as the industry flourished (Edman, 2000). The King also published his own newspaper and magazine. Yet, during this time, one left-leaning print editor was shot dead, another editor beaten by security police and three newspapers forced to close their doors.⁸ King Sihanouk was toppled in a military coup by General Lon Nol. Lon Nol instituted pre-censorship⁹ of the media, and ruled from 1970 until 1975 (Edman, 2000).

Under the Khmer Rouge, the majority of journalists were murdered and media infrastructure was destroyed. Three newspapers and one radio station, Radio National of Kampuchea (RNK), remained as

propaganda tools. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979 to overthrow the Khmer Rouge and indirectly ruled until 1989. Partisan radio stations flourished, the media continued being used as a propaganda tool, and foreign journalists were banned from entering Cambodia from 1980 to 1986 (Edman, 2000).

This tumultuous period culminated in the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, signaling the beginning of peace and the rebuilding of people and institutions. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) was deployed to Cambodia in 1991 to ensure implementation of the peace treaty and maintenance of the ceasefire. The UNTAC administration provided a much welcomed impetus for enhancing press freedom with the establishment of Radio UNTAC providing balanced and independent information, accompanied by an enabling environment for the development of a Press Law and the founding of newspapers such as the *Cambodia Daily*, *Phnom Penh Post*, *Koh Santepheap* and others.

Enabling Environment and Development of the Media

Cambodia is characterized by patrimonial traditions and patron-client relationships. Power tends to be personalized rather than institutionalized and society is fiercely hierarchical, maintaining deference to authority and power with a strong tradition of "upwards" deference.

The rise of private business over the past two decades has consolidated opportunities for the media business and political elite by reinforcing existing and new patronages. The majority of media outlets are political assets rather than conventional business assets, facili-

⁸ See the Wikipedia page on Cambodia at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Cambodia_%281953%E2%80%931970%29

⁹ To determine arbitrarily in advance what may or may not be permitted.

tating broader political or business interests, depending on the owner.

This environment is welcomed by government and met with inaction by many foreign governments largely because of Cambodia's successful economic growth and political stability. Consequently, the strong patron-client tradition and the business models required to operate a media business along with the absence of a strategic media development framework has detracted from the development of a robust and independent media sector. There is recognition that there have been some improvements to the media given Cambodia's short 50-year history; however, peace and political stability have not translated into major gains for the Cambodian media.

Culture of Information

Historically information has been used as a tool of power and this approach continues to permeate Cambodian society today. For example, the ruling party engages popular comedians and civil servants to deliver government-endorsed messages. Recently, senior civil servants from three ministries publicly stated that some NGOs working with relocated communities along a rehabilitated railway line were working for "political reasons" and that the international staff working with these organizations were doing so because they were unable to find a job in their own country.¹⁰

Limited access and little exposure to reliable and independent sources of information bring with it the inability to judge the value of information. Not surprisingly, Cambodians have a tendency to believe information in the media. As one academic said, "They think that because someone is a presenter, they are imparting the truth." When asked whether the Cambodian media provides accurate information about important topics, 23 percent of the Cambodian public strongly agrees, almost 60 percent somewhat agree, whereas a mere 11 percent disagree and 2 percent strongly disagree (InterMedia, 2010). This strongly contrasts with the widely held view amongst media professionals and some academics that the quality of reporting is poor.

Few Cambodians understand the role of the media, who is making the news and what lays behind the news or information agenda, how to synthesize, analyze and evaluate media content, and how to distinguish news

Few Cambodians understand the role of the media and what lays behind the information agenda, and media literacy is underdeveloped. As a result, there is no public outcry over media bias, poor quality reporting or the absence of newsworthy stories.

bias from public relations spin. Neither the education system, nor the broader learning environment imparts such skills. Consequently, there is no public outcry over media bias, poor quality reporting or the absence of newsworthy stories.

Surprisingly, Cambodia has only two reference libraries in a country of over 13 million people. Books, and especially computers, are expensive to purchase and remain luxury items within reach of only the elite and emerging middle class. There is neither a tradition of reading¹¹ nor a culture of analysis and this naturally extends to posing informed questions, as a lack of basic questioning is ingrained in the psyche of Cambodians from an early age.¹² However, there have been some small gains in recent years, predominantly amongst those who have been educated abroad or amongst the few who actively seek out quality information.¹³

Participation in Decision-Making

The World Bank found that beyond voting and participation in commune council meetings, there are few opportunities and mechanisms for citizens to publicly voice their views and concerns. Cambodian parents often discourage their children from active civic engagement for fear of their personal safety and future career prospects. Participation implies or is perceived to include political involvement, which historically has been associated with risk (World Bank, 2009a).

In addition, the education system is yet to impart the values and skills necessary for people to help build and participate in modern democratic societies. An in-

10 Discussions with Cambodian media personnel who watched the one-hour television program on TVK and/or listened to the state funded broadcast on WMC.

11 For more on this, see *Libraries in Cambodia: Rebuilding a past and a future* [<http://archive.ifla.org/IV/ifla63/63bywm.htm>].

12 Interview with senior media implementer, March 2011.

13 Two separate interviewees (in March and April 2011) revealed this.

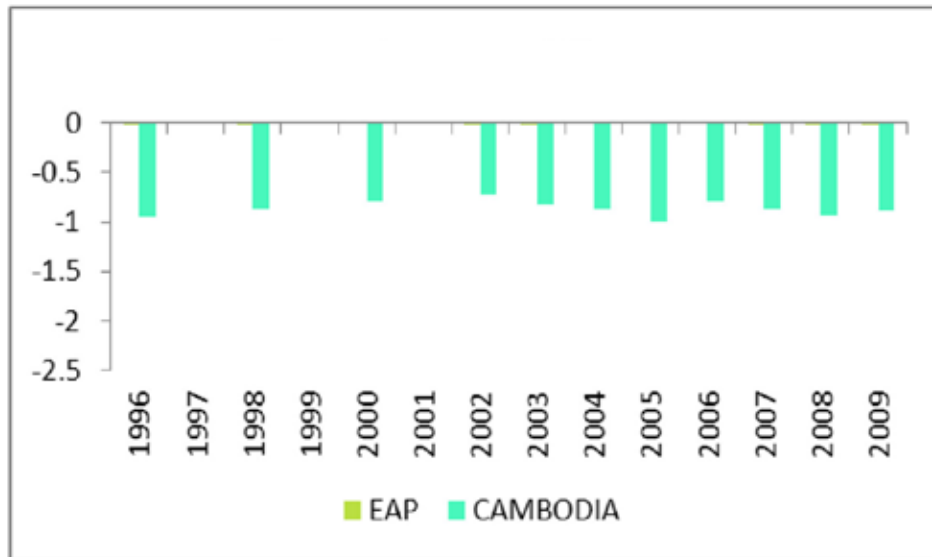


Figure 3: Voice and Accountability - WGI

TV is the most popular media form, and the majority of Cambodians prefer entertainment over news.

formed understanding of democracy and governance, extending to the role of the media, and of citizens' roles and responsibilities (irrespective of age, power or status in society) is fundamental if people are to improve their own quality of life and contribute toward the development of Cambodia.

Figure 3 gives some statistical backing to the lack of mechanisms and political space for citizens to voice their concerns and demand accountable governance. It shows World Governance Indicators for "Voice and Accountability" and the scores are significantly worse than EAP as a whole (Note: scores for EAP are very close to zero; thus they are not clearly visible on the chart).¹⁴

¹⁴ Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI): this dataset reports governance indicators for 213 economies for six dimensions of governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law and Control of Corruption. The aggregate indicators combine the views of a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents in industrial and developing countries. The individual data sources underlying the aggregate indicators are drawn from a diverse variety of survey institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations. The score ranges from -2.5 to +2.5; higher numbers are better. See nfo.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp

Media Preferences

The World Bank found in 2009 that 79.8 percent people rely on radio and 78.2 percent of people rely on TV as principal sources of information (World Bank, 2009a: 18). The very poor rely more heavily on radio. Radio is relied upon by about 85 percent of the very poor and TV by about 75 percent of the very poor (World Bank, 2009a). The International Republican Institute (IRI) 2010 survey illustrated that the primary source of information for Cambodians is radio 80 percent, television 77 percent, word of mouth 50 percent, newspapers 14 percent, and internet one percent (IRI, 2011).

IRI, in its 2008 research, concluded different groups utilize different sources of information (IRI, 2008):¹⁵

- Radio and TV are the top media forms to reach all Cambodians
 - Radio: the poor, men, people aged late 20s and 40-60 years of age
 - TV: the wealthy, women, people in their early 20s and 30-40 years of age
 - Word of Mouth: the poorest, women
- Internet and print media mainly used by educated people in Phnom Penh

¹⁵ Sample size differed from province to province ranging from 16 in Stung Treng, Preah Vihear and Koh Kong, to 144 in Phnom Penh, and 272 in Kampong Cham whereas InterMedia surveyed 21 percent of Phnom Penh residents followed by 11 percent of Kampong Cham residents.

Table 1: Most Important Source of Information to Receive News (Source: Intermedia, 2010)¹

Cambodia Television Network (CTN)	36.3 percent	Television
TV5	25.2 percent	
Bayon TV	24.2 percent	
National Television Kampuchea (TVK)	16.6 percent	
Radio Free Asia (RFA)	17 percent	Radio
FM 103 Phnom Penh	13.8 percent	

¹ InterMedia's research (conducted by Green Goal Ltd) utilizes a sample size of 2,300 audience members, via face-to-face interviews in all 24 provinces, assessing television, radio and print media habits.

Television is increasing in popularity as it becomes more affordable.¹⁶

The InterMedia National Survey in Cambodia 2010 found that TV is the most popular media form with 45 percent of all respondents reporting that they had watched television on the day prior to the survey whereas 35 percent reported that they had listened to radio the day prior to the survey taking place (InterMedia, 2010).

The majority of Cambodians prefer entertainment over news. InterMedia surveyed people about their most important source of information to receive news about current events (InterMedia, 2010). Tellingly, television was the most popular source even though it is largely entertainment focused.

¹⁶ Interview with Indochina Research Ltd based on their Media Index sampling in 5 out of 24 provinces, June 2011.

Television is generally sourced for its entertainment programs, radio for news and the print media for crime, accidents and national security.¹⁷

Respondents revealed a moderate level of interest in current events in Cambodia: 24 percent were very interested; 51 percent somewhat interested and 25 percent not very or not at all interested (InterMedia, 2010). The frequency in using media to get information on current events is shown in Table 2.

State of the Media Business

The Cambodian Media

Cambodia has a plethora of media outlets worthy of close consideration.

Television: There is one state, 12 provincial (also run by the state), and eight commercial stations (LICAD-HO, 2009). In addition, there are 43 relay and two cable channels. At this stage, there is no public/state or commercial funded media outlet that operates an editorial charter independent of its funding source. All TV directors and/or owners are closely connected to the ruling party and while these connections provide owners with the opportunity to hold a broadcast license, they come with the expectation of close editorial control (LICAD-HO, 2009).

Radio: There are 22 Khmer language state and privately run radio stations in Phnom Penh. Of these, two FM and one AM stations are state broadcasters. There is one NGO radio station, Women's Media Center (WMC). There are also 12 provincial radio stations

¹⁷ Interview with staff from Indochina Research Ltd, June 2011.

Table 2: Level of Interest in Current Events in Cambodia, InterMedia, 2010.

	Every day	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never
Television	28	28	8	23	13
Radio	27	28	10	25	11
Newspapers	3	5	5	22	65
Magazines	1	5	7	24	62
Internet	2	2	1	2	94
International TV	4	6	3	9	77
International Radio	8	17	9	23	43

run by the Ministry of Information (Molnf), many private radio stations, and 22 relay stations covering all 24 provinces.

As with television, there is no public service radio broadcaster although World Bank and AusAID's Demand for Good Governance (DfGG) project aimed to transform RNK into a balanced and more professional broadcaster. Efforts are now being directed toward making Provincial Information Services (PIS) radio stations operate more effectively in the public interest.

There are four international radio stations broadcasting in Cambodia: ABC RA and BBC World Service broadcasting in English, Radio France International (RFI) broadcasting in French and China Radio International broadcasting in English, Khmer and Chinese.

WMC and Beehive Radio relay international Khmer language services including ABC RA, RFA, RFI and VOA. In addition, seven PIS radio stations broadcast the ABC RA Khmer weekday service.¹⁸

Print Media: There are 226 registered Khmer language newspapers with the Molnf, with about 24 Khmer language daily and weekly newspapers actually published (LICADHO, 2009). A number of the remaining "newspapers" are likely linked to other business initiatives and are more likely to be published to coincide with major political events, anniversaries or birthdays. The top selling daily newspapers are Koh Santepheap (circulation about 20,000 copies per day¹⁹), Rasmei Kampuchea (circulation about 20,000 copies per day²⁰) and Kampuchea Thmei. These three newspapers are owned by the political and business elite, so they naturally favor the ruling party (LICADHO, 2009).

There are five foreign language newspapers including two daily English newspapers, the Cambodia Daily and Phnom Penh Post, and one weekly French newspaper, Cambodge Soir. There are two known Chinese newspapers, the Cambodia Sin Chew Daily and the Jian Hua Daily, with a circulation of about 10,000 (Visiting Arts, n.d.). The English and French language newspapers are largely independent and neutral. There are also about 20 regularly published Khmer language magazines with Prah Chea Prey (*The Popular*) and *Angkor Thom* most commonly read.

The print media is challenged by poor distribution networks, especially in rural areas, the cost associ-

ated with purchasing a newspaper, and low levels of functional illiteracy. Indeed, 64 percent of Cambodians reported to the InterMedia 2010 survey that they never read a newspaper.

Telephone: Cambodia has few landlines due to poor infrastructure development and high installation costs. In 1992, Cambodia had just over 4,000 fixed lines (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation, 2010) increasing to 60,000 in 2010 (Budde, 2010). Consequently, the most popular new media tool is the mobile phone. There is a burgeoning mobile phone sector with mobile cellular subscriptions rising rapidly. Mobile subscriptions were at 17.9 percent of the population in 2007, increasing to 26 percent in 2008, with 87 percent of the country now within mobile cellular range (World Bank, 2009b). The mobile telecommunications market is highly competitive, with call costs reducing over time. While the number of subscriptions is relatively low, 97 percent of Cambodians reported having access to a mobile phone with few variations for location, age, or gender (BBC WST, 2009b).

Figure 4 shows that mobile subscription in the region as well as in Cambodia has seen a steady increase, it is still inadequate.²¹

Internet: According to the World Bank, internet users increased 0 in 1000 people in 2000 to 5 in 1000 people in 2009 (World Bank, n.d.). Surprisingly, there are 34 registered internet service providers (ISPs) for a small population of 13 million people. However, internet use is growing as costs fall and the national bandwidth increases. There are estimated to be 320 internet cafes throughout the country (Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2010), and at the time of publication, internet usage stood at 1.3 percent (Google Public Data, 2012). There are 0.4 personal computers per 100 people and 3.65 percent of households own a personal computer (Royal University of Phnom Penh, 2010). In addition, 7 percent of Cambodians reported ever using the internet (BBC WST, 2009a).

Facebook and Blogging: Cambodia has 247,220 Facebook users, equating to 1.68 percent of the population (Socialbakers, n.d.). Regular users were thought to be 13,380 as of August 2010. There were thought to be around 200 to 300 bloggers in 2007 (Lodish, 2007) although this is likely to have increased following blogging training forums conducted by IRI, Open Society Institute (OSI) and others.

The use of Romanized Khmer rather than Khmer Unicode (which is available) on Facebook and Twitter

18 Battambang, Pailin, Kampot, Kratie, Siem Reap, Ratanakkiri and Koh Kong.

19 UNDP Communications Officer (2009).

20 Ibid.

21 Data is sourced from World Bank, 2009b.

means that people require a basic knowledge of the Roman alphabet to comprehend what is written in Romanized Khmer.

Media Ownership Trends

A pluralistic media contains wide-ranging and diverse views and is widely accessible. It is important to note that a plethora of media outlets does not automatically equate to a pluralistic media sector (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2010). Since 1993, while the number of media outlets has increased, there has been an overall decline in pluralism (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2010).

Television is now the exclusive domain of the ruling party and its associates. TV9, owned by FUNCINPEC, used to provide alternative political viewing before FUNCINPEC's siding with the ruling party that resulted in a convergence of political views. However, there are two radio stations (i.e. Beehive and Sarika) airing political views different to those of the ruling party and one carefully avoiding political reportage (i.e. WMC). As with TV9, the FUNCINPEC-owned 90.5FM has also ceased criticism of the ruling party. There are now three opposition-aligned newspapers, down from ten in 1993, all with extremely low circulation levels. One journalist reported that the number of opposition party newspapers has declined because the ruling party (or

Television is now the exclusive domain of the ruling party and its associates. For radio, despite a proliferation of licenses, ownership patterns are increasingly concentrated in the business or political elite affiliated with the ruling party.

someone affiliated with the ruling party) often offers a job to the editor or publisher (e.g. an Undersecretary of State was the former editor of an opposition party aligned newspaper until the 2008 election) or someone affiliated with the ruling party often buys the business or the business is embroiled in litigation leading to its demise.

