

# Democracy in Cambodia – 2014

## A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate



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**The Asia Foundation**

Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities

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Indochina Research Ltd. was contracted by The Asia Foundation to conduct the data collection



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## Contents

Executive Summary .....	3
1 Introduction.....	7
1.1 Context.....	7
1.2 Key Findings .....	8
1.3 Recommendations.....	12
1.4 Methodology.....	14
2 National Mood.....	18
2.1 Direction of the Country.....	18
2.2 Direction of the Country – Negative Views .....	18
2.3 Direction of the Country – Positive Views.....	19
2.4 Personal Economic Assessment .....	20
2.5 Cambodia’s Biggest Problems: National .....	21
3 Local (Commune) Mood.....	22
3.1 Direction of the Commune.....	22
3.2 Direction of the Commune – Positive Views .....	22
3.3 Direction of the Commune – Negative Views.....	23
3.4 Cambodia’s Biggest Problems: Commune .....	24
4 Attitudes towards National and Local Government.....	25
4.1 Relative Importance of National versus Local Government.....	25
4.2 Satisfaction: National Government.....	25
4.3 Citizen Efficacy: National Government .....	27
4.4 Citizen Efficacy: Commune Government .....	28
5 Quality of Representation.....	29
5.1 Differences Between Political Parties.....	29
5.2 Constituent Relations.....	29
6 Democratic Attitudes, Values, and Behaviors .....	32
6.1 Fundamental Values .....	32
6.2 Trust: General .....	35
6.3 Trust: Neighborhood.....	36
6.4 Trust: Institutions .....	36
6.5 Political Participation.....	37

7	Women’s Political Empowerment.....	39
7.1	Attitudes on Representation: National Assembly.....	39
7.2	Attitudes on Representation: Commune Council .....	39
7.3	Attitudes on Representation: Reasons for Negative Bias .....	40
7.4	Attitudes on Voting Autonomy .....	41
8	2013 National Assembly Elections .....	42
8.1	Voted in National Assembly Elections .....	42
8.2	Efficacy: National Assembly Elections.....	42
8.3	Quality of National Assembly Elections .....	43
8.4	Problems with Elections.....	44
9	Factors Influencing Elections.....	46
9.1	Money in Politics .....	46
9.2	Foreign Contributions .....	47
9.3	Civil Society.....	48
9.4	Access to Information .....	50
10	Priorities for Election Reform .....	51
10.1	Timing of New Elections.....	51
10.2	National Election Committee.....	51
10.3	Voter Registration .....	56
10.4	Decentralization of Elections .....	58
11	Media.....	60
11.1	Access to Information .....	60
11.2	TV.....	61
11.3	Radio.....	64
11.4	Newspaper.....	67
11.5	Mobile Phone.....	68
11.6	Internet .....	69
	Appendix: Survey Questionnaire.....	71

## Executive Summary

*Democracy in Cambodia - 2014: A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate* is The Asia Foundation's third national public opinion poll on democracy in Cambodia. The aim of this nationally representative survey, a follow-up to polls conducted in 2000 and 2003, is to assess attitudes and priorities of the voting public that may contribute to or constrain democratic reforms. The 2014 survey repeated a variety of questions from the two prior surveys to measure the progress of democratization in Cambodia over the last ten years. The 2014 survey was based on 1,000 face-to-face interviews with Cambodian citizens aged 18 and older in 23 provinces (excluding Kep) and Phnom Penh, yielding an estimated margin of error of plus or minus three percent. The survey was commissioned by The Asia Foundation and data was collected by Indochina Research, Phnom Penh.

Among the main survey findings, despite a decade of significant economic growth and poverty reduction, the majority of respondents in the 2014 survey said the country is headed in the wrong direction. Uniquely, the data collection was conducted from May 19 to June 9 after the government crackdown on growing anti-government demonstrations in January 2 and 3, 2014, and before a compromise was reached by the opposition CNRP party and ruling CPP party on July 22, 2014, which ended the opposition's boycott of the national assembly on claims of voter fraud during the 2013 national assembly election. While uncertainty over the direction the country was headed prior to the political settlement is likely to have influenced public opinion, it is important to bear in mind the results of the 2013 national assembly elections marked the biggest shift in voter support away from the ruling party in two decades. The question over what impact the July political settlement has had on the overall national mood has not yet been surveyed. However, the survey findings suggest the July 2014 agreement was popular on at least two accounts: first, the majority of respondents support a constitutional amendment to provide for a "balanced" National Election Committee; second, the majority of respondents believe that electoral reform should take place before elections.

Respondents' personal economic conditions appear to have played a significant factor on views held on the government and the direction the country is headed. At least part of the reason for the dramatic shift in public opinion can be attributed to the rising expectations of a society in a rapid economic transition. In other words, as citizens and consumers, Cambodians are increasingly demanding better performance in both government and private sector service delivery. Quality health care and education have become increasingly essential for continued increases to the country's economic prosperity, particularly felt at the household level, often expressed through the rising expectations of a growing middle class. As the Cambodian economy modernizes, further growth has become increasingly dependent on improved infrastructure and more efficient markets for financial capital, land, and labor. Regulatory functions of the state become more important as household livelihoods become increasingly dependent on off-farm income. With more income and newly emerging disparities between rich and poor, at the same time more Cambodians are being exposed to other countries and the higher standard of services found in those countries.

As Cambodians' economic aspirations have increased, the survey finds that citizens' ability to function within a democracy has significantly improved in the last ten years. For example, virtually all respondents believe that it is okay to take money from political parties but vote for the party they like. Where electoral violence was a widespread concern in 2003, in 2014 Cambodians expressed high degrees of political tolerance following the largely peaceful elections in 2013. However, the survey found general societal trust to be almost non-existent in Cambodia – a startling finding worthy of further investigation. While trust in government institutions was very low, trust appeared to improve significantly with proximity. About half of respondents said people in their neighborhoods are trustworthy.

Cambodian voters continued to be split over the quality of National Assembly elections. The majority of respondents thought the 2013 National Assembly elections were not “free and fair.” The majority of respondents believed there were significant problems in the way elections are conducted. Despite doubts expressed, the majority of respondents believe that voting in the elections can make a difference, again a view positively correlated with income level. However, overall the survey found that respondents' sense of political efficacy had decreased from a decade ago.

The survey results suggest there is broad public support for electoral reform, but considerably less support for holding new elections immediately. “Names lost from the election list” was by far the most common problem cited with 2013 national elections. Nearly all respondents had heard of the National Election Committee (NEC), but just a third were satisfied with its work. In fact, only one in four respondents believed the NEC is free from the influence of political parties. When asked if they preferred the current system with “neutral,” government-appointed commissioners, or a “balanced” commission with equal representation from all parties, an overwhelming majority preferred a “balanced” commission. In fact, four out of five Cambodians preferred the NEC to be independent, regardless of cost.

While equitable access to the media for all political parties does not appear to be an overriding problem for most Cambodians, half of respondents said that they don't feel they have enough information on the day of the election. As such, political parties have a significant voter education challenge in advance of the 2017 Commune Council elections and the 2018 National Assembly elections. Two thirds of the respondents did not know any major differences between the political parties' platforms, or could not articulate a difference. The survey findings suggest that political parties have had limited success in promoting a unique policy platform or development agenda. As with a decade ago, most Cambodians demonstrate awareness of the parties rather than the candidates.

The fact that constituent relations appear to have changed little in the past ten years may be a contributing factor to the low levels of reported knowledge on the elections and party platforms. For example, few respondents could identify any of their province's representatives in the National Assembly. Four out of five Cambodians cannot name their National Assembly representative. Only one out of ten respondents had heard of one of their representatives

visiting their province since the 2013 national elections. In support of these findings, almost half of all respondents hold the view that local government decisions affect their lives more than decisions of the national government. In fact, half of the respondents believe it makes sense to follow the recommendations of local leaders for selecting which candidate to vote for. Unsurprisingly, the majority of respondents (particularly youth) still hold the view of the relationship between government and citizen as being one of parent to child versus a relationship of equals.

Freedom to express political opinion and freedom to associate varied greatly among the respondents depending on the provinces surveyed. Over half of the respondents said they feel free to express political opinions in the area where they live. However, among those who said they were dissatisfied with government performance, this number dropped to two out of five. Similarly two thirds of all respondents said they think people can associate freely in their locality; yet, among respondents who said they were dissatisfied with the performance of government, only half said they think people can associate freely where they live.