While we see a proliferation of radio licenses, ownership patterns are increasingly concentrated in the hands of the business or political elite affiliated with the ruling party. This is assisted by a lack of transparent criteria for granting broadcasting licenses. Consequently, independent outlets or outlets aligned with a political party other than the ruling party are unable to secure broadcasting licenses. The one exception to this was

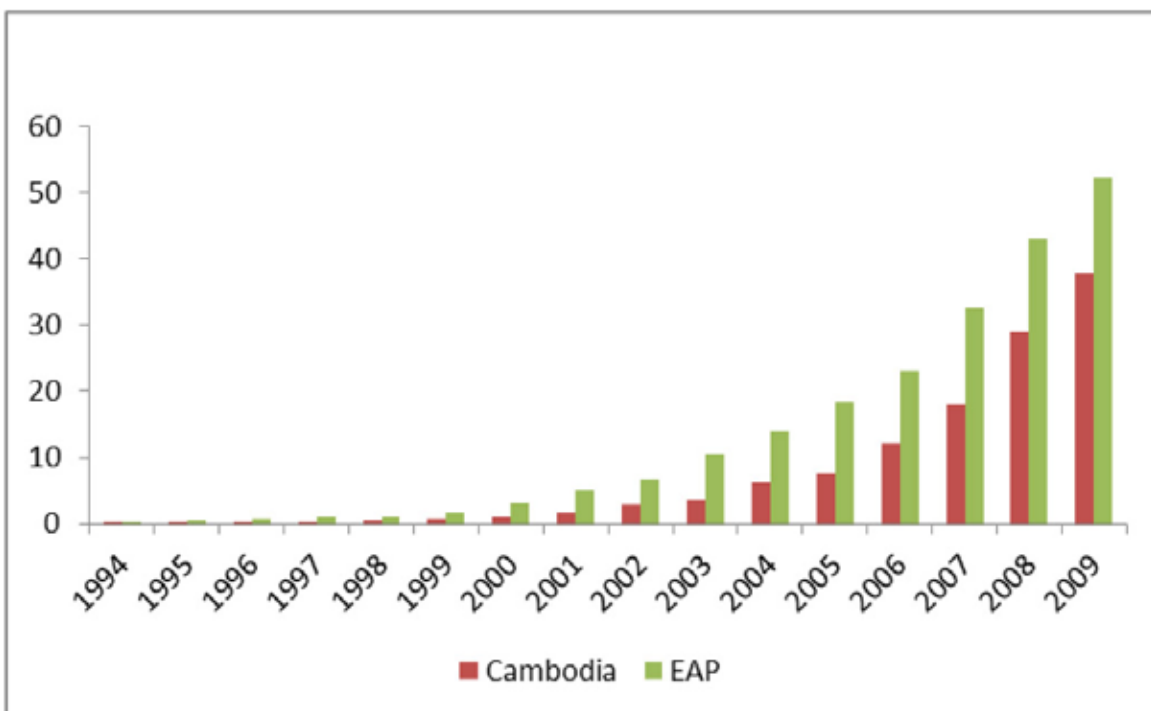


Figure 4: Mobile phone subscribers per 100 people

the period during and immediately after the UNTAC era when a number of media outlets not aligned to the ruling party were able to secure a license.

The ruling party wields considerable control over audience share of traditional media outlets. Table 3 gives an overview of the top three traditional media outlets by audience share, ownership and political persuasion.

Business Models

A number of media outlets, especially television and radio, are political rather than business assets so decisions are not always driven by what makes commercial sense. Private companies are not obliged to disclose financial statements so their financial positions are not known.²² Some of the popular television channels (e.g.

²² The Cambodian Stock Exchange was officially launched in July 2011, however companies are yet to publicly list.

Table 3. Overview of the Top Three Traditional Media Outlets

Media Form	Name	Perceived Political Persuasion (LICADHO, 2009)	Probable Owner	Audience Share	
				Phnom Penh July 2010, ages 15 - 55, Monday to Sunday	Kampong Cham Sept 2010, ages 15 - 55, Monday to Sunday
Television Channels	CTN	CPP	Royal Group, Mr. Kith Meng, a tycoon, who is also an adviser to Prime Minister Hun Sen	41 percent	62 percent
	My TV	CPP		15 percent	15 percent
Radio Stations	FM103	CPP	Joint venture between Phnom Penh Municipality and a Thai company	49.4 percent said they had listened to this radio station in the last 12 months (InterMedia, 2010)	
	FM95 Radio Bayon	CPP	Thought to be owned by the Prime Minister's family. Managed by Ms. Hun Mana, one of the Prime Minister's daughter	43.8 percent said they had listened to this radio station in the last 12 months (InterMedia, 2010)	
	FM 105 Radio Beehive	Not pro CPP	Mr. Mom Sanondo	41.9 percent said they had listened to this radio station in the last 12 months (InterMedia, 2010)	
Print Media	Koh Santepheap	CPP	Mr. Pol Sarouen and Mr. Thong Sovan Reangsi	73.3 percent said they had read this newspaper in the last week (InterMedia, 2010). Circulation of about 20,000 copies per day (LICADHO, 2009).	
	Rasmei Kampuchea	CPP	Mr. Theng Bun Ma, a business tycoon ¹	64.2 percent said they had read this newspaper in the last week (InterMedia, 2010). Circulation 15,000 - 20,000 copies per day. ²	
	Kampuchea Thmei	CPP	Mr. Ly Hour	18.6 percent said they had read this newspaper in the last week (InterMedia, 2010).	

¹ Interview with Rasmei Kampuchea, March 28, 2011.

² Interview with Mr Pen Samithy, Editor, *Rasmei Kampuchea*, March 28, 2011.

CTN and the major newspapers) are thought to be lucrative. Television airtime is closely priced according to its worth, with advertising rates correlating with audience numbers.

State radio and state television fall under the auspices of the MoInf, and are financially supported by the state although budget details are not public. State media, like its commercial counterparts, sells airtime to advertisers, commercial producers and NGOs with the lure of revenue overriding quality programming concerns or audience preferences.

Private and state radio advertising rates tend to be less informed by commercial data. NGOs such as WMC and VOD (which broadcasts on Radio Sarika) rely on a base of self-generated income plus donor funded projects to keep them afloat. Beehive Radio sells airtime to RFA and VOA and WMC sells airtime to ABC RA, RFA and RFI. WMC and VOD also generate additional revenue from advertising and productions. WMC, the only NGO radio station holding a commercial broadcasting license, publishes donor budgets in their annual reports. Once again, many radio stations and all of the print media is privately owned so public disclosure of revenue is not required.

The opposition party aligned newspapers are resource-constrained which impacts on the quality, production frequency and distribution (aside from licensing issues). Litigation has also impacted on production. One case in point is *Khmer Machas Srok*, an opposition party aligned newspaper whose editor and publisher Mr. Hang Chackra served nine months of a twelve month sentence for disinformation (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). As a result, advertisers withdrew their support, drying up the newspaper's only source of income.

The practice of paying for airtime (or exchanging air time for other goods or services) is entrenched and reinforced by donors and implementers alike. One implementer conceded that paying for airtime consumes about 15 to 20 percent of their project budget.²³ Indigenous media outlets rarely spend their own funds producing high quality informative programs. These tend to be donor-funded. The major challenges:

- Not all media outlets charge commercial advertising or production rates.
- There is no concession granted to NGOs (a not for profit sector) for advertising or airing their programs.

²³ Interview with INGO staff funding a number of media projects, April 2010.

- Successful media outlets require financial backers to start up. In practice, the ruling party and co-opted business elite are the most capable of financially backing a media outlet as well as holding a license.
- Editorial pressures from advertisers.
- State media outlets may be challenged by having to officially declare advertising revenue due to a Ministry of Economic and Finance requirement that all income generated must be returned to the state coffers.
- Failure to pay kickbacks to local staff handling a bid can adversely impact on an organization's ability to win sub-contracts and ultimately impact on their income stream.²⁴

Media Data

Media data is fragmented with no "gold standard" data set available. InterMedia, a company contracted by international broadcasters including RFA and ABC RA, utilizes a sample size of 2,300 audience members, interviewed face-to-face in all 24 provinces, assessing television, radio, and print media habits. From 2007, Indo China Research produced a six monthly quantitative Media Index (including frequency of listening, viewing, ratings, and tracking of about six media channels) with 1,100 respondents from five provinces. This index is largely purchased by foreign companies for advertising purposes.²⁵ Some national level surveys incorporate some questions on the media (e.g. DHS and business census).

Some donor-funded projects contract out data collection to independent organizations, e.g. IRI (for VOD) to Center for Advanced Study, RNK and ABC to Indo China Research, Equal Access and CHEMS and some to independent consultants (e.g. WMC). A number of organizations undertake in-house data collection related to audience share and KAP surveys e.g. the BBC WST, WMC.

Because data sources utilize different methodologies, the sample size, selection of survey sites, questions (e.g. questions ranging from listening to radio today, over the last seven days to over the last 12 months), interviewer skills, and interpretation of results vary. Surveys do not always arrive at consistent conclu-

²⁴ This relates to one part of a project that may be tendered out to a media organization. Interview with a senior Cambodian representative, March 2011.

²⁵ Interview with staff from Indochina Research Ltd, June 2011.

sions, particularly in relation to audience share. Data collection processes vary considerably, with the nature of quality-control checks impacting upon the reliability and accuracy of the data.

Finally, many indigenous media outlets have not yet optimized their understanding of the value of data, question the need to purchase data and may not even know how to make good use of it. Interestingly, many think they already understand their audience preferences and audience size well²⁶ despite the lack of objective data. CTN and MyTV appear to be exceptions to this, and the advertising pricing for these stations is based on audience numbers.²⁷

The MoInf publishes an annual Khmer language report outlining the activities of state media. In addition, at least two government departments monitor media content, at provincial and central levels, focusing primarily on political content.²⁸

Media Content

Television: During the 1990s, television ownership extended to one television channel owned by FUNCINPEC which provided an avenue for parts of the media to publicly criticize the other political party, although content was largely devoid of evidence and opposing parties were not necessarily held to account. Now that political power is being shared between FUNCINPEC and CPP, content deemed to be political is largely biased in favor of the ruling party with little space for other views. Television features lengthy speeches by the Prime Minister and government ceremonies or lengthy music and entertainment programs. The unexciting news format (largely protocol-based news emanating from government sources) and an undue emphasis on ceremonies and entertainment means that well-educated Cambodians tend not to rely on television for quality news.

Overall, there is a perception that there is slightly more diversity on television than there used to be and that more images from the field, rather than studio images, are making it onto the screen.²⁹ There have also been technical improvements over the past 10 years e.g. the use of background sound, a greater variety of formats are increasingly being used by television channels, especially for entertainment programs. However, this

26 Interview with Indochina Research Ltd, June 2011.

27 Interview with NGO representative, July 2011.

28 Four separate interviewees reported this.

29 Interviews with long term Cambodian and expatriate media advisors and implementers, March and April 2011.

is not necessarily accompanied by greater diversity of sources or a range of opinions.

Radio: Radio is largely oriented in favor of the ruling party although, unlike television, there are some exceptions. WMC, despite its close links to government, is largely neutral and steers away from political reportage. The international broadcasters: ABC RA, RFA, RFI and VOA are able to broadcast freely in Khmer. These services are thought to be tolerated because they are unable to be stopped as RFI, RFA, and VOA broadcast on short wave; they create the illusion of democracy and free speech and they bring in additional revenue to NGOs, private and state broadcasters.³⁰ Unprofessional reportage is not only the realm of government owned or government friendly radio stations. Radio Beehive (105), which is critical of the government, also engages in unbalanced, opinionated reporting.

Print: Both pro government and opposition party newspapers alike promote their respective parties. Sensationalist, opinion-based reporting competes for the interest of everyday readers. Major news events are not always reported and many newspapers tend to publish carefully worded articles supporting the government line.³¹ Opposition party aligned newspapers are fewer in number, have significantly smaller circulation figures, and are mainly opinion-oriented.

Some Cambodian journalists are of the view that Rasmei Kampuchea has embarked on the long journey of starting to cover slightly sensitive topics or incorporating a few quotes from the opposition party. It is important to note that there are no high quality independent Khmer language newspapers at this time, although the recently launched Khmer language edition of the Phnom Penh Post (PPP)³² may fill this void. One journalist already thinks that the PPP is beginning to enhance the standards of other newspapers; this is a commercial influence rather than a donor influence.³³

Internet: The internet has long been considered to be freer than other forms of media. More recently, attempts have been made to prevent access to some

30 Three people interviewed were asked why international services were able to broadcast throughout Cambodia with all three agreeing on the first two points and one interviewee also raising the final point about raising additional revenue for broadcasters, June 2011.

31 Ibid.

32 The Phnom Penh Post was founded in 1992 by Michael Hayes and was published on a fortnightly basis. In 2008 Australian investors bought it and started publishing English and Khmer versions five days per week. See <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/>.

33 Interview with independent media consultant, Cambodia, April 2010.

websites containing information critical of the ruling party. In early 2011, an email from the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications to ISPs requested they block KI Media, domain blogs hosted by the *Blogspot*, *Khmerization*, and the blog of a political cartoonist *Sacrava*, all of which contained information critical of the ruling party or its members. Even after being exposed and after the Minister of Information stated that it was not a formal government request so it did not need to be followed, some ISPs such as Metfone continued to block these sites.³⁴

Balance is not necessarily a capacity issue, especially for well-trained or experienced journalists. An interesting twist on balance was provided by an independent media consultant who said, "I knew a few journalists who worked for both newspapers (from the two political parties) writing one pro government article for one paper and one pro-opposition article for another paper." In another case, "One journalist who was attending a training course wrote two stories: one for class, which was balanced [which enabled him to pass the course] and one partisan article for his radio station (which was to go to air)."³⁵ Furthermore, "journalists who worked for pro CPP newspapers and are subsequently hired by the Phnom Penh Post change their angle and become balanced. At least 3 RFA journalists used to work for the government." A number of Cambodian media consultants and journalists perceive balance to be largely the realm of foreign owned media outlets. This has implications for the effectiveness of short-term training of journalists in the absence of structural mechanisms.

A comparative news analysis by Equal Access for the DfGG RNK project is the most comprehensive form of content analysis available for Khmer language radio. It found that government sources are utilized by the majority of indigenous media outlets with few counter arguments from opposition party sources provided (Refer to Appendix 3 for additional information).

As for gender issues, a Women's Media Center of Cambodia (WMC) study from 1996 to 1998 found that:

- One quarter of all print articles about women in Cambodia were considered pornographic
- Women portrayed as victims was the most common category of article in newspapers

A climate of fear, cultural deference to authority, and in some cases a lack of professional skills compromise the indigenous media's ability to act as a watchdog.

- Newspapers condoned domestic violence
- Television focused on the traditional roles of women as wife, mother, lover, sex object and entertainment

As a result, WMC felt that the media oppressed and enforced stereotypes of women as objects for entertainment and decoration (Sarayeth, n.d.).

Figure 5 shows data from the Global Media Monitoring Project for 2005 for Cambodia and for the EAP region, highlighting gender imbalances in media.³⁶ Both Cambodia and the region as a whole fail to highlight gender issues in news reports.

The Molnf appears conflicted by its role. The Minister of Information states that his role is to "provide facilities to journalists, provide news to journalists, help journalists in their jobs and give them advice regarding legal affairs."³⁷ A number of journalists believe that the Minister genuinely supports and helps them. However, the political reality of being the Minister of Information and spokesman for a party known to be consolidating power cannot be ignored. The Ministry monitors media content, particularly on television, and certain topics are unofficially off-limits to most sections of the media: the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, the opposition party, and more recently, unemployment. Recently, the Molnf issued a statement perceived by some to be rewriting history that instructed the Cambodian media not to refer to the 1997 clashes between FUNCINPEC and CPP as a coup.

Holding Government and Business to Account

An underlying climate of fear, cultural deference to authority, and in some cases a lack of professional skills

34 Unable to access Khmerization blogspot on 11 July 2011 via Metfone ISP.

35 Interview with independent media consultant.

36 The Global Media Mapping Project has monitored the world's press for coverage of gender issues on a five-yearly basis since 1995. For more information, see <http://www.whomakesthe-news.org/gmmp-background.html>

37 Interview with Minister of Information, June 21, 2011.

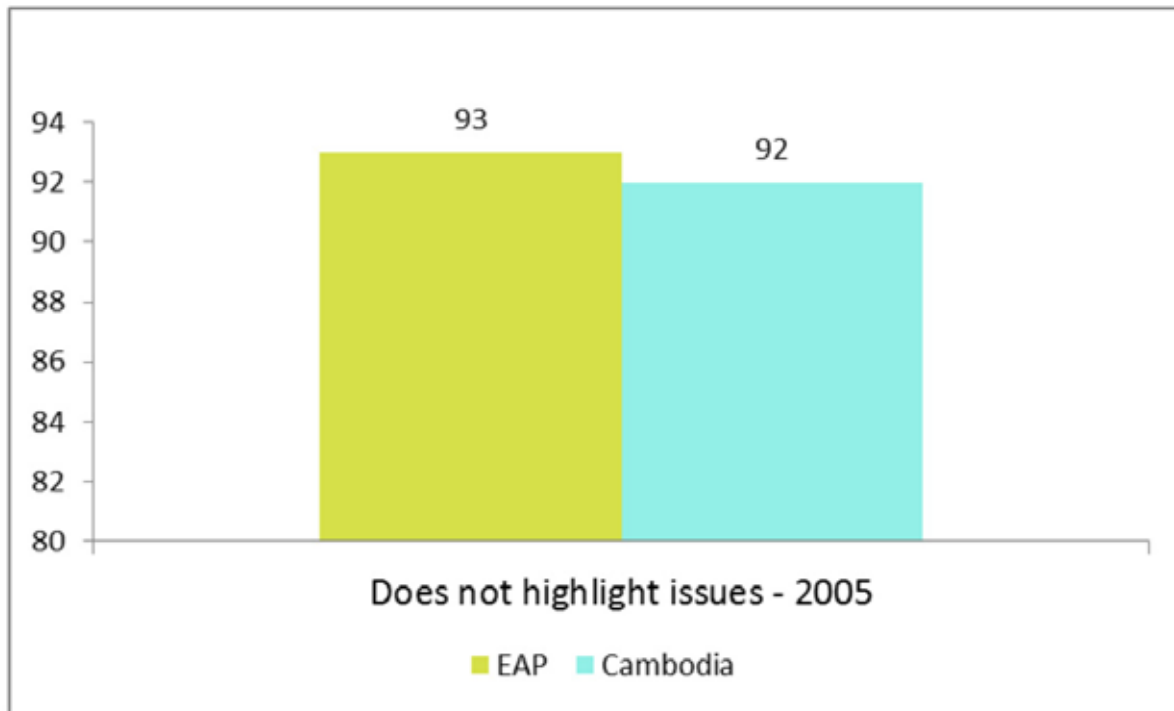


Figure 5. Stories that highlight gender equality or inequality

compromise the indigenous media's ability to act as a watchdog. As previously mentioned, there is a view among the international community that democratic space is shrinking with little space for strong presenters to challenge or question people in authority. Consequently, there is little practice of genuinely informing the public of the full spectrum of government activities or holding government, businesses, or foreign interests to account. Interestingly, a few people interviewed thought this was an unfair question given the risks in holding the government to account in Cambodia. Conversely, one innovative NGO staff member working on governance issues said that there are many opportunities in Cambodia, it is simply a matter of being creative so that boundaries continue to be pushed.³⁸

Holding the government to account is largely the realm of internationally sponsored or owned media outlets with this most evident in outlets who keep a check on the ongoing independence of their staff and oversee editorial content. The English language print media also holds government and business to account and are generally free from interference.