The survey finds that there is still a wide gap in attitudes towards women's political participation in Cambodia, demonstrating little change in a decade. Significantly fewer women said they were comfortable expressing political views in public compared to men, despite the fact most respondents said they believed that a woman should make her own choices while voting. Most respondents believe women should be just as active as men in commune councils, yet more Cambodians in 2014 than in 2003 say they would prefer a man to a woman to represent them in the National Assembly. Women were less likely to express willingness to run for elected office, and men were twice as likely as women to have worked for a political party or candidate in previous elections.

Given these findings, the survey offers several notable conclusions for political parties, government, and donors. For political parties, first, given that corruption is perceived as the biggest problem facing Cambodia, party platforms with a strong counter-corruption commitment will broadly appeal to the electorate's desire for change. Second, it is clear that the public favors political decentralization, with very large majorities favor directly elected versus indirectly officials at all levels. Although it is understandable that political parties would prefer to retain control over the selection of officials, there is a huge potential electoral payoff for any party willing to embrace political and fiscal decentralization. Third, although vote buying or gift giving may still be an effective strategy for getting out a party's own supporters, it is clear that in Cambodia it is not effective in changing how voters choose to vote. Parties that wish to attract new voters would be better off spending their resources to develop and publicize programs attractive to the electorate at large.

For government, the survey finds that poverty, unemployment, and associated issues are perceived by respondents to be the biggest problems, particularly at the local level. However, trust in state institutions is very low. Therefore, as a priority, the government should improve access to information and build open, two-way channels of communications with the public. For example, regular meetings with the public at the commune and district level is a promising



channel to build trust, yet such engagement requires active listening and follow up on the part of the government and citizen. A promising model is the Ministry of Interior-supported social accountability framework, which provides tools and procedures adaptable for all line ministries across government and at each sub-national level and national level to improve citizen engagement. Lastly, the government's increased use of information technology will enhance transparency of public information and accountability of public servants at all levels of government, and improve trust and perceptions of institutional integrity.

For donors who are invested in good governance and democratic development, greater attention should be paid to political and financial decentralization. The survey findings suggest that public demand for decentralization is high, which may relate to the fact that, at the local level, the public's ability to hold local government officials accountable is higher than at the central level, even if still limited. Mobilizing around collective interests is challenging in a low trust environment. However, interest in joining in civic activities such as associations is high, according to the survey results. Rather than concentrating resources on Phnom Penh based NGOs, redoubling grassroots efforts to facilitate the development and growth of voluntary associations at the district and commune level donors can better enhance social trust and promote a more representative civil society. However, in doing so, the survey finds that many foreign nations, in particular the United States and China, are perceived as interfering in the internal political affairs of the country. Recognizing that democracy cannot exist in any one-party state, it is important that donors make extra effort to be even-handed in providing support and assistance to all stakeholders in the country's development.



# 1 Introduction

This survey is The Asia Foundation's third national public opinion poll on democracy in Cambodia. The aim of this nationally representative survey, a follow-up to polls conducted in 2000 and 2003, is to assess attitudes and priorities of the voting public that may contribute to or constrain democratic reforms. The 2014 survey repeated a variety of questions from the previous surveys to measure the progress of democratization in Cambodia over the last ten years. The Asia Foundation has offered the ruling party and major opposition party assistance toward their shared objectives of electoral reform. The survey provides detailed information on the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of Cambodian voters in order to take stock of voter education efforts and to contribute to the planning of future electoral reform efforts.

The 2014 survey was based on 1,000 face-to-face interviews with Cambodian citizens aged 18 and older in 23 provinces (excluding Kep) and Phnom Penh between May 19 and June 9, yielding an estimated margin of error of plus or minus three percent. The survey was commissioned by The Asia Foundation and data was collected by Indochina Research, Phnom Penh. The study builds on the findings of an earlier phase of the research, involving in-depth interviews with voters and extensive pre-testing of the questionnaire. This report also references the 2000 and 2003 surveys of the Cambodian public, which consist of 1006 and 1008 interviews respectively.

## 1.1 Context

Since the Paris peace agreement was signed in 1991, Cambodia has successfully conducted five national elections. The last national election was held July 28, 2013. The 2013 election marked the first decline in support in 20 years for Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP) at the ballot box. The results came as a surprise to many, as the ruling party's consolidation of power coincided with growth in garment manufacturing, construction, agriculture, and tourism. Together these sectors have contributed to a halving of poverty in Cambodia in the last decade, and between 2010 and 2013, Cambodia's GDP grew at more than seven percent per year.