Figures 6 and 7 show World Governance Indicators (WGI) for government effectiveness and control

of corruption, which are key governance indicators.³⁹ Cambodia's scores are once again below that of the EAP region. (Note: as in the earlier WGI chart, the scores for EAP are very close to zero; thus they are not visible on the chart)

Media development projects were able to provide specific examples of holding government or business to account, mostly at the local level:

- Using state television as a forum for informing and educating senior government officials on topical and sensitive issues (TVK Equity Weekly funded by UNDP) ranging from deforestation to sensitive land issues involving private developers and displaced populations.
- Providing an opportunity for callers to speak directly with senior government officials and raise issues of concern on state radio without a delay mechanism (RNK funded by World Bank/AusAID).⁴⁰
- "Youth Voice" program at PIS Battambang discussing police inaction to curb gangster violence in the community (funded by AusAID/ABC).

³⁹ For explanation of the WGI Index, see footnote to Figure 3.

⁴⁰ This must be viewed in a context of ordinary people not having access to senior government officials for a range of reasons, including poorly developed institutional mechanisms.

³⁸ Interview with NGO, July 2011.

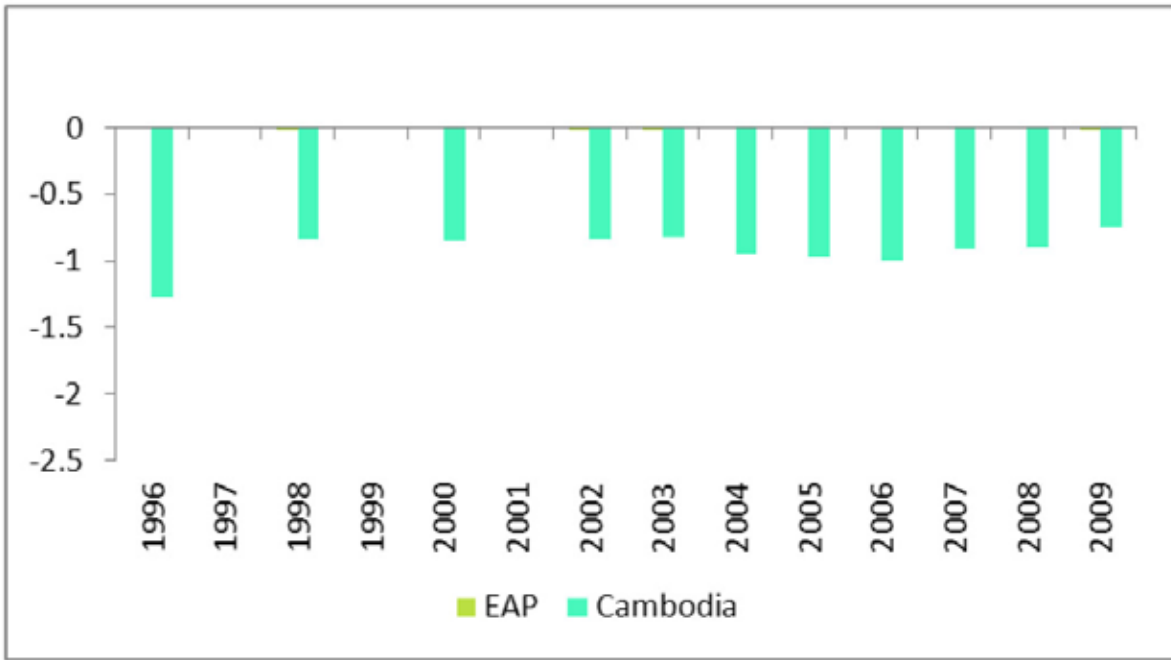


Figure 6. Government Effectiveness - WGI

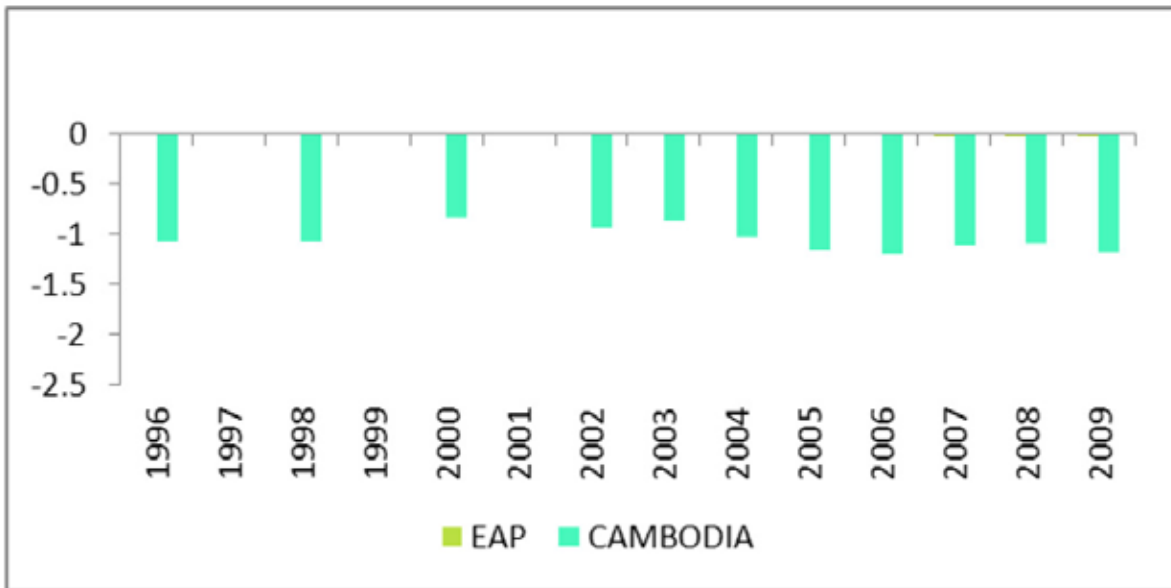


Figure 7. Control of Corruption - WGI

- Talkback programs on anti-corruption on RNK and PIS Battambang where members of the public can phone in with specific cases (implemented by Pact Cambodia, an international NGO).
- Facilitating discussions and agreements between citizens and commune officials at community level (VOD funded by Asia Foundation).
- Supporting targeted long-term investigative training program with working journalists leading to publishing mid-level corruption cases (Internews).

There was also one example of radio acting as a bridge between the people and the commune council by facilitating an agreement. Voice of Democracy led community discussions at the local level identified few opportunities for community members to raise issues with commune council members. The radio program explored different options at a community meeting and eventually a deal was brokered whereby certain community members agreed to pay for a complaints box to be installed in each village to facilitate better lodging of complaints (usually at the commune level). Media personnel with a good understanding of political and policy

developments, facilitation skills and the political nous to work with government and communities are able to effect real change.

Media Law Landscape

Overview of Laws and Major Developments

Cambodia is signatory to the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both of which enshrine freedom of opinion and expression. Freedom of expression is also enshrined in Article 41 of the Cambodian Constitution:

“Khmer citizens shall have freedom of expression, press, publication and assembly.”

However, it also states,

“No one shall exercise this right to infringe upon the rights of others, to affect the good traditions of the society, to violate public law and order and national security.”

Cambodia has several laws of relevance to the media:

- **The Press Law, promulgated in July 1995**, is the pre-eminent law governing the print media. It protects journalistic sources, outlaws pre-publication censorship and deems misinformation a criminal offence. It empowers the Minister of Information to suspend a newspaper for 30 days for “affecting national security and political stability,”⁴¹ although this is not defined. It also prohibits the press media to affect the “honor and dignity” of people, term also not defined, and permits the courts to fine and impose compensation for people affected.
- **The 1992 UNTAC Criminal Code**, which was intended as a temporary penal code following the Vietnamese-backed regime, contains an Article 63 with imprisonment or a fine for anyone who defames “harms the honor or reputation” of another (UNTAC, 1992).
- **A penal code enacted in October 2009 retains defamation and disinformation as criminal offenses**

At this stage, Cambodia has no freedom of information law, broadcasting law, or a law on telecommunications. A draft law, *Access to Information A Clear Policy Framework for Cambodia*, was developed by Ministry

of National Assembly-Senate Relations & Inspection (MONASRI) in August 2007, but no subsequent actions have followed and the law remains in draft. The Advocacy Policy Institute (API), a local NGO, is leading a campaign comprising provincial and national consultative workshops and anticipates that MONASRI could be willing to lobby the Council of Ministers to adopt such a law. In 2009, a draft Law of Telecommunications was released to regulate the sector (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation, 2010). However, the government has not taken any clear steps to enact this law, leaving this sector unregulated. There is no transparent framework for issuing or renewing broadcasting licenses, press cards, broadcasting frequencies, or for the development of a public broadcaster to serve the interests of the Cambodian people.

The Practice of Media Law

Twenty years after the beginning of press freedom in Cambodia, the safety of journalists is still a concern. Sources generally agree that ten journalists have been killed since the early 1990, the most recent being Khem Sambo in July 2008 (CPJ, n.d. and LICADHO, 2009). The government has denied accusations of involvement, and to date, no one has been imprisoned for these killings.

Concomitant with the recent decrease in killings there has been an increase in **legal action against journalists**. This started with the well-known legal prosecution of Mam Sanondo, owner of Beehive Radio, over an interview with a French-based activist on the highly sensitive and rarely reported issue of the Cambodian-Vietnamese border treaty. This has continued with the political and business elite initiating defamation and libel actions against journalists who are critical of them. **The Club of Cambodian Journalists (CCJ) reported that from May 2009 to May 2010 ten journalists were sued by powerful people and the government, an increase from two in 2008. Two journalists were jailed for defamation (Cambodian Center for Human Rights, 2010).**

The courts have increasingly used the penal code to prosecute journalists rather than the Press Law. Ironically the laws written during the UNTAC era have also been used to stifle freedom of expression. A Cambodian court recently applied a law from the interim UNTAC, designed to transition Cambodia to a democracy in 1992 – 1993 after years of conflict, to sentence Ros Sokhet, a freelance journalist, to two years’ jail for disinformation in November 2009 (International Federation of Journalists, 2009). This resulted in the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) issuing a statement urging Cambodia to use the civil law to resolve its legal complaints.

41 Law on the Regime of the Press, Article 12, promulgated July 18, 1995.

Threats and intimidation remain commonplace. An astonishing 54 percent of journalists surveyed by the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO) reported receiving threats as a result of an investigation or story and a further 10 percent declined to answer the question. There are no national statistics on the number of threats Cambodian journalists have received nor on those who have fled the country as a result of threats or intimidation, however there are two known cases in 2010:

- Tim Sakhorn, a defrocked monk and editor of a Khmer *Kampuchea Krom* newspaper, fled to Thailand and was granted political asylum in Sweden (UNPO, 2009).
- A former VOD broadcaster, Pen Puthspha, who moved to the SRP Candle Light program, wrote a Question and Answer booklet to help students prepare for their examination. The government took offense to two questions: one about Cambodian people's rights and the other about the development of the country. He received anonymous death threats and fled.⁴²

There is recognition of Cambodia's use of the law to silence journalists amongst international media and human rights group, culminating in an October 2009 statement from the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Cambodia to the Human Rights Council, saying the defamation laws have gone beyond what is a permitted level of restriction on freedom of expression under the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Cambodia is party (ICNL, 2012).

The lack of legislative clarity impacts on the role of the media to investigate, question, and critique national institutions, leaders and policies and to take up its role as the fourth arm of governance in a democracy (LICADHO, 2008). The increasing use of the courts to curb free speech and the subsequent prevailing climate has led to widespread self-censorship among journalists.

Journalism

Journalism has changed over the past 20 years. In 1991, Cambodia was emerging from communist rule, most journalists were employed by the State, those who had studied abroad were trained in the Soviet Union or other communist countries, and freelance journalism did not exist.

⁴² See <http://www.wyrdonline.org/PenPuthspha.html> and Yun Samien, 2010.

A lack of legislative clarity negatively affects the media's ability to investigate, question, and critique national institutions, leaders and policies. The increasing use of the courts has led to widespread self-censorship among journalists.

On the whole, journalism still lacks professional credibility. The majority of journalists are not well educated, and do not possess a sound general knowledge. The ongoing incorrect issuing and misuse of press cards exacerbates the poor credibility of journalists:

Any organization that is registered with the Ministry of Information, irrespective of whether they publish or broadcast regularly, is eligible for press cards. Consequently, more than 10,000 people hold a press card in Cambodia yet 90 percent of them do not understand the basics of journalism. They can't distinguish between news, opinion, balance or bias. The worst case scenario is that taxi drivers, illegal loggers and military police can hold a press card."⁴³

Steps have been taken to enhance the credibility of journalism with a KAF supported media degree at Cambodia's premier university first introduced in 2001 that has produced more than 100 graduates. While the majority of graduates have been employed by UN or NGOs to date, as more graduates enter the employment market, they may be taken up by the Khmer language media. It is too soon to expect that these graduates can exert influence over editorial decisions or the structural media challenges.

There are about 21 licensed journalists' associations in Cambodia, with the number slowly increasing over the years. The CCJ and the Cambodian Association for the Protection of Journalists (CAPJ) are the 2 main organizations representing journalists. The CCJ has closer links with the ruling party although it says it has a few opposition aligned media outlets within its ranks and tends to operate behind closed doors. Conversely, the CAPJ is thought to be less active, less well structured, and more willing to raise issues publicly. Journalists'

⁴³ Interview with senior editor, March 28, 2011. In a worst-case scenario, press cards can be used to extort money.

The majority of journalists work under a pseudonym due to the prevailing climate of fear, as well as to disguise multiple jobs and overcome conflicts of interest with foreign media outlets

associations have traditionally been divided along political lines and do not have a strong, united, or professional voice.

The majority of journalists work under a pseudonym due to the prevailing climate of fear, but also to disguise multiple jobs and, in a few cases, to overcome a conflict of interest, as some foreign media outlets do not allow journalists to hold a second job.

While the presence of women in journalism is relatively good (i.e. 50 percent of reporters are women) and in step with the regional average, the number of stories



Provincial Information Services Battambang Entrance (Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

in the media that highlight gender issues is markedly low but in step with a low regional average. This number of female reporters contrasts with the widely held view in Cambodia that there are relatively few female journalists, that journalism is considered a man's profession with many women not entering the profession due to travel requirements to provinces, which many women are prevented from doing by their parents as it is often deemed improper.

The World Bank reports that gross national income per capita in 2010 was USD \$760 per annum or \$63 per month (World Bank, 2011). In this context, journalist's salaries are extremely low. 25 percent reported earning between \$20 and \$50 per month, almost 20 percent earn \$50 to \$100 per month, and another 20 percent earn from \$100 to \$200 per month (LICADHO, 2008). International broadcasters tend to be the exception rather than the rule, paying above average salaries.

Extortion and bribery is commonplace, ranging from small payments for a journalist to attend an event or seminar, or paying to have an article printed or broadcast or, conversely, accepting bribes for not reporting on a matter or not publishing a photograph.⁴⁴ LICADHO's 2008 survey of journalists revealed that 25 percent said they knew someone who had taken a bribe in response for favorable reporting,⁴⁵ and 34 percent knew a journalist who had taken a bribe to not report an article. What is equally noteworthy is that the senior political and business elite pay journalists for one-on-one interviews to write a complementary story (LICADHO, 2008).

Journalists' poor salaries coupled with low levels of education means that journalists are vulnerable to manipulation. From time to time, the ruling party has co-opted journalists and broadcasters who do not work for pro-government media outlets, or do not hold pro-government views, either by offering incentives to individual journalists, offering alternative jobs or in the case of opposition party newspapers, buying the business or offering news editors tokenistic senior government positions.

⁴⁴ Interviews with media consultants. See also LICADHO, 2008 and Cambodian Center for Independent Media, 2009.

⁴⁵ Thirty-five percent of respondents did not answer this question.