Despite this growth, approximately one in five Cambodians lives on less than \$1.25 per day. Over half the population is below the age of 25, and one out of three Cambodian children under the age of five suffers from chronic malnutrition. The World Bank's 2013 Poverty Assessment for Cambodia estimates that a loss of only 1,200 riel of income per day for the 20% of Cambodians just over the poverty line would result in a doubling of the poverty rate. While poverty has been halved in the last decade, the World Bank's estimates show that the pace of poverty reduction in rural areas, where 90% of Cambodia's poverty exists, has slowed since 2009.

Meanwhile as the Cambodian economy modernizes, further growth has become increasingly dependent on improved infrastructure and more efficient markets for financial capital, land, and labor. Quality health care and education have become increasingly essential for continued increases to the country's economic prosperity, particularly felt at the household level, often expressed through the rising expectations of a growing middle class. With more income, more Cambodians are being exposed to other countries and the higher standard of services found in

those countries. As citizens and consumers, Cambodians are increasingly demanding better performance in both government and private sector service delivery.

Against this backdrop, the consolidation of the opposition into the Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP) and the dramatic return of opposition leader Sam Rainsy days before the 2013 election created fertile ground for electoral competition. Out of 6.6 million votes cast, the difference between the ruling CPP party and the CNRP was less than 300,000 votes. The gains for the opposition occurred peacefully, despite claims of widespread voter fraud. These claims were used to justify the opposition's yearlong boycott of the National Assembly, during which time increasingly large-scale, anti-government demonstrations were held, ending in a military crackdown.

For over a decade, international and local citizen observers have been critical of Cambodia's electoral process, in particular election administration, voter registration, media coverage, the use of state resources, and the role of the security forces. Out of a need to reach a political settlement, both ruling and opposition parties agreed to overhaul the electoral system. Agreement on these reforms became part of a package of preconditions that needed to be in place before the opposition party would agree to take its seats in parliament. The parties reached an agreement on July 22, 2014. The central part of the agreement is to make the National Election Committee (NEC) an independent body by constitutional amendment. As of yet, no independent investigation into the 2013 election has taken place.

## 1.2 Key Findings

The key findings of this study, summarized here, provide an analysis of the electoral challenges facing the country, with concluding recommendations for key stakeholders and voter education programs. The summary of the findings is followed by a more in-depth discussion in the succeeding chapters.

### 1.2.1 Perceptions of National and Local Mood and Governance

- The majority of respondents in 2014 said the country is headed in the wrong direction. This marks the most significant shift in the national mood in a decade. The principal reason for this pessimism, as found by the survey, is corruption, followed closely by deforestation and other forms of economic vulnerability. The chief reason given by those who felt the country was headed in a positive direction continued to be the building of infrastructure. Other reasons for positive views included peace and social normalization, but these were less significant factors compared to a decade ago.
- Respondents were more positive about the performance of the national government than about the direction the country is headed. Still, half of the survey respondents said they are dissatisfied with the performance of the national government, and two-thirds of respondents said they don't feel that the national government cares about them.

- Understandably, one's personal economic situation played a significant factor in views of the government and the direction the country is headed. Compared to those who said they were "worse off" than two years ago, respondents who said they were "better off" were almost twice as likely to say that they believe the country is headed in the right direction and to express satisfaction with the job government is doing. Rural respondents, as compared to those living in urban areas, were almost twice as likely to say they were "worse off" compared to two years ago.
- Almost half of all respondents held the view that local government decisions affect their lives more than decisions of the national government. Respondents expressed relatively more positive moods about the direction their commune was headed than the direction of the country as whole. However, factors related to national governance – economic growth, development, and stability – appear to have a significant impact on respondent's views of their local commune.
- Perceptions of political efficacy have decreased from a decade ago. In 2003, almost half of all survey respondents said they believed that they had influence over national government decisions. In 2014, only a third of respondents felt they could have influence over national government decisions. Income appears to be a significant factor. Respondents earning more than US\$500 per month were twice as likely as those earning less than US\$200 per month to say they feel they have influence over decisions of the national government.