Key Media Challenges

Key media development challenges are plentiful:

- There is a deeply politicized media environment: television is totally partisan, radio and print media slightly less so, with the majority of indigenous media reports biased in favor of the ruling party. Professional and independent editorial leadership and reportage is sorely lacking.
- Killings, physical assaults, threats, witnessing other journalists flee abroad and, more recently, legal action have led to a climate of self-censorship and fear amongst journalists.
- The climate of not questioning authorities is deeply ingrained in the culture, extending to broadcasters and journalists. There is also a history of authorities not being held accountable to the public.
- There is widespread tendency for the public to believe what is written or broadcast. Media literacy, enabling audiences to distinguish good quality media from bad, objectivity from partisanship, opinion from analysis, and investigative reporting from slander is poorly developed and not supported by donors.
- Journalists associations are fragmented, some politically affiliated and they lack one strong, united, professional voice.
- The industry is plagued by low ethical standards and heavily influenced by the lure of money.
- There is a lack of credible criteria about what constitutes a journalist which extends to the issuing of press cards to anyone “employed” by a registered “media outlet.”
- There is no independent watchdog to ensure the journalism profession is protected and to uphold journalism ethics and the content of reports.
- There is little evidence of independent and professional media reporting, especially related to news and political reportage.
- There is no broadcasting law and, to date, no freedom of information law.
- There is no public service broadcaster to inform or educate the Cambodian people.
- There is no ongoing mechanism for all media to effectively dialogue with government and to follow up and seek resolution to strategic issues they face.
- There is no “gold standard” media data available to inform decisions.



Provincial Information Services Battambang Radio planning board
(Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

Part 3: Literature Review

Media research activities are scarce. There appears to be an increase, albeit small, in media research activities over recent years. A number of media professionals consulted agreed that little research is done simply because funds are not made available. Others indicated that media development projects are poorly funded let alone media research projects. Nevertheless, some organizations expressed interest in undertaking different types of research (e.g. LICADHO, Equal Access, DMC, ABC). It was not possible to locate any comprehensive analysis of the impact of media development projects.

Global comparisons are made by Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House. Reporters Without Borders publishes a Press Freedom Index, focuses on press freedom violations, ranking Cambodia 128 out of 178 countries assessed in 2010. The methodology includes measures for violations affecting journalists, the level of self-censorship through to the level of independence of the public media. It is completed by a number of independent sources including regional partner organizations, correspondents around the world, journalists, jurists and researchers. The questionnaire is available on the organization's website.⁴⁶ Freedom House, a U.S.-based international NGO, assesses legal, political and economic aspects of media freedom partly drawing on in-country research. In 2011, Cambodia's status was designated as "not free" with the legal environment scoring 21 out of 30, political environment 23 out of 40 and economic environment 19 out of a possible 30, with a total score of 63.⁴⁷ Accuracy does not form part of either assessment.

Key research papers include:

- The Cambodian Center for Independent Media undertook research into journalists' ethics via 33 field interviews with journalists, editors, media business people, government officials, academics, and media trainers (Cambodian Center for Independent Media, 2009). It found that journalists' ethics are wanting

and improving ethics requires a multi-pronged approach including a stronger legislative and policy framework embracing free media, raising awareness and practices of responsible and ethical journalism, and establishing a code of ethics for journalists.

- A 2007 survey of 141 reporters, editors, photographers and cameramen, in Phnom Penh and twelve provinces on issues related to media ownership, freedom of expression, media ownership and journalistic practices (LICADHO, 2008). This report drew attention to the issues facing journalists and media ownership challenges well beyond the media sector and is often quoted, particularly in relation to patterns of ruling party affiliated ownership.
- In 2010, DMC lecturer Chivo Peou studied a sample of 2,074 students from higher education and high schools in Phnom Penh and found that 85 percent have experience using the internet, 46 percent via an internet café and 33 percent via a mobile phone; the internet was used for information seeking, entertainment followed by socialization; with minimal usage for academic purposes (Peou, 2010).

The Cambodian Communication Review 2010, published by the Department of Media and Communication at the Cambodia Communication Institute, Royal University of Phnom Penh contains a snapshot of information on the Cambodian media, including the following:

- Online research into Facebook usage found that usage is increasingly becoming integrated into the daily experience of users who are motivated by "fun seeking, socializing and friendship" (Saray, Chea and Peou, 2010: 15).
- "Empowering Cambodian Women Psychologically Through Blogging," concluding that blogging generates a gives women bloggers a sense of feeling in charge and having control over their lives, and of belonging to a group and having their voice heard (Chea, 2010).

46 Questionnaire available online. See <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2010,1034.html>

47 Each country is ranked on a scale of 0 to 100 with 0 being the best and 100 being the worst. See http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=350&ana_page=376&year=2011

- An article about the consumption of, and market vendors' reliance on, sensationalist stories in local newspapers and magazines for information. These social stories formed their main diet of information, and the vendors in question accorded them high levels of credibility (Yinn, 2010).
- An article about public internet access venues and venues with Wi-Fi, concluding that public access venues are male dominated, internet cafes and Wi-Fi spots differ in terms of the types of patrons (Wi-Fi attracts more experienced internet users) and motivations (with internet shops being used more for information seeking). It also found that the internet is becoming more integrated into users' lives (Peau and Chea, 2010).

Other informative papers include a SIDA and Forum Syd commissioned study by Britt-Louise Edman *Trapped in the Past, Seeking out a Future: A Study on the Cambodian Media Sector* in 2000 containing an inventory, analysis of the sector with respect to the actors, and the main problems. This paper calls for greater diversity and independence on the airwaves, outlines the low level of professionalism among Cambodian journalists, and argues that large state-run media outlets remain in state control with little interest in moving towards more independent management or ownership arrangements. The report finds that the low quality in journalism is not only due to low levels of education but also due to the "culture of personality politics and patronage" (Edman, 2000: 3). Edman maintains that diversity and independence of the media is urgent, in part to further promote democracy but also to inform and educate the Cambodian public; that training of central and provincial level officials would benefit the media; and that support to journalists association would address unprofessional reporting. Stakeholders interviewed for this study lamented the fact that a similar situation still pertains today – more than a decade after the study was written.

UNDP's program entitled "Strengthening Democracy and Electoral Processes" in Cambodia commissioned a scoping paper in 2009 looking at independent media, media development, news broadcasting and legal/regulatory framework for media. The paper makes three broad based recommendations including: (i) Establishing a consultative media working group to enhance dialogue and begin to discuss some of the critical issues facing the media in Cambodia; (ii) support the government with strategic communications assistance to promote greater openness; (iii) establish a new media center to coordinate media training and to exchange information in a neutral space, a place for

documentaries and movie screenings, a resource center for information and research.

In addition to the above, project level evaluation studies were assessed where they were made available. One monitoring study of note is RNK Listener Perception prepared by Equal Access for RNK in 2010 (Equal Access, 2011). Focus group discussions were used to assess frequency of listening and views of balance including diversity of sources, political background of sources, coverage of marginalized groups and extent of coverage. In addition, an audio clip was played and an audio clip scorecard was used to assess issues ranging from the importance of different topics to the sources that journalists used. Key findings revealed that there had been an improvement in news reporting and that donors have a positive influence over RNK's reporting. However, there was a lack of in-depth stories and topics that are sensitive or controversial in nature; the report also found that representation from marginalized groups could be enhanced.⁴⁸

48 For more information, see Part 4, Donor-Funded Media



Women's Media Centre radio studio
(Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

Part 4: Donor-Funded Media Development

Overview

This part of the paper makes a distinction between media development and development communications. Media development refers to capacity building efforts directly aimed at delivering a robust, independent and accountable media. Supporting activities may include the training and education of journalists; enhancing the quality of indigenous media; strengthening the legislative environment; improving the sustainability of local media outlets; media literacy training; and infrastructure development. Development communications refers to explicit activities designed to convey information and messages and initiate positive change on specific topics like health, education, governance, etc. These activities may or may not directly incorporate a media development component.

This paper focuses on key media development initiatives; due to the plethora of development communications projects in Cambodia, it also looks at some examples of the latter.

UNTAC set the scene for large scale donor funded media projects in a newly emerging democracy in the early 1990s, establishing a new radio station, providing a transmitter and broadcasting large scale election messages around the country. This was a time when many NGOs entered Cambodia to help rebuild a new Cambodia, yet comparatively little investment was made in media development.

The 1990s witnessed the proliferation of training courses for working journalists, responding to identified need to improve journalists' skills, as well as a range of development communications projects. During the 1990s, UNESCO and the Asia Foundation were very active in the field of journalism training. The 21st century bore witness to donor support for longer-term media development projects, primarily with governance objectives:

- AusAID and USAID from a governance perspective.

- British Embassy from a humanitarian/human rights perspective.
- KAF from a broad-based governance objective with dedicated media development components.
- Oxfam Novib from a women's rights perspective.
- UNDP from an election/democracy perspective.

Major Activities

During the civil war of the 1970s and subsequent Vietnamese rule in the 1980s, Cambodia was cut off from the rest of the world. The UN and some Western countries failed to recognize the Vietnamese-backed government and continued to recognize the Khmer Rouge. This changed in 1992, with the arrival of UNTAC to carry out administrative and security functions, and with this followed large scale development assistance.

Long term media projects funded by donors over the past 20 years include:⁴⁹

- Establishing Radio UNTAC to deliver balanced election information in the lead up to the UN sponsored election, funded by UNTAC in 1992;
- An undergraduate degree in Media and Communications at the Royal University of Phnom Penh funded by KAF since 2001;
- A series of short term training initiatives for working journalists prior to the establishment of DMC, supported by numerous donors including Asia Foundation and UNESCO;
- Investigative journalism training over two years to select working journalists to improve reporting standards on corruption;

⁴⁹ Refer to Appendix 3, A Selection of Donor-Funded Media Development Interventions, for additional information.

Development, as well as Appendix 3.

- TVK Equity Weekly, a weekly current affairs style television program, funded by UNDP since 2006;
- National talkback radio programming: “Our Life Our Society” by RNK funded by AusAID since 2005 and subsequently DfGG funded by World Bank and AusAID from 2009 to 2011;
- Provincial radio talkback programs funded by AusAID and ABC since 2009 in Battambang, and more recently in Siem Reap and Kampong Cham.

Various development communications initiatives have also been funded, ranging from a few months to two or three years. Major development communications initiatives include:⁵⁰

- Oxfam Novib support to WMC on organizational development;
- Messaging related to HIV and maternal and child health and more recently governance issues and climate change.

Setting the Scene: Government, Donor and UN Frameworks

The UN believes Cambodia is at the crossroads of development, transitioning from a post-conflict paradigm to one of stable development (United Nations and Kingdom of Cambodia, 2005). The United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), which frames the joint UN response in Cambodia, has one of its five areas of cooperation being governance and the protection and promotion of human rights with an emphasis on corruption, the legal and judicial system, public financial management, and public administration. Two related outcomes are effective participation of citizens in the conduct of public activities and decisions that affect their lives and the accountability and integrity of Government in public decision-making and policy implementation.

The UN Country Team’s expected 2006 – 2010 outputs include improved public access to information with planned outputs of promotion of a law on freedom of information and provision of support to news services, amongst others (United Nations and Kingdom of Cambodia, 2005).

Governance and human rights falls under the realm of UNDP; communication and information is one of UNESCO’s stated “Areas of Cooperation.”

Development communications uses media as a tool for development and falls under the rubric of governance, human rights, climate change, HIV and AIDS. This often leads to smaller scale media programming and time limited projects (e.g. if a project is funded under election objectives, there is often fixed-term funding).

Naturally, donors emphasize different angles when funding media development and development communications projects. Table 4 outlines objective categories against key donors and implementers.

Cambodia has a range of mechanisms in place for joint donor/government coordination and technical working groups (TWGs) that enhance dialogue and information sharing between government and civil society.⁵¹ These eighteen TWGs are largely oriented to achieve the RGC’s National Development Action Plan and the Cambodia Millennium Development Goals (CMDGs). Donors do not formally recognize the media as a sector, and thus there are no formal coordinating or dialogue mechanisms that specifically address the media.

An informal civil society communications group met on a monthly basis for a few years to share information; Equal Access has recently resurrected this practice with a rotating host.

Finally, there is no official or independent public forum mechanism where media outlets meet regularly

Table 4: Development Issues and Funders

Objective category	Key Media Donors or Executing Agencies and Funding Mechanisms
Communication and Information	UNESCO
Governance (Media development)	KAF
Governance/ democracy/elections	Asia Foundation ¹ (funded by World Bank), AusAID, UNDP, USAID, U.S. State Department, World Bank
Human Rights	British Embassy
Women’s Rights	Oxfam Novib, UNIFEM
Health: awareness raising, attitudinal change and behavior change	Global Fund, DFID, UNFPA, UNICEF, USAID
Climate change	UNDP

¹ One of four themes under the DFGG program refers to “strengthening the media for good governance.”

⁵⁰ Appendix 3 also includes a selection with more detail on development communications projects.

with government to raise substantial structural or organizational issues facing the media and follow up on subsequent progress. The CCJ hosts editors' forums since 2003, holding seven such forums to October on 2010, where all editors, even if they are not members of CCJ, are invited. Topics such as media and the new penal code and the new era of the media industry are discussed, often culminating in an official statement at the end.⁵² The researcher was unable to track any official actions following on from official statements issued by the CCJ. In addition, the CCJ editors' meeting facilitates meetings between editors and government officials, government representatives change from meeting to meeting depending on the topic, leaving little chance for follow up of strategic issues.

Role of International Donors, Role of International NGOs and the Role of Local Organizations

Donors' roles vary. While all engage in policy and objective setting, KAF additionally invests in technical analysis of the media, usually at a regional level, over the medium term, which has led to a range of documents being published. Examples of such documents include *MoJo – Mobile Journalism in the Asia Pacific Region (Stephen Quinn) 2009*. Some donors have led project design missions, whereas other donors have delegated project design to the implementer. In the case of medium scale development projects, a few donors have supported ongoing negotiations between the likely implementer. For example, IRI worked with RGC to obtain government buy-in leading to funding of an innovative project design (that is unlikely to meet any major obstacles).

One NGO reported that donors' focus on the big picture means that they are not always aware of the day-to-day realities.⁵³ This reinforces the need to identify and nurture media champions within donor agencies. AusAID said that their approach to working in the media is transformational, working where there is space and acknowledging that the pace is slower than in some other sectors.

Key roles of international NGOs and international organizations:

- Funding local NGOs or local organizations (Asia Foundation, KAF)

- Project design (numerous donors)
- Technical advice and support to state media (ABC, UNDP, UNESCO, others)
- Technical advice and support to non-state media like WMC and VOD (IRI, Oxfam Novib)
- Television production in collaboration with state television (UNDP in collaboration with TVK)
- Standalone television production (BBC WST, IRI)
- Academic support (KAF, others)
- Organizational development of state radio (ABC)
- Research (BBC WST, SIDA, UNDP, others)

As previously mentioned, the State and its affiliated business elite own much of the media. Due to the challenges in obtaining media licenses, there are a limited number of local NGOs operating media outlets. No NGOs hold a television license; one, the Women's Media Center, holds a radio broadcasting license and one other, Voice of Democracy, leases large tracts of airtime from another radio station enabling it to broadcast its programs.

The key roles of local NGOs are as follows:

- Radio broadcaster holding its own license (WMC)
- Content production and leasing airtime (VOD)
- Producer of messages for development content (CHEMS, WMC)
- Video production (WMC)
- Advocacy consultations related to freedom of expression (API)
- Research/watchdog (LICADHO)

Other actors include DMC at the Royal University of Phnom Penh that engages in media and communication education and research, and international private companies providing marketing research services to the media like Indo China Research and InterMedia.

A degree of mistrust exists between the government and NGOs and, to a lesser extent, international organizations. This is particularly so with human rights, environmental and watchdog-styled NGOs. Donor support that extends beyond the traditional funding ap-

⁵² It is unclear how subsequent issues arising relating to public statements are followed up by CCJ.

⁵³ Interview with NGO, March 2011.

Donor investments since the early 1990s have contributed to an enhanced media sector, including better-educated journalists, the introduction of more sensitive topics on television and radio, and more engagement with government officials.

proach is often critical to the operation of these NGOs, smoothing the waters during times of tension.

There is no agreed media development vision or framework among donors or implementers. UNESCO might be well placed to lead, given its focus on information and communications and technical mandate, however it is constrained by a lack of funds. A lack of explicit donor recognition of the media as a dedicated sector and no overarching media frameworks may have contributed to an insufficient investment in support to the media. This, in part, has resulted in many of the key challenges not being addressed. However, this is a double-edged sword as some journalists said that raising awareness of the media's importance with the Cambodian government via coordinated frameworks could lead to more censorship and restriction.

Media Development Approaches

As previously mentioned, the 1990s saw donor investments focus on training, infrastructure and message for development projects. More recently, donors have expanded to larger scale media development initiatives with a greater emphasis placed on governance.

Radio is considered to be freer than television and this, along with the lower production costs and greater NGO operations in the radio sector, may account for more donor-funded radio development projects. Television productions are more centralized, costly, more likely to be scrutinized and hence less likely to take risks. One organization working in television production said that there is more space in television than is commonly thought, and that it simply requires innovation. An in-depth understanding of the local context is a critical component of innovation.

The arrival of UNAMIC followed by UNTAC with its large information and education department saw radio, video production for television,⁵⁴ and print materials including banners, posters, and comic books produced and disseminated. The largest part of the information and education department was the UN's first owned and

operated radio station, Radio UNTAC, broadcasting from November 1992, with programs on voter registration, the electoral process, human rights and other aspects of the UNTAC mandate. During the electoral campaign, particular emphasis was paid to the secrecy of the ballot. Opinion polls were used to assess impact of its broader information program and to identify and correct misunderstandings (Lehmann, 1999). Radio UNTAC offered broadcasting time to all political parties with equal time granted on state television and radio.

Radio UNTAC was widely perceived to be one of the successes of the UNTAC mission, and it contributed to a 90 percent voter turnout partly due to convincing people their vote was secret. It also enjoyed a loyal national audience and a solid reputation for credible reporting (Orme, 2010). However, following the elections in 1993, Radio UNTAC closed and journalists/reporters returned to existing partisan journalism.

The impact of Radio UNTAC and UNTAC information and education operations on the broader media has been referred to as "intangible" (Price and Thompson, 2002). UNTAC media guidelines may have ignited a discussion that led to the draft Press Law in 1994, although discussions were not directly facilitated by UNTAC. In addition, an UNTAC project may have led to the formation of a journalists association in 1993. John Marsden attributes these developments to the shift to a free market economy and an understanding that UNTAC would not oppose these advancements rather than to direct UNTAC activities. Bill Orme's report is of the view that the UN team focused narrowly on the election process and did not take into account the broader political considerations (Orme, 2010).

Today, the legacy of Radio UNTAC remains largely at an individual level. Equal Access reports that about two thirds of its technicians are former Radio UNTAC staff. The head of WMC, Ms. Sundaneth Chea, is a former Radio UNTAC staff member.

As Bill Orme (2010) laments,

There was no UN effort to keep radio UNTAC on the air under the UN auspices, or to transform it into a nationally controlled radio service, though the new Cambodian Constitution in the-

⁵⁴ At its height, UNTAC produced a one-hour television show per day.

ory permitted the establishment of independent broadcasters in the country.

The window of opportunity for media reform during and post UNTAC was short lived and devoid of large-scale media development projects beyond the immediate life of UNTAC. With the benefit of hindsight, this was a missed opportunity to further freedom of the press in a country where few gains have been made.

The period during and post UNTAC focused largely on training of journalists, responding to the need to urgently upgrade the skills of working “journalists,” and on messaging. This period was devoid of large-scale media development projects to further freedom of the press.

However, donor investments since the early 1990s have clearly contributed to an enhanced media. Positive impacts include better-educated journalists, the gradual introduction of more sensitive topics on television and radio, some government officials willing to appear on television and radio, and government officials taking questions from members of the public.

Examples of donor investments contributing to an enhanced media include the following:

- KAF responded to the demand for quality media education by funding the only 4 year undergraduate degree at the Royal University of Phnom Penh. Strict entry requirements prevail. DMC is granted full control over the curriculum with the majority of graduates well regarded and obtaining employment in the media and communications sector. DMC is the first academic training institution in Cambodia offering a four-year Bachelor of Arts course in journalism with the first graduates finishing in 2005. Other partner institutions including the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Development Service (DED), the German weekly newspaper DIE ZEIT, Deutsche Welle and the German Embassy support this project through visiting lecturers.
- TVK Equity News, which was managed by UNDP, allowed for election news to be covered fully and comprehensively on a proportional basis according to the number of seats each party holds in parliament. It began during the 2003 National Assembly elections with 15 minute newscasts on TVK and seven-minute reports on AM and FM radio stations. In 2007, Equity Weekly was launched, a 40 minute program produced by a team of TVK staff and expatriate producers which grew out of the election

coverage. Equity Weekly has politicians on air to discuss issues that would often be discussed at the parliamentary level. Equity Weekly format allows for feedback, including Facebook comments, and follow-up action to be aired the following week. TVK Equity Weekly paved the way for some sensitive issues to be broadcast on other television channels by doing so first themselves.

- ABC facilitated RNK’s transition from protocol based news⁵⁵ to content based news bulletins, entrenched live talkback programming five days per week between senior government officials and members of the public on a diverse range of issues and introduced feature programming. To track balance in governance, an independent analysis of news content broadcast by RNK and other news outlets (two other Khmer stations and three international Khmer language stations), two TV channels and three newspapers is conducted at random by Equity Access. This is the only known example of an independent comparative news analysis done in Cambodia. The findings reveal that first, there has been an increased focus on governance issues and second, that the quality of guest speakers is high. While there has been some improvement on the breadth of topics is covered, the diversity of topics and diversity of sources remains low.
- The Minister of Information requested that CDs be distributed to raise awareness among cabinet members so they are more likely to agree to attend the talk back program. Subsequently, the Prime Minister requested the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Sok An, to place an audio version of the talkback programs on the Council of Ministers website.⁵⁶ One can surmise that this request likely indicates that the Prime Minister listens to the program.

It is not known to what extent senior government officials who have limited access to members of the public utilize some of the information aired on TVK Equity

55 Protocol-based news emanates primarily from government press releases with news items read in order of government hierarchy e.g. news relating to the Prime Minister read first, followed by Deputy Prime Ministers, and so on irrespective of whether the content is newsworthy.

56 Every talkback program was copied onto a CD, with one copy sent to Deputy PM, Mr. Sok An, and one to the Office of Prime Minister as requested by Minister of Information. The Prime Minister requested the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Sok An, to place an audio version of the talkback program on the Council of Ministers (COM) website. This request was followed by the COM for about 4 to 5 days in May and then the COM revamped its website. One month later RNK no longer formed part of the DfGG so copies of the CDs were not sent to COM and Office of the Prime Minister, despite the talkback program continuing. Interview with RNK staff member, June 2011.

Weekly and TNK's talkback program as an additional and complementary source of information to that gained via official channels. Organizational strengthening initiatives with indigenous media are slowly gaining popularity. The DfGG with RNK have worked to strengthen senior management and the human resources and finance department as well as technical production areas. WMC also undertook a donor-supported organizational review leading to a restructure with one Director being granted responsibility for the organization.⁵⁷

Some organizations work alongside indigenous media utilizing existing in-house staff (e.g. UNDP with TVK Equity Weekly, AusAID/ABC with RNK and PIS, Pact Cambodia with RNK and PIS); some organizations use a combination of in-house production staff complemented with their own production staff (e.g. Equal Access) and others partner with indigenous media utilizing their own production and broadcast staff (e.g. BBC WST).

Training and mentoring is a common feature of many projects; however, the approach varies, ranging from long term education support for emerging journalists (KAF), long term structured training of working journalists (Internews), to short term training for working journalists (Asia Foundation and others).

Audience engagement is a common feature although the mechanism varies. Equal Access supports listening and dialogue groups at the community level to further cement understanding and feedback. TVK Equity Weekly focuses on audience comments and feedback via Facebook; CRDAP and DfGG RNK via live open lines seeking comments and feedback; and WMC programs via talkback.

Donors also have different ways of operating. WMC indicated that some donors provided considerable production advice whereas others (e.g. Global Fund) were more interested in the number of productions and in receiving quarterly reports, rather than the quality of the production or the accuracy of the journalism.

The emphasis on development communications projects, many of which focus on "safe" subjects such as human immune-deficiency virus (HIV), maternal and child health (MCH), domestic violence, indirectly con-

An emphasis on development communications projects with "safe" subjects such as health indirectly contributes to media development, but such donor driven messaging means that structural media challenges are not always addressed.

tributes to media development by introducing new techniques and quality control mechanisms, which augment local media skills at an individual or organizational level. However, donor driven messaging means that structural media challenges previously outlined are not necessarily addressed.

Media development attracts little donor interest in comparison with other sectors. Formal calls for proposals tend to focus on governance, human rights, climate change, etc., requiring media projects to be built into these themes. In some instances, there is a role that a media organization can carve out for itself, whereas in other cases opportunities for media initiatives are scarce.

Donors have supported different journalists' associations over the years but it is unclear whether this has contributed to a more robust airing of journalists' views or maintained the divide between different journalist groups that are primarily along political grounds. According to one report, none of the journalists associations can be considered professional independent bodies (Neave, 2009). UNESCO supported the grouping of about 15 associations via the Press Council of Cambodia with about three CPP affiliated associations remaining with the Press Club of Cambodia (Neave, 2009). Several codes also exist, for example, CCJ's own Code of Conduct and CCIM's Common Code of Ethics for Cambodian Journalists.

It is important to note that not all media development projects are exclusively donor-driven. There is evidence of donors listening to organizations and agreeing previously identified projects be revised to better address local needs or issues. Some examples include:

- British Embassy – funding was initially earmarked for training of journalists, however LICADHO reshaped the proposal and included a request for research on media practices, leading to the report

⁵⁷ Prior to this WMC had 3 co-directors, each responsible for one section of the organization: Video production, radio and mobile broadcasting units.



Battambang Youth Voices Speakers (Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

Reading Between the Lines: How Politics, Money & Fear Control Cambodia's Media, 2008.

- AusAID - funding technical support to introduce live talkback with RNK. The project evolved from a series of discussions between the AusAID Governance Sector and the ABC, and was funded under governance objectives, one of which was to support voice in democracy.
- U.S. State Department - Equal Access negotiated to include a media development component as part of a messaging project funded under a governance objective.

Success and Impact

For the most part, donors, implementers and local journalists think that media development interventions have delivered good results. Naturally, there are diverging opinions about what constitutes a successful project. Overall, few impact assessment studies were officially shared by those interviewed for this research. Furthermore, it was noted that no assessments utilized meta-level measures of press freedom, media literacy or proxies for self-censorship.⁵⁸ A number of projects have relied on outputs as indicators of success (e.g. number of callers, SMS, journalists trained, students graduated, number of programs produced etc.). Im-

part evaluations have sometimes been undertaken for development communications initiatives, usually in the form of KAP surveys and audience share studies. However, assessments of the impact of capacity development on the media within development communications projects could not be found. Some projects have been unable to undertake baseline and end-line evaluations and some donors have been unable to perform impact evaluations, largely due to budget constraints or a lack of preparedness to commit to funding monitoring and evaluation activities. Some implementers said that donors require little information on impact, and even though they knew anecdotally they were doing well, they lacked funding to perform evaluations to prove this.

Organizations funding and working on indigenous media development projects with the state have varied, but largely related, opinions as to what constitutes success. Success includes enhanced capacity to produce quality and timely news, information, and debate; utilizing and broadcasting a variety of sources extending beyond the party; reporting on topical and sensitive issues in a timely and accurate manner; linking everyday citizens with senior government officials; and enhancing audience share.

Most media development and all development communications projects interviewed for this study acknowledged that audience share is one indicator of success. Audience feedback from viewers and listeners was widely sought (TVK Equity Weekly via Facebook, RNK DfGG via a live open line enabling listeners to

⁵⁸ The practice of using country-level indicators to assess the impact of single projects is beginning to be introduced by some donors to media development (such as USAID), but it is controversial, and not widely accepted amongst practitioners.

phone in with feedback and listening groups conducted by Indochina, and Equal Access via community listening groups). While considering and utilizing audience feedback is a relatively new concept for state media, it is widely used by NGOs such as Equal Access. In other cases, programming may be targeted at a small, powerful group with implementers tracking senior government speeches and actions related to the topic and issues raised by TVK Equity Weekly soon after the show is aired.

However, audience feedback is not always sought and, when made available by implementing agencies, there can be an inability or resistance to translating audience numbers and feedback into revised programming or scheduling. For example, if audience research reveals that that an audience would prefer the program to be aired at another more convenient time, or at the same time each week, this request may not take precedence over existing private contracts, which bring in additional and sometimes undeclared revenue to a station. In addition, some donor-funded programs may be rescheduled to facilitate broadcasting of parliament or high level political speeches and visits, again impacting on audience share. Finally, expert and/or audience feedback has also suggested extending the type of guest speakers to include members of the opposition party or human rights NGOs, as per mature democracies, but this is not always heeded due to the presence of an unofficial black list.

There were few cases of project failures cited by the interviewees contacted. Opinions on the failure of media development projects tended to focus on the sustainability of projects beyond the life of donor funding. For example, establishing new newspapers or community information centers that ceased to exist beyond the life of donor support were cited as failures by some Cambodian journalists.⁵⁹ Although this was not specifically cited as failure, there was a widespread view that short-term training of journalists has delivered few visible results. Others felt that the combined effect had contributed to a small improvement in quality.

There is recognition amongst some donors that media development cannot be short term and that a medium to long-term outlook is necessary. The UNDP objective of progressing freedom of information and enhancing news content gives some credence to this, as does AusAID acknowledging that media development is transformational, so takes time and effort.

Assessing impact is necessary, yet challenging.⁶⁰

59 Interviews with Cambodian journalists, March 2011.

60 Impact is taken to mean the long-term effects, positive and negative, intended and unintended by a development activity.

Many organizations undertake internal (as opposed to external) assessments, in part due to financial constraints or to capitalize on having in-house expertise. The findings of some notable comprehensive external media development assessments include:

- One impact assessment undertaken by Internews recorded the impact of having investigative journalism articles published. It concluded that reactions of government officials suggests an improvement in Cambodia's political landscape as government authorities are beginning to reprimand corrupt officials within their own ranks (Internews, 2007). For example, a story about teachers in Battambang cheated out of tens of thousands of dollars was published in *Rasmei Kampuchea* March 14, 2006. A day after the story was published, the Prime Minister ordered an investigation into the issue. As a result, some education officials in the province were removed from their position.
- A qualitative assessment containing expert views regarding content and angles on TVK Equity Weekly was done by an independent consultant in 2008. It revealed diverging views with some experts highlighting the willingness of some government officials to front the media, other commercial television channels taking their cue of what is permissible on television through to one NGO expert claiming that there is not enough coverage of political issues.

Other notable impacts include creating the space for certain topics to be broadcast by other indigenous media outlets that were not previously broadcast.⁶¹ For example, after one program featuring National Democracy Institute (NDI) was aired on TVK Equity News, rival television channel CTN contacted NDI for an interview the following day. It is clear that donor funded media has stimulated citizens' participation in the democratic process. For example, a Pact Cambodia supported talkback program, airing once per week on RNK and PIS Battambang on the back of ABC talkback programs, measures the number of anti-corruption cases reported on air.

Conflict with Other Forces?

One possible source of conflict lies with the business nature of the media itself. The business elite in Cambodia requires the patronage of the political class to hold a broadcasting license. This results in a lack of diversity of topics and poorly balanced content. As previously mentioned, the type of content is, in part, linked

61 Interview with TVK Equity Weekly Project Director, April 2011.



Women's Media Centre on air. (Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

to ownership. Television focuses on soap operas and entertainment; radio is highly opinionated and the print media sensationalist on crime, accidents and national defense. Media outlets tend not to support investigative journalism due to financial and human resource costs and the likely political fallout. This may also be more of an editorial and management issue, which, interestingly, few projects target.

The competitive nature of the industry means that some international organizations are concerned with self-preservation or expansion, while others are more concerned with building independent media and eventual phase out, believing this to be a sign of success. As previously mentioned, a number of organizations aim to support and develop local media in a manner that enhances independence and quality, believing this approach to be more sustainable. Others focus on high quality message production and delivery.

While some donors work at cross-purposes, a lack of coordination makes it possible for implementers to take advantage of this and not follow the original intention of a project, knowing that another donor may jump in with a new proposal or hand over equipment with little expected in return. In addition, local partners tend to go along with donor suggestions, even when considerable effort is invested in explaining the positive and negative ramifications and ensuing challenges of a project, because funding is involved.⁶² However implementation

may throw up considerable challenges that impact on the project.

Sustainability

Sustainability is critical and challenging, even in cases where impact is evident. For instance, Radio UNTAC broadcast unbiased information about the electoral process. To ensure information broadcasts reached local populations, a total of 143,000 radio sets were distributed (Heininger, 1994). Daily radio broadcasts dispensed information about ballot secrecy, security, political parties, and voter rights. Additionally, the UNTAC station offered broadcast time to all registered political parties. Beyond providing crucial services during the electoral season, the UNTAC radio system created an independent source of trusted information.

Although these broadcasts successfully disseminated information to the Cambodian population, the information flow was predominantly one way. After UNTAC's mission was complete, Radio UNTAC closed 6 months after the first UN-sponsored election in 1993, handing over equipment to the state broadcaster.⁶³ Radio UNTAC, due to its sheer size and scale, was acknowledged as being unsustainable.

Some donors and implementers have established new organizations, centers or media outlets, adding to

62 Interview with former journalist, June 2011.

63 Interviewees were not able to provide information on whether this equipment is still being used (or where it is located).

the plethora of media organizations. In some cases, marketing and business components were not well considered:

- Two provincial newspapers were established (*Samnei Thmey* Newspaper and *Siem Reap News*) in the lead up to elections did not last much beyond the life of donor funds. More balanced reporting occurred, but the project appeared not to acknowledge the business nature of the market.
- 22 Citizen Information Centers were supported at the provincial level to enable access to information via citizen advisors and the internet under an election banner however, only three still remain open.⁶⁴

Sustainability is also constrained by the need for short-term results in a sector that, if viewed from a historical perspective, has been intransigent. Naturally, donors are concerned with exit strategies, but some interviewees think they focus on this too early, adversely impacting on the success of a project. Projects funded under an election banner often focus on the lead up to an election so usually receive short term funding, making it more challenging to embed professional reportage and sustain impartial content beyond the life of the project.

Short-term blogging training may lead to better or more blogs if ongoing support is provided to bloggers. A few of the local media outlets interviewed were concerned that a lack of funding for indigenous news reform reinforces the reliance on international news outlets for independent and quality reports, especially in the context of most media outlets being owned or heavily influenced by the state. “What will Cambodians do when foreign governments stop funding quality, independent Khmer language news?” said one local radio broadcaster.⁶⁵

There has been a small increase in the number of international NGOs/organizations with in-house radio and television production capacity. Some donors seem to be mounting partnerships with non-indigenous media partners in order to deliver tailored messages. This makes for a more competitive environment and, in theory, contributes to better quality broadcasting. However two local organizations, WMC and CHEMS, claimed they are winning fewer projects as a result of greater competition, with one of these local NGOs now finding it increasingly difficult to survive.

⁶⁴ This project was funded by Khmer Institute for Democracy. See World Bank, 2009a.

⁶⁵ Interview with Khmer language radio broadcaster, March 2011.

The concept of well financed media outlets with high quality production units is not entrenched. Rather high quality productions are traded or external producers pay for it to be aired, usually at the donors’ expense, perhaps reinforcing the lack of quality indigenous productions.

There is increasing evidence of sustainable practices, largely focused on partnerships with existing indigenous organizations. For example:

- Core funding was provided to establish and operate the DMC. Funding supported day to day operating costs and foreign lecturers. DMC is currently considering introducing sustainable funding mechanisms with the introduction of fee paying courses to subsidize operational costs. However, it is worth noting that students most likely to be in a position to pay fees, and hence support the ongoing sustainability of the DMC, may not necessarily translate into improvements in the media as they are likely to come from families with business links to the ruling party and could further contribute to political reporting bias. The Minister of Information confirmed that RNK talkback programs will continue and the RNK Director General has said that some content-based news bulletins as well as the talkback program will continue following the conclusion of the DfGG project. To date, they continue and RNK is now providing small salary supplements for talkback and news staff.⁶⁶

Where are Donor Interventions Going?

During the 1990s, the emphasis was on training journalists and messaging-related content. While this still takes place, interest has expanded to building the capacity of state television and radio, supporting legislative developments between government and civil society and messaging related content.

There is, however, a perception of dwindling funds being allocated to media development.

- CCI, an organization delivering short term training opportunities to journalists, is not receiving any

⁶⁶ “Salary supplements” are an addition to state salaries, usually paid by development partners to a small group of civil servants based on merit. In RNK’s case, salary top ups are paid by revenue generated by RNK to staff working on talkback programs and content-based news bulletins in recognition for the “additional” work required.

funds (it was previously funded by UNESCO and others);

- DMC is now considering how to raise its own funds to support its journalism degree as KAF has indicated that alternative options now need to be considered;
- The Internews office closed about two years ago following the completion of its investigative journalism project;
- WMC is focusing more on generating its own income rather than relying on donor funded projects.

Donor interest in the CMDGs remains strong. However, as previously mentioned, there is no CMDG goal related to good governance or the media. Nevertheless, most media projects are funded under governance or democracy objectives and there is widespread recognition that much work remains to be done in this area.

Unofficially, a few donors are disappointed with overall progress, and are revising strategies. DFID recently withdrew from Cambodia, citing increasing tax revenues of the RGC enabling it to better deliver vital services to Cambodians, the large numbers of donors present in Cambodia, and the increasing aid flows into the country in deciding to withdraw (DFID, 2009). Other donors are considering a renewed focus on the provincial level to achieve greater impact and respond better to local level issues and citizen demand.

Gaps and Further Questions

Gaps remain in this research. A number of media donors, past and present (e.g. DFID, Oxfam Novib), are not based in Cambodia so were not interviewed for this paper. The research did not extend to an assessment of donor understanding of the media nor identifying options to enhance donor engagement in media development. These may be useful in better understanding why there have been relatively few donor investments in media development.

Additional research should be done on why the media is not recognized as a dedicated and important sector. What role have development communications and media development professionals played in this? And what is required to have media development taken more seriously? Donors' understanding and support for media development projects should also be considered and research into how they can be better engaged to consider media development projects would be invaluable.

Some organizations have only recently started allocating reporting responsibilities for particular journalists and have only recently started editorial meetings. Further research should be done on institutional issues within organizations receiving donor funds to better comprehend how they are currently structured and function. This is particularly important because structure impacts on function.

Periodic research into comparative news and current affairs analysis across print, radio and television media would provide a snapshot of the current state of the news that everyday Cambodians receive and would likely highlight the inadequacies in the breadth and depth of coverage. It may also be used to leverage additional funds for media development. A comprehensive assessment on the levels of media literacy and citizen engagement would assist in the design and delivery of projects. How do citizens engage with the media? What media literacy levels exist in Cambodia?

There is poor understanding and documentation of the roles, responsibilities and operations of government vis a vis the media. What are the roles, responsibilities and operations of the MoInf and the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications? How do they interact with each other, with external stakeholders, with donors?

The social media is in its infancy in Cambodia. Facebook usage, while relatively low, offers immense and untapped potential for development practitioners. Research into how Facebook has been used and can better contribute to citizen engagement with government and media development, focusing on Khmer language content beyond social chit-chat, is pertinent.

There are not always sufficient funds for independent monitoring & evaluation (M&E) activities and M&E tools used do not always measure the key issues facing media development: balanced reporting, editorial independence, etc.

Internal learning does not always feature in media organizations largely due to financial constraints. Research into which practices have what types of impacts, and supported information and learning sharing mechanisms is critical in enhancing the design, impact and outcomes of projects.

In order for Cambodia to continue down the path of media reform, a key next step is to explore a range of solutions to the issues raised in this paper with the media, implementers, and donors alike, and to develop a road map for coordinated support.

Conclusion

Cambodia embarked on the beginnings of a free press almost twenty years ago with the arrival of UNTAC in 1992/93, the enactment of the Press Law in 1995, and the granting of press licenses in the 1990s to a few organizations that were not politically affiliated. This is in contrast to the state controlled media environment that existed in Cambodia in the 1960s, 70s and 80s.

Radio UNTAC was the first large scale media development project which was used to support election messages prior to the first UN sponsored election in 1992. Throughout the 1990s, donor funded projects focused on training of journalists to fill the knowledge and skill void following decades of civil war including Khmer Rouge atrocities that saw many journalists killed.

More recently, donor interest has focused on Cambodia's Millennium Development Goals (CMDGs), none of which directly involve media development. As a result, little donor effort has been directed toward influencing media development. Furthermore, a distinct lack of political will to embark on reform that befits a modern, independent and robust media means that advances have not been as strong as they could be.

Donors have tended to prefer radio over television, in part due to stakeholder perception that there is slightly more freedom and fewer approvals required for radio than television, and in part due to lower costs. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that audience numbers for television are greater than radio and continue to increase.

Donor funded media development is a relatively new phenomenon, resulting in minimal impact. Modest gains have been made: technical improvements in television production, some better skilled journalists (especially the DMC graduates), development of journalists' associations and a code of ethics, and greater citizen engagement. However, balanced and in-depth reports are scant and there remains limited space for freedom of expression. Professional media reports based on fact rather than opinion, on a range of sources (especially on a range of political sources) are the exception rather than the rule. Many stakeholders revealed that well educated Cambodians with an interest

in current affairs rely heavily on Radio Free Asia (an international station) as one of the few independent sources of political news.

Improvements require considerable time and effort which often extends beyond the life of a short to medium term donor horizon. AusAID, KAF, UNDP and USAID are current donors who understand this. In other cases, donors have built on the gains made by other donors. For example, the freedom of expression policy document was first developed in 2007; however, formal follow up discussions by the relevant government department (MONASRI) is yet to materialize. Nevertheless, several donors have recognized that this freedom-of-expression policy is critical, so support this initiative.

Many stakeholders cited a range of challenges, including low journalism standards, poor salaries, imprisonment, and litigation of journalists.

Given the large state-owned and unofficial state-affiliated media presence, relatively few media outlets receive donor support. Two local broadcasters, WMC and VOD, have relied heavily on donor funding in the past but are now seeking to enhance their own financial base, partly due to the increase in international competition.

Impact evaluations have been undertaken on relatively few donor funded projects, with outcome and/or output evaluations proving to be more common.

There is demonstrable evidence of medium term training initiatives to a select cohort of journalists having an impact on better quality reporting. Conversely, there is little documented evidence of the benefits of short term training programs and editorial and management training remains largely untapped.

There is also demonstrable evidence that medium to long-term projects in partnership with indigenous media is producing a greater breadth of topics, improved balanced, more newsworthy stories and more citizen engagement.

Technical improvements have occurred in television and radio, although some improvements are related to commercial realities rather than donor influences.

Conversely, projects involving establishing a new newspaper or information centers were not always able to be sustained beyond the life of donor support, often failing to take into account commercial realities of the sector.

Medium term projects supporting further development of a robust and independent indigenous media are sorely needed, especially given the high levels of state-owned and affiliated media.

Recommendations for enhancing media development include building a quality legal defense outfit that is on hand for all journalists to access, combining technical and organizational development support for indigenous media willing and capable of undertaking reform, utilizing tools that measure the quality and independence of reports; media literacy programs for citizens, and enhancing the use of social media particularly Facebook and blogs among Cambodia's emerging educated class. Consideration could also be given to the timing of whether to start work on a broadcasting law in light of the ongoing efforts pursuing freedom of expression.



Behind the headquarters of Provincial Information Services Battambang (Credit: Tara Susman-Peña)

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Appendix 1: People Interviewed

Organization Type	Name	Position	Organization
Government	HE Khieu Khanarith	Minister of Information	Royal Government of Cambodia
Academic	Mr. Tieng Sopheak Vichea	Acting Head	Department of Media and Communication, Royal University of Phnom Penh
	Mr. Touch	Editor	
Journalist's Associations	Mr. Pen Samitthy	President	Club of Cambodian Journalists
Donors and Grant Managers	Ms. Jennifer Lean	First Secretary	AusAID
	Ms. Phuong Viphou	Senior Projects and Political Officer	British Embassy
	Mr. Mark Wenig	Public Affairs Officer	US State Department
	Mr. Chrea Vanrith	Public Affairs	US State Department
	Ms. Jamie Hyo-Jin Lee	Communication and Information Focal Point	UNESCO
	Mr. Gavin Murphy	Program Officer, Demand For Good Governance Project	Asia Foundation
	Mr. Khut Inserey	Senior Program Officer	Asia Foundation
	Ms. Mehr Latif	Program Manager, Demand For Good Governance Project	Asia Foundation
	Ms. Rabea Brauer	Resident Representative to Cambodia	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation
Media Monitor/ Watchdog	Mr. Mathieu Pellerin	Monitoring Consultant	LICADHO
Radio Project Implementers	Mr. Ta Rath	Team Leader	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
	Ms. Yvette Height	Project Coordinator	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
	Mr. Pa Nguon Teang	Executive Director	Cambodian Center for Independent Media Radio Voice of Democracy
	Mr. Monte Achenbach	Country Director	Equal Access
	Mr. Graham Gardner	Program Manager	Equal Access
	Mr. Sek Barisoth	Director of Media Program	Pact Cambodia
	Mr. Som Sarun	Head of News	RNK

	Mr. Kry Chamreun	Director of Information	Provincial Information Services, Battambang
	Mr. Sann Chhorng	Deputy Head of Battambang PIS, in charge of National Radio Khamka Chek 92.7FM	
	Mr. Ly Senary	Former Head of Radio, Talkback producer	
	Mr. Phy Sok	Deputy Head of Radio, Talkback producer	
	Mr. Sakada	Producer, Youth Voice program	
	Mr. Vannak	in charge of Youth Voice program	
	Mr. Chann Chihong	in charge of Talkback program	
	Ms. Chamnan	Talkback producer	
Television/ Video Production Implementers	Mr. Wayne Sharpe	TVK Equity Weekly	UNDP
	Ms. Bopha Seng	Program Communications Analyst	UNDP
	Mr. John Willis	Country Director	IRI
Radio and Television implementer	Mr. Charles Hamilton	Country Director	BBC WST
	Mr. Colin Spurway	Project Director	BBC WST
	Ms. Chea Sundaneth	Executive Director	Women's Media Center
Print media	Mr. Pen Samitthy	Editor	Rasmei Kampuchea
Research Company	Mr. Uy Sareth	Account Manager	Indochina Research Ltd
	Ms. Emiko Stock	Associate Research Director	
	Ms. Florence Pollet	Account Manager	
Other	Mr. Moeun Chhean Nariddh	Director	Cambodia Institute for Media Studies

Appendix 2: Methodology

The field method was based on a desk review complemented with key informant interviews. Thirty-nine people were interviewed comprising one government official, two academics, one representative from a journalist's association and also from the print media, nine donors and managers of sub-grants, one NGO researcher, three from a research company, one independent consultant, fifteen radio project implementers, three radio and video producers, and three television project implementers.

Much of the information gained from interviews is not fully referenced as most interviewees were happy to be interviewed but requested that they not be quoted or referenced in the paper. Refer to Appendix 1 for a list of all people interviewed.

Naturally, there are limitations to this approach. This is not an extensive desk based review of media projects or impact evaluations or an exhaustive series of interviews. Rather the researcher relied on information provided by key informants to nominate media interventions with the most impact. To some extent this relied on recall, and was impacted by staff turnover affecting institutional memory and a likely bias toward more recent work. In addition a range of reports were made available, mostly from donors, UN agencies or NGOs.

Government sources or opinions are scarce, primarily due to the lack of published information, but have been referred to where they have been made available to the researcher.

The following template and sampling frame guided the field research:

Case Study Report Template

For the research consultant: This document provides the overall structure for your report. Your role is to focus primarily on the following:

1. Pulling together the evidence needed to describe how donors have contributed (or not) to media development in the country: who were the major players, what were the major trends, over the last 20 years.
2. Incorporating the perspectives of donors, local NGOs, international implementers, and aid recipients to describe in these interventions: what worked, what didn't work, and why. When possible, collecting the reports, data and other evidence on which these conclusions are based.
3. Diagnosing the state of media as a business in the country. What are the business models? What are the major challenges? What data do people base business decisions on?

PART ONE: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (1-3 pages)

I. Summary (bullet points are fine) of the major findings of the study, focusing on the areas in the box above

PART TWO: MEDIA OVERVIEW

II. (suggested length: 2-3 pages) *Brief* historical and development background – tie into information / media culture

- a. What are the key political, social, and economic events and trends that have shaped the last 20 years of the country's history?

- b. What are the country's key development challenges (general development, media development)?
 - c. What donors are most active in the country (economic development, **not** just media development)?
- What are their development priorities for the country overall (e.g. poverty, health, governance)?

III. (suggested length: 5 pages) What does the media landscape of the country look like?

- a. *Brief overview*: What are its major features? Developments and trends over the last 20 years? Is it able to hold government and business accountable? How well does it provide essential information to the population? Who does information reach and not reach? What forms of media are most prominent?
- b. What is the state of journalism in the country? Is the media relatively free from corruption? What are average salaries for journalists? How good is the overall quality of reporting? How safe is it to be a journalist?
- c. In what ways is the political economy / enabling environment of each country supporting or detracting from the development of the media sector?
- d. *Brief overview* of related laws, regulations and major developments over the last 20 years
- e. To what extent are laws and regulations that are in place put into practice?
- f. Describe the information culture of the country. How do different groups of people get information? What are the major challenges? Do they feel that they have a say in decision-making? How important is news vs. entertainment?

IV. (suggested length: 2-3 pages) What is the state of the business of media?

- a. What are the business models? What are the major challenges?
- b. What are the trends in media ownership, major issues there?
- c. What do people base business decisions on? What is the state of data on media?
- d. What kind of data on media is there in the media system (audience / market research)? What data do different stakeholders use? How do they use it? How did its use develop?
- e. If possible, please try to get copies or access to any of this data that media enterprises are using (audience/reach for various types of media, advertising numbers, etc.)?

PART THREE: DONOR-FUNDED MEDIA DEVELOPMENT (suggested length: 20 pages)

IV. Given the media landscape, why have donors intervened in the media space? What was perceived as missing / needed?

V. What have been the donor-funded media development interventions with the most impact over the last 20 years?

- a. What were the major activities? What were these activities meant to achieve, in both the short and long term? What local media or media-related organizations were created / supported (*brief description – profiles of key orgs can go in the appendix*)?
- b. What have foreign donors' roles been? What have foreign NGOs' roles been?
- c. How have donor investments supported or impeded media development? To what extent have these activities addressed the major challenges outlined in Part One? What approaches did they take? What worked? What didn't work?
- d. Why? How do various actors' opinions converge or diverge about the success or failure of different MD interventions?
- e. By what criteria are stakeholders judging the success or failure of interventions? How do they assess impact?
- f. Any sense of interactions / conflicts in goals or direction with other forces, such as private investors, public diplomacy, strategic communication, etc.
- g. What are the key issues around sustainability in donor-developed media? Differences in business model or approach between donor-developed media and the rest of the media?
- h. How have the actors, activities, and impacts evolved over the last 20 years?
- i. Where do donor-funded interventions seem to be going in the future?

VI. (suggested length: 1 page) Gaps, further questions that should be asked, issues to investigate

- VII. (suggested length: 1 page) Conclusions: What role did donor-funded media development interventions play in shaping the overall media landscape? How do these interventions fit into the overall development of the country?
- VIII. Literature review: *Brief* overview of previous research on media development in this country
- a. What research has been done? What conclusions has it reached? What questions has it asked? How has it framed and assessed the question of impact of MD interventions? What are the gaps in the research?
 - b. Who has conducted the research (academics, implementers, donors, etc.) and how has this shaped the perspectives?
- IX. Methodology: overview of approaches used
- a. List of stakeholders interviewed
- X. Profiles of key media organizations and NGOs (suggested length: one paragraph)
- XI. Chart – overview of major donors, implementers, local partners, and activities

Sampling guide - Interviews

Type of Organization	Category	Informants	Ideal interview quota	Actual total	Notes
Donor	High level programmatic decision makers In-country (e.g. embassy or donor office)		3		
NGO	Advocacy, legal, watchdog organization Umbrella organization / network Media monitoring Implementer of media development projects		4		
Media organization (NGO or for-profit)	Journalists, producers, editors, managers from media that receive donor funding: o Radio o TV o internet o Mobile o Newspapers or magazines		4		
Associations	Professional association		1		
Academia	Experts on the media and media development		1		
Media Industry Research	Conduct research and data collection used by the media		1		
Government	Ministry of Communications / Information Donor coordinating organization				
Other					
		Total	10-15		

Appendix 3: A Selection of Donor Funded Media Development Interventions

Media Development and Development Communications

Television

Project: National Television Kampuchea (TVK) "Equity Weekly" 2006 - 2011

Recipient: UNDP Cambodia Country Office

Implementer: Co-produced by UNDP and TVK

Planned budget: USD \$6.56m as at 2006

UNDAF Outcome: "By 2010, achieve significant progress toward effective participation of citizens, accountability and integrity of government in public decision making and policy implementation for the full realisation of human rights and meetings the CMDGs."

Expected Outcomes/Indicators: "Improved enabling environment and strengthened management capacity for free and fair elections at national and local levels."

TVK Equity News, which was managed by UNDP, allowed for election news to be covered fully and comprehensively on a proportional basis according to the number of seats each party holds in parliament. It began during the 2003 National Assembly elections with 15 minute newscasts on TVK and 7 minute reports on AM and FM radio stations.

In 2007, Equity Weekly was launched: a 40 minute program produced by a team of TVK staff and expatriate producers which grew out of the election coverage. Equity Weekly invites politicians on air to discuss issues that would often be discussed at the parliamentary level. Equity Weekly format allows for feedback, including Facebook comments, and follow-up action to be aired the following week.

Equity Weekly has set a number of precedents including:

- First time election news covered fully and comprehensively on state media;
- First time the main opposition political parties', SRP and FUNCINPEC, activities seen and heard on any television channel in Cambodia;
- First time almost all parties had the opportunity to be covered on television;
- First time the concept of equity was employed as a system of distributing air time to political parties;
- 6.4 percent of a sample of 2,000 people said they had watched the program (IRI August 2007)
- This was the beginning of putting Members of Parliament in front of the television camera and now they appear to be more willing to speak on air and are more aware of the importance of television.

Sphere of Influence:

- The program serves as a barometer for what other television channels can broadcast. Other television channels look at some of the issues and believe Equity Weekly gives them the go ahead to raise some issues not previously been covered by television. For example, after Equity Weekly aired a program featuring National Democracy Institute (NDI), rival channel CTN contacted NDI for an interview the following day. Some think other networks take their cue on what is politically permissible on Equity Weekly.
- Their sphere of influence extends to policymakers. The Prime Minister is thought to watch the program and it may

be deduced that he has referred to issues in speeches or taken follow-up action soon after an Equity Weekly program.⁶⁷ For example, one show featured a program on titanium mining exploration in the Cardomam mountains revealing that the Department of Mines was not aware that a concession had been granted for the exploration. Soon after, the Prime Minister sent a high level delegation headed by the Minister to investigate the matter. Recently, a program aired about the Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA), concerning the threatened eviction of people rightfully living within the complex if they modify their houses. Soon after, the APSARA Authority contacted Equity Weekly saying that they would convene a town hall meeting with residents.

Challenges

- Some “expert” viewers such as the Director of the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) thought the program should give more coverage to political issues (coverage is in fact 5 percent), rather focusing mainly on social, economic, and environmental issues.

The impact on in-house editorial policy is questionable with one staff member acknowledging they are unlikely to have had any impact on the TVK’s editorial policy or broader programming. The enhanced production skills of TVK Equity team have not been transferred to the greater TVK net work, even though staff have transferred from Equity Weekly to other sections within the television channel.

Radio

Project: Radio UNTAC

Implementer: UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia)

Budget: About USD \$3m to equip, install and operate Radio UNTAC (Lehmann, 1999)

Background

UNTAC published media guidelines aimed at lifting legal restrictions and encouraging the operation of a free and responsible press, and launched a Cambodian Media Association of all Cambodian journalists.

The UN’s first owned and operated radio station, Radio UNTAC, began broadcasting in November 1992, with programs on voter registration, the electoral process, human rights and other aspects of the UNTAC mandate. During the electoral campaign particular emphasis was paid to the secrecy of the ballot.

In 1993 Radio UNTAC launched 15 hours per day, 7 days per week live broadcasting news and features service. A combination of field reports, the Secretary General’s spokesperson’s press briefings, and in-house analysis was broadcast.

Opinion surveys were used to determine the impact of Radio UNTAC and its broader information program was used to correct misunderstandings and to identify gaps in understanding (Lehmann, 1999). Other Cambodian media was analyzed, particularly the public positions of political parties, and Radio UNTAC used to correct misinformation and gaps in understanding in a politically neutral and balanced manner (Lehmann, 1999).

Outputs

Distributed 346,000 radios.

Impact

Radio UNTAC was widely perceived to be one of the successes of the UNTAC mission, and it contributed to a huge 90 percent voter turnout partly due to convincing people their vote was secret. However following the vote, Radio UNTAC closed and journalists/reporters returned to existing partisan journalism.

The legacy of Radio UNTAC remains largely at an individual level. Equal Access reports that about two thirds of their technicians are former Radio UNTAC staff.

⁶⁷ It would not be possible to verify this with the Prime Minister so a series of examples have been provided.

Project: Ratanakiri Community Radio Project

Donor: UNESCO

Background:

During 2008, UNESCO and Basic Human Needs (an NGO) undertook a needs assessment which led to the supply of radio transmitters to indigenous groups, and to educational programs in ethnic language broadcast on the radio by the indigenous people. 25 Provincial Information Services (PIS) staff were trained in how to address community issues.

A formal impact evaluation was not undertaken and the project is no longer funded.

Project: Cambodia Radio Development Assistance Project (CRDAP), 2005 - 2009

Recipients: RNK (Radio National Kampuchea) and ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation)

Donor: AusAID

Budget: AUD \$2.4m

Goal: To strengthen the media in promoting development and democracy.

Purpose: The purpose of the project is to assist RNK to establish nationwide quality talkback radio program (TBP) (covering a range of sensitive and non-sensitive topics) that is valued by the community.

Donor review findings:

- A policy environment more favorable to fair and independent programming and growing recognition within government of the valuable role that public broadcasting can play in development and democracy.
- Adoption of good practice for talk back radio which sets a benchmark against which other broadcasting can be judged.
- Growing confidence of citizens – both women and men - to seek information from and raise issues with their elected leaders and government officials through the TBP.
- Increased willingness of government to interact with citizens through the TBP.
- More openness to change and some attitudinal and behavioral change in parts of RNK, and enhanced capacity of a small number of RNK staff – both males and females – to make quality radio programs.
- Establishment of linkages between RNK and the PIS in relation to program relay and piloting provincial TBP which take these benefits to a wider audience, especially in more remote rural areas.

Additional achievements:

- The project gained public trust and confidence and enabled people to speak freely on air on a broad range of topics largely by protecting the identity of callers
- First time political parties other than the CPP were interviewed by RNK prior to an election, giving every political party equal air time.
- Improved coordination and flow of information by establishing regular senior management meetings.
- Started daily editors' meetings to reflect on the day's programming (strengths and weaknesses) and to discuss editorial issues.
- Changed RNK's mindset from being a complete mouthpiece of the government to the beginning of an audience-oriented station through mid level and junior level staff having greater understanding of newsworthy topics and introduced the concept of radio programming for the people.
- Established an external Advisory Committee comprising government, independent consultants academic and NGO representatives to advise and encourage RNK on CRDAP implementation and editorial issues and introduced the idea of external input into state broadcasters.

Project: Demand For Good Governance (DfGG), RNK, 2009 – 2011

Recipient: RNK

Technical support: ABC

Donor: World Bank to RNK and AusAID to ABC

Budget: US\$4.8m

Goal: The DfGG RNK component seeks to “strengthen the capacity of RNK to deliver balanced, relevant, accurate and high quality public interest broadcasting services which inform and facilitate dialogue between citizens, civil society, government and businesses”.

Objective: To enhance the demand for good governance in Cambodia

Through a partnership with the ABC, RNK produced:

- Nine 10 minute news bulletins per day (and is no longer reading protocol news solely from unverified newspaper reports or unedited government news releases)
- Live talkback totaling one hour five days per week mainly on a range of social issues
- Three 10 minutes features programs each week

The project is especially interesting for some of the independent methods used to monitor the project.

Monitoring Methods:

Listener Perceptions (October 2010)

Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews are used to gain insights into audience perceptions and opinions of RNK’s programming, particularly those programs supported by DfGG.

The panelists are asked a series of questions designed to evaluate the quality and character of RNK’s news coverage, particularly its coverage of governance issues, within the following domains:

- (1) balance of coverage
 - (2) diversity of viewpoints and the political background of sources;
 - (3) the role of RNK in Cambodian society
 - (4) the accountability of RNK to the Cambodian public
- coverage of marginalized groups including women, ethnic groups and the opposition parties.

A comparison is made between the responses from RNK/ABC Advisory Committee members, government officials, general audience and NGO representatives.

Comparative News Analysis (February 2011)

To track progress concerning balance in governance, an independent analysis of news content distributed by RNK and other news outlets (two other Khmer stations and three international Khmer language stations), two TV channels and three newspapers is conducted at random. This is the only known example of an independent comparative news analysis done in Cambodia.

The criteria used are as follows:

Criteria	Measure
Length of coverage	Broadcast minutes or column centimeters per news item
Depth of coverage	Proportion of time or space per news item relative to the entire program or newspaper. The length of each news item was divided by the program or newspaper whole.
Prominence of coverage	The relative placement of a news item in a program or newspaper. Broadcast items were ranked by placement (i.e. the first story in a program is given a "1"). Newspaper articles were classified by position in the paper ("front" page, "section front" or "middle").
Number of sources	Total number of human sources included per news item
Diversity of sources	Total number of human sources included from a particular sector (classified into: government*, civil society, business, academic, international, Cambodian citizen)

* The term "government" sources refers to representatives and employees of the RGC. Representatives of foreign governments were classified as "International." Cambodian government officials working overseas—such as ambassadors—were categorized as "government."

To date, the monitoring results reveal that depth of coverage, number and diversity of sources requires improvement.

Editorial Integrity

The Minister of Information has agreed to a new editorial policy developed in close collaboration with RNK and MOI, the project remains challenged by the practice of editorial independence and is subject to ongoing interference from the Director General. Daily editorial meetings take place to examine editorial issues.

Staff Satisfaction Survey

The newly established RNK Human Resources Department conducted its first staff satisfaction survey in 2010.

Financial Reporting

RNK now has a functioning finance department with some finance staff able to use a computer and produce monthly finance reports.

Linkages

Enabled NGOs (Pact Cambodia and Save the Children) to enter in agreements with RNK and utilise live talkback programming supported by ABC on governance and positive parenting thereby enhancing sustainability.

Challenges:

Director General maintains a blacklist which means that some people are not invited
Some items remain uninteresting to listeners

Additional achievements:

Government officials ordered a link to the talkback programs be placed on the Council of Minister's website.

This project concluded earlier than anticipated by the World Bank due to allegations of editorial interference by the Director General along with allegations of a lack of transparency.

Project: Provincial Information Services (PIS) Talkback Programming, 2009 to current

Donor: AusAID and ABC

Implementer: ABC

In PIS Battambang, Siem Reap, Kampong Cham and intend to start in Kampot later this year.

Includes live talkback several days per week usually with local authorities. For example, one talkback program featured Deputy Provincial Police Officer and one of his assistants who take calls on cases related to gang violence. The police officer announced two mobile telephone numbers on air to continue receiving reports after the broadcast had finished.⁶⁸

In Battambang, an additional two-hour program called Youth Voice is aimed at 15 to 30 year olds, is produced in collaboration with Khmer Youth Association, a local NGO, on issues identified by the youth broadcasters and youth oriented NGO. A magazine format incorporates music and information about the life of the singer; a short story told by a young person about their life's struggles, achievements and ambitions; local and international sports news; science news; and occasional job announcements or youth competitions.

Project: Cambodian Center for an Independent Media (CCIM)/Voice of Democracy (VOD)

Background to organization

CCIM was established in 2007 in order to continue broadcasting VOD. Prior to this VOD was one of the Divisions of the Cambodian Center for Human Rights (CCHR), a NGO. The former leader of the CCHR, Mr Kem Sokha, left CCHR to establish his own political party, the Human Rights Party. The following notes refer to VOD since its inception in 2003.

Budget (in general)

CCIM receives core funding from Open Society Institute (OSI) (\$100,000) via their London based media program. In addition, private income totals around \$200,000 per annum through selling air time to donors, NGOs, human rights groups and private companies. Unlike most media outlets, CCIM does not have powerful financial backers.

Training of VOD journalists:

Training of journalists has been supported by three donors over a period of time. In 2004/05, IRI funded an Indonesian journalist to professionalize the news service. In 2006/07, staff participated in Internews training and in 2008, the French Embassy funded RFI to provide training.

Self reported results:

Technical and management improvement (although no formal evaluations undertaken) as follows:

News: Previously VOD spent seven minutes per news item without any sound clips. They now spend one to two minutes per news item with sound clips. The news format has been modified so national news is followed by international news and then a jingle.

Management: Appointed an editor, hold weekly editorial meetings and delegated responsibility to one broadcaster for climate change, another for economics etc.

Vox-pops: Prior to the Internews training VOD never produced vox pops.

Talk shows: Previously broadcasters simply talked and talked on air. VOD now inserts different items to make the production more audience friendly. E.g. "One talk show on corruption we introduce the topic, insert a vox pop, interview experts, and then play a song related to the vox pop."⁶⁹

68 Senior police telephone numbers are not readily accessible to citizens.

69 Interview with VOD broadcaster, March 2011.

An audience share survey was undertaken as part of a broader IRI survey when VOD received funding from IRI. No formal impact studies have been undertaken.

Project: Media Extension Project 2002-2005

Donor: Konrad-Adenauer- Stiftung Foundation and the European Union

This three-year project focused on the role of journalists in promoting democracy at the local level. In the second year two provincial newspapers were established: Samnei Thmey Newspaper and Siem Reap News to enhance election reportage.

The project ended in 2005 and these newspapers are no longer being published.

Government

Project: Spokesperson Training

Background:

Spokesperson training with 90 officials from the Ministry of Information, Military and Police to enhance relationships and the flow of information from government to journalists.

Self reported benefits include the National Police Spokesman being less afraid to speak to the media and spokesperson contact details being passed on to media outlets.

No evaluations have been undertaken.

Training for Working Journalists

Project: Journalists Training, multiple, 1990s

Donor: The Asia Foundation (TAF)

Recipients: Khmer Journalists Association, the League of Cambodian Journalists, Asia Foundation

Background

TAF media program started in 1993 by providing funds to two journalists associations (Khmer Journalists Association and the League of Cambodian Journalists) who were split along political lines to undertake training. In 1997, following the coup d'état, training funds were redirected away from the journalists associations to support direct training of journalists e.g. ethics, role of the media in governance and democracy.

TAF funded a 6 month basic journalism course directly run by the TAF (not CCI or DMC) for five years plus two advanced courses in the 1990s for journalists who excelled in the basic course. Some students went on to study undergraduate and postgraduates in journalism abroad. About seven out of ten of the journalists who studied abroad now work for foreign owned media outlets and one works for UNDP as a communications officer. None work for Cambodian media organizations largely due to poor salary levels and unprofessional standards.

No formal evaluations were undertaken, in part due to the urgency to train journalists.

Project: Cambodia Radio Journalists' Training Project, 1999 – 2002

Recipient: Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

Donor: CIDA

Aim: The IMPACS Cambodia Radio Journalists' Training Project, from 1999 - 2002 aimed to strengthen the peace building process by assisting in the development of more independent, open and accountable radio media in Cambodia.

Background:

The project focused on radio as most Cambodians rely on radio as their primary source of information. The IMPACS radio training was supplemented with classroom lectures at two local partner institutions, the Royal University of Phnom Penh and the CCI. Students developed skills in interviewing, writing, editing, performance, and media ethics. The reported difference in programming included:

- more voices are heard,
- different viewpoints are shared and
- the dialogue, between the government of Cambodia and its citizens, has begun.'

Project: Strengthening the Role of Journalists in Cambodia's Fight Against Corruption

Recipient: Internews Europe

Donor: United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in cooperation with PADCO Inc.⁷⁰ and Pact Cambodia.

Indicators:

IR 1.1: Strengthen citizens' ability to hold public officials accountable for the use of public resources						
Type	Targets	Results	Indicators	Type	Targets	Results
Results	Up to 12 articles Published (disaggregated by topic or forum)	21	Improved quality of published articles/reports (+)	Results	Rating scale based on "before and after" survey	Achieved

Outcomes

- Training on paper trail, the art of story telling, the money trail of corruption.
- Developed a "how to" investigative journalism manual published in Khmer.
- 30 investigative articles were written and 21 of them were published in Khmer language and Cambodian owned newspapers, several making it onto the front page. Mostly targeted mid level corruption.

Impact

- Reaction by government officials suggests an improvement in Cambodia's political landscape that allows – even encourages -- this type of watchdog reporting. Rather than taking action against journalists with defamation law-

70 An American international development consulting firm.

suits or threats, government authorities are beginning to reprimand corrupt officials within their own ranks⁷¹:

- A story on demobilized soldiers losing 24-43 months of salaries published in *Rasmei Kampuchea* on May 17, 2006 led to the government ordering an investigation and the soldiers' salaries being paid.
- A story about more than 500 teachers in Battambang cheated out of tens of thousands of dollars was published in *Rasmei Kampuchea* March 14, 2006. A day after the story was published the Prime Minister ordered an investigation into the issue. As a result, some education officials in the province were removed from their position.
- A story on Spending Priority Action Program⁷² budget lacking transparency was published in the *New Millennium* July 12-20, 2006 resulted in the Ministry of Education calling a meeting among education officials to discuss the issue. Many schools have received more teaching materials and a student mentioned in the story has been offered not to pay any fees to the teachers.
- Poor people suffer while corrupt officials go free published in *New Millennium* January 7-15, 2007. The Minister of Information called the editor and questioned his affiliation with any party or politicians. The editor said the newspaper was independent. The story deals with the difficulties people face after seven World Bank-funded projects were suspended due to corruption.
- A story on a bird sanctuary in Kompong Thom being illegally logged was completed by a journalist working for *Rasmei Kampuchea*, however it was not published at the time of the final report. Though the story has not been published, the reporter's investigation partly led to the prosecution of park rangers involved in the logging.

In addition, one journalist was threatened with a lawsuit by a prominent tycoon about a story on deforestation. However the tycoon's lawyer advised against a lawsuit as the story was watertight. This journalist won first prize for the project.

A flow-on effect is that investigative skills have been passed on to former Internews staff that in turn, are passing them on to trainee journalists.

Project: Journalist Training, 2009

Recipient: Cambodia Institute for Media Studies (CIMS)

Donor: The Asia Foundation

Budget: \$15,000

CIMS received \$15,000 for a pilot study to train 60 journalists in 3 provinces and compile a newsletter, however none of the stories were published. A formal evaluation was not undertaken.

Investigative reporting training for Cambodian journalists in order to empower them to provide high-quality investigative news reports on corruption, wrongdoings, injustice, government inaction, and others

Training of journalists on investigative skills, media ethics, and "Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation 2008" and "Press Law." Mentoring of promising journalists to develop stories and investigate cases of human trafficking for reporting in local and international papers.

71 Impacts reported in Strengthening the Role of Journalists in Cambodia's Fight Against Corruption, Final Report, April 2004- March 2007, Internews.

72 To fund frontline service delivery units in a timely manner, e.g. in the education sector.

Project: CCI (Cambodian Communication Institute), 1990s

Donor: Multiple donors including UNESCO

Background:

Established by UNESCO within Ministry of Information to provide short-term training to journalists. In the past, CCI has undertaken numerous training activities.

Project: Information Literacy, 2009

UNESCO and the CCI held a two-day workshop in 2009 with 35 librarians, school administrators from public and private universities library, police makers, international experts and colleges. Raising awareness on the importance of Information Literacy, with the aim to enhance the awareness on the subject and to improve the service given by the librarians in Cambodian Libraries in order to map the road of Information Literacy in Cambodia.

Project: World Press Freedom Day (WPDF) celebrations

Donor: UNESCO

In 2008, UNESCO together with the CCI supported a conference on “Freedom of Press, Access to Information and the Empowerment of People”. The participants explored how media freedom and access to information feed into the wider development objective of empowering people. It was the second time that journalist associations, the ruling party and the opposition party came together to commemorate the WPDF.

In 2009 the WPDF collaborated with the recently launched Press Council of Cambodia (PCC) to bring together the local media sector and related institutions to discuss “The potential of the media in Cambodia regarding dialogue, mutual understanding and reconciliation.”

Academic Training**Project: Department of Media and Communication (DMC), Royal University of Phnom Penh**

DMC is the first academic training institution in Cambodia offering a four-year Bachelor of Arts course in journalism with the first graduates finishing in 2005. Other partner institutions including the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Development Service (DED), the German weekly newspaper DIE ZEIT, Deutsche Welle and the German Embassy support this ambitious project through visiting lecturers.

DMC was established in 2001 and it provides the only media and communication degree (four years) in Cambodian history.

- Built capacity of local lecturers in media and communications
- Accept about 25 to 30 students each year and approximately 100 students have graduated from DMC since its inception. The first 4 years saw 65 students graduate (22 female) with five graduates (two female) working for direct media outlets whereas the others have worked as university lecturers, communication officers for NGOs, UN agencies, private sector and government or are studying abroad.⁷³
- Interestingly, none of the graduates from the first four batches work for Cambodian owned and operated media outlets, largely as a result of low salaries, low status, lack of professionalism and ethical reporting standards and political bias.
- One previously worked for CTN, a relatively modern television channel which focuses on entertainment rather than news and current affairs.

73 Tracer Report, DMC, Undated.

- The proportion of students in media is small in comparison to the number of working journalists in Cambodia.
- Student documentaries are screened at Meta House.

Impact and outcome evaluations have not yet been undertaken.

Journalist's Associations

Project: Club of Cambodian Journalists (CCJ), 2003 onwards

Donor: Konrad Adeneur Stiftung Foundation

1. Roundtable discussions CCJ organizes monthly roundtables and discussions to bring journalists together and meet face-to-face with high ranking officials.

2. Editors' Forums

The editor's forum started in 2003 and seven have been held to date. Editors from different news organizations meet and discuss issues regarding media coverage and issues facing Cambodian journalists. The forums have culminated in a series of statements being signed including one on "**New Era of Media**" and "**Media and New Penal Code: Press Freedom and Responsibility**" however it is not clear whether there is any follow-up when related issues arise.

3. Training Courses

The CCJ provides training courses and seminars on basic computer training, courses for provincial journalists, business and economic reporting, court reporting, establishment of local media and a training course on Khmer Rouge Trial Reporting.

The self reported impact of training includes an increase in the use of quotes, facts and greater distinction between news and opinion.

The donor and recipient have not undertaken any formal impact evaluations. KAF focuses on long term engagement rather than having project based initiatives.

Press Council of Cambodia

UNESCO – Press Council of Cambodia (a coalition excluding the CCJ).

UNESCO supported a one week workshop on program planning, project design and proposal development. Twenty-five representatives from journalist and media organizations participated in the week-long intensive training.

Research

Project: Media research, 2008 and 2009

Donor: British Embassy in Phnom Penh, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) Strategic Program Fund

Recipient: Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO)

Goal:

To increase the recognition of the role of media as human rights defenders developing civil society, and to increase their capacity to protect their rights alongside NGOs and others advocating for international standards of freedom of expression in Cambodia.

Background:

LICADHO is primarily a human rights watchdog, so it is interested in the media from an advocacy and human rights perspective. In 2008/09 LICADHO embarked upon a research project looking at the level of freedom of expression from a media perspective. The intention was to research and then publish practices that were well known amongst the media sector in order to address some of the misconceptions about the level of media freedom in Cambodia. Prior to 2008, LICADHO's human rights reports covered attacks on journalists, from a human rights perspective.

Research reports have been further supported by press releases e.g. "LICADHO Condemns Censorship of Sites critical of Government" released on 16 February, 2011.

Outputs:

Two research reports, both in English and Khmer:

- *Reading Between the Lines: How Politics, Money & Fear Control Cambodia's Media*, 2008
- *Restrictions on the Freedom of Expression in Cambodia's Media*, May 2009

These reports were widely circulated extending to diplomats and local and international organizations.

Evaluation:

No formal evaluations have been undertaken, however informal feedback and observation suggests:

- Enhanced recognition of issues relating to media ownership, self censorship and lack of accountability counteracting the perception that Cambodia's media is relatively free within South East Asia e.g. all television channels being closely affiliated to ruling party
 - Widely referenced documents including on internet sites, in academic papers, in research/donor reports and quoted by media
- Anticipate organizations can deal with the media in a more thoughtful manner.

Legislation

Project: Access to Information, 2010 to current

Donors: Multiple including UNDP, British Embassy

Recipient: Advocacy Policy Institute (API)

Goal:

Priority: One of API's priorities is "Promoting access to public information: increasing understanding and creating a culture of public information disclosure."

Overall objectives:

Promote access to information and support the legislative process leading to an access to information law.

Develop a culture of information disclosure by assisting the Government's initial steps towards a culture of maximum disclosure of public information and creating an ethos of access to and disclosure of public information in the target communes.

Published an *Introduction to Access to Information in Cambodia* in 2010.

The Freedom of Information Working Group's overall objective is to contribute towards the adoption of an Access to Information Law and development of a culture of maximum information disclosure.

API and the Access to Information Working Group have organized 16 consultative meetings including provincial and national workshop with the government, parliament, private sector, sectorial networks (education, health, and labour) and the media.

A draft policy framework is with the Ministry of National Assembly-Senate Relations & Inspection (MoNASRI) and has not yet been forwarded to the Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Information has publicly supported the policy framework. The project is ongoing so it is too soon to assess impact.

New Media

Project: *Blogging Training, 2005*

Recipients: International Republican Institute (IRI) and Open Society Institute (OSI)

Blogging training forums have been conducted by IRI and OSI Forum Cambodia that resulted in about a dozen new blogs (Reed, 2005). It is not known if these blogs remain active.

Development communications

Project: *“Youth Leadership Challenge” television program*

Innovative youth-based television programming

Recipient: International Republican Institute (IRI)

A series of polling has been undertaken with Poll 5, undated, revealing:

- “How many times have you watched the television program on CTN?,” indicating it was the most popular amongst 18 to 24 years olds with 25 percent having watched it at least once.
- “Do you like or dislike the program?,” revealing 52 percent strongly liked and 45 percent somewhat liked the program
- 59 percent of people watching said it taught them “very much” about being a good citizen
- 40 percent said it taught them “very much” about being a good leader of people

Project: *Anti-corruption talkback radio program, RNK and PIS, 2010 to current*

Recipient: Pact Cambodia

Donors: Asia Foundation

Evidence of impact:

- One woman telephoned to reveal that police arranged extra-judicial payments following two traffic accidents. The Chairman of the Anti-Corruption Unit subsequently telephoned the radio program to ask whether they could contact the caller to find out whether she would like to submit the case to the Anti-Corruption Unit.

Challenges:

- Sensitive topics are not accepted by senior management.
- Obtaining agreement from government officials to attend the program as a guest speaker is a problem.

Project: *Women’s Media Center, 1993 to current*

Recipient: Women’s Media Center of Cambodia

Background to organization

Women’s Media Center (WMC) is one of Cambodia’s premier radio stations that is considered to be neutral. However it does not regularly report on political issues and does not take on a gender-focused advocacy role. WMC was born from a movement to increase the participation of women in the democratic process during the UN sponsored elections in 1993. The WMC delivers national awareness and informative programs on a diverse range of issues affecting Cambodia, with a special focus on the roles and rights of Cambodian women. The mission of WMC is to use the media

to promote social, legal, political and economic empowerment of the women and children in a variety of ways. It is recognized by the Cambodian government as a partner in improving the status of women in the media.

Due to the sheer number of donor-funded projects with WMC, key projects supported by evaluations have been selected.

Donors: Multiple donors since establishment in 1993.

Key donors since inception: DANIDA, Asia Foundation, USAID, US Embassy, AusAID/Australian Embassy.

Oxfam Novib has been the largest donor to WMC since WMC's inception. Projects funded include:

- Women for Better Life (women's rights)
- Organizational development

Budget:

In 2009 totaled \$828,589.00

Oxfam Novib	\$394,870
East West Management Institute	\$99,224
DANIDA	\$30,000
GF for Women	\$20,000
OSI	\$49,975
DED	\$59,033
GFATM-Malaria	\$49,302
KHANA-HIV	\$36,223
CCJAP	\$50,000
TAF	\$14,985
OSI	\$24,975

Project: Women's Media Center four year Impact Evaluation 2006-2009

Donor: Oxfam Novib

Recipient: WMC

Budget background:

From 2006 - 2009 WMC received funds from Oxfam Novib which covered personnel salaries, overhead costs, operation costs, production costs, and contingency costs. The funds from Oxfam Novib comprised approximately 40 percent of total funds from all donors excluding WMC self generated income in 2008.

Goal: The overall goal of this project was to use evidence based media production to promote gender equality and women's status through economic, political, sexual and reproductive empowerment, reduction in domestic violence, enabling women to fully exercise their rights, enabling women to access resources and to have equal opportunities.

Qualitative methods employed to assess the project outcomes which were:

1. Cambodia society recognizes that women's rights are human rights that are to be respected, valued and enforced by all concerned.
2. Reducing discrimination against women, increasing public awareness about women's and children's rights.
3. Legislation and public policy is "engendered," laws are better enforced and policy implemented.
4. The WMC and its staff continue to fulfill a unique role in Cambodia civil society.
5. The WMC continues to improve the quality of its programs, its outreach to and impact on the Cambodian people.

Key impact level results assessed included the number of women in parliament and government, female education and illiteracy rates.

Organizational Development

In 2007 WMC implemented a restructure, the first since its inception, to better respond to the growth of WMC, chang-

ing donor demands, increased media competition and to better deliver on WMC's mandate. The restructure was facilitated by an external consultant. The restructure was completed in June 2007 with active participation from staff and management. As a result, there is now one Executive Director (before WMC was lead by three Co-Directors) mandated to lead WMC operations and provides strategic direction.

Impact:

New structure implemented.

Improved management structures with a senior management team and an editorial team established.

New structure established a business department and led to business development plan for Self Generated Income.

Project: "The Road of Law" radio series 2008 – 2010

Recipient: WMC

Donor: Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)

Objective: The overall objective is to increase access to justice by connecting the general public and the law makers and law enforcers to the on-going legal and judicial reform process.

Background: A series of radio programs that aims to improve judicial services in the model courts in Cambodia through radio programs.

Key impacts

A baseline study was not performed which made it challenging to assess changes and nor was any control group sought, which meant it was difficult to attribute changes to the radio program alone. The project was assessed against relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, and impact.

An external evaluation was performed by WMC and found that the project was successful in facilitating partnerships between a cross section of stakeholders including judges, government, NGOs, individual lawyers, etc. Thirty-seven different guest speakers appeared on the radio program. Participation was strong with:

- 988 callers (278 female) from October 2009 to December 2010 but not all could go to air
- 10,622 SMS and 562 letters (mainly from the urban population) in response to a competition

Impact results included:

- Greater awareness about model courts (36 percent listeners are aware of a model court whereas 21 percent non-listeners are aware)
- Awareness of Rule of Law 81.5 percent amongst listeners and 80.7 percent amongst non-listeners
- 69 percent respondents think that the model court is improving
- Overall rule of law progress at community level, deemed by experts to have improved from low in 2002 to high on 2010⁷⁴

However,

- Confidence in police and court system remains low⁷⁵ and has not improved from 2002 - 2010
- Judiciary independence rating changed from low in 2002 to very low in 2010

74 Determined by recall of key informants

75 Women's Media Center of Cambodia, January, 2011. The Road of Law in Cambodia, End of Project Evaluation Report.

Recipient: Equal Access, Multiple projects

Donors: The initial series of 65 programs were produced with support from the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Rights and Labor and UNICEF.

Background:

2 radio programs over two years, 2007 – 2009:

1 with youth focusing on life skills related to domestic violence, drug taking, financial literacy and savings and
1 for a general audience focusing on democracy, governance and education.

An internal evaluation found:

- About 80,000 interactions over 18 months including SMS contests and quizzes, letters, call in and listening group attendance.
- 350 listening and dialogue contacts mainly in relation to youth who meet regularly to listen to the show and then discuss and contextualize a community activity
- Increased attendance at commune council meetings
- Greater participation in community volunteer campaigns
- Increased knowledge about national government structures
- Better able to describe function of commune councils
- Greater capacity of local radio to produce their own programs

BBC WST

Background: The British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service Trust (BBC WST) opened its doors in Cambodia in 2003. It usually engages its own production team to develop mass media campaigns, feature films, radio programs, training videos and spots around specific themes and messages. They work in partnership with a range of stakeholders, on topics such as preventing the spread of HIV and AIDS, improving care and support People Living with HIV and AIDS (PLHA), improving the health of Cambodia's mothers and children through to the dangers and realities of human trafficking, including forced labour and sex work.

Project: Maternal and Child Health, 2004 - 2006

Donor: DFID

Recipient: BBC WST

Budget: Approx. £ 3.3m GB pounds (two projects, one related to Maternal and Child Health and one related to HIV and AIDS)

Performed baseline, mid-line and end-line KAP surveys in 21 provinces related to Maternal and Child Health and HIV.

Maternal and Child Health benefits included:

- Improvement in awareness of diarrhea, and ways to prevent it;
- Improved knowledge of the benefits of breast feeding;
- Increased no. visits to ante natal clinics.⁷⁶

Compares results from the baseline and end-line studies to measure the performance of the media intervention in reaching and delivering information to Cambodian audiences; to assess changes in knowledge, attitude and practices; and to examine the impact of the BBC WST outputs focusing on exposure to project and condom purchasing; condom use; condom ownership; and condom use behaviors.

⁷⁶ Cambodia Health Campaign: See http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pressreleases/story/2006/11/061031_cambodia_mch_results.shtml

An impact analysis compared condom behaviour on the basis of exposure to the BBC WST project concluding that mass media intervention can achieve behaviour change. Analysis found strong statistical relationships between levels of exposure to the intervention and condom behaviour change. Among those with higher levels of exposure to the program, condom behaviors were consistently higher, and in most cases the differences were statistically significant.

Project: Mass Media and HIV in Cambodia, 2006 - 2009

Recipient: BBC WST

Donor: Global Fund Round 5

Budget: Approximately \$2-3m

This three year project focused on using behaviour change communication for HIV prevention. The project produced television and radio public service announcements, television drama, television documentaries, radio call in programs and magazines on HIV and AIDS.

Annual sentinel surveillance studies on KAP related to HIV and stigma and discrimination and media landscape and access to media were conducted by BBC WST from 2007 to 2010.). The study concluded that the mass media is an effective mechanism to disseminate information to young Cambodians.⁷⁷

Other implementers

Other implementing agencies include:

- CHEMS
- Family Health International
- Khmer Mekong Films
- Population Services International
- Youth Today

⁷⁷ BBC WST, December, 2009. Cambodia Sentinel Surveillance Survey 2009: Report on Indicators, Cambodia Global Fund Round 5, HIV and AIDS Communications

The Media Map Project is a multi-faceted two-year pilot research collaboration between Internews and The World Bank Institute, funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. This report is a product of that research. The findings and conclusions contained within this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the World Bank or Internews.

The Media Map Project draws together what we know and precisely defines what we do not know about the relationships between the media sector and economic development and governance. The research also examines donors' roles in supporting the media sector over time and provides an evidence base for their future decision-making about media support. Through research, public events, and the data made available on the project website for public use and extended research, the project aims to engage the development sector in greater understanding and exploration of the role of media and information in development.

See www.MediaMapResource.org for more information.