### 1.2.2 Quality of National Elections

- With little change from a decade ago, respondents continued to be split over their confidence in the quality of National Assembly elections. The majority of Cambodians believe there are significant problems in the way elections are conducted. "Names lost from the election list" was by far the most common problem cited.
- The majority of respondents thought the 2013 National Assembly elections were "not free and fair." When disaggregated by educational attainment, a university graduate was almost twice as likely someone with no formal schooling to believe the elections were "not free and fair."
- Despite doubts expressed about the quality of National Assembly elections, the majority of Cambodians believe that voting in the elections can make a difference, again a view positively correlated with income level.
- Virtually all respondents believe that it is okay to take money from political parties but vote for the party they like. While "vote buying" is not perceived to be an influencing

factor, money in politics is still perceived to be a significant factor influencing the outcomes of elections in Cambodia.

### 1.2.3 Reform Priorities

- Survey results suggest there is broad public support for electoral reform, but considerably less support for holding new elections immediately. A majority believe reforms need to be passed first.
- Nearly all respondents had heard of the National Election Committee, but just a third were satisfied with its work. Only one in four Cambodians believes the NEC is free from the influence of political parties. When asked if they preferred the current system with “neutral,” government-appointed commissioners, or a “balanced” commission with equal representation from all parties, an overwhelming majority preferred a “balanced” commission. In fact, four out of five Cambodians preferred the NEC to be independent, regardless of cost.
- Proximity also played a role in attitudes toward electoral reforms. Seven out of ten Cambodians support giving more powers to local officials through direct elections. The majority of Cambodians prefer to vote where they are from, even if the majority also live far away from their hometowns.
- While political parties’ access to media does not appear to be an overriding problem for the majority of Cambodians, half of respondents said that they don’t feel they have enough information on the day of the election.

### 1.2.4 Democratic Attitudes, Values, and Behavior

- Overall, Cambodians’ ability to function as citizens of a democracy has significantly improved in the last ten years; however, the majority of Cambodians (particularly youth) still express a paternalistic view of the role of government. Half of the respondents believe it makes sense to follow the recommendations of local leaders in selecting a candidate to vote for.
- Where electoral violence was a widespread concern in 2003, in 2014 Cambodians expressed high degrees of political tolerance following the relatively peaceful elections in 2013. However, freedom to express political opinion and freedom to associate varied greatly across provinces in Cambodia.
- Over half of the survey respondents said they feel free to express political opinions in the area where they live. Among those who said they were dissatisfied with government

performance, this number dropped to two out of five. Women were also significantly less comfortable expressing political views in public.

- Two thirds of all respondents said they think people can associate freely in their locality. Yet, among respondents who said they were dissatisfied with the performance of government, only half said they think people can associate freely where they live.
- The 2014 survey found general societal trust to be extremely low in Cambodia. Nearly all respondents said they believe that most people cannot be trusted, and trust in government institutions is very low. However, trust improved significantly with proximity, with about half of respondents saying people in their neighborhoods are trustworthy.

#### 1.2.5 Women's Political Empowerment

- Gaps in women's political empowerment are persistent in Cambodia. More Cambodians in 2014 than in 2003 say they would prefer a man to a woman to represent them in the National Assembly. However, most respondents believe women should be just as active as men in commune councils.
- Men are twice as likely as women to have worked for a political party or candidate in previous elections. Men are more likely than women to express willingness to run for an elected office. Women are still significantly less likely than men to say they feel comfortable expressing political views in public, despite the finding that most Cambodians say they believe that a woman should make her own choices while voting.

#### 1.2.6 Political Parties and Constituent Relations

- Political parties have a significant voter education challenge in advance of the 2018 National Assembly elections. Two thirds of the public do not know any major differences between the political parties' platforms, or cannot articulate a difference. As with a decade ago, most Cambodians demonstrate awareness of the parties rather than the candidates; however, few Cambodians are able to cite any policy differences between the parties. The 2014 survey findings suggest that political parties have had limited success in promoting a unique policy platform or development agenda.
- Constituent relations appear to have changed little in the past ten years. As before, few Cambodians can identify any of their province's representatives in the National Assembly. Four out of five Cambodians cannot name their National Assembly representative. Only one out of ten respondents had heard of one of their representatives visiting their province since the 2013 national elections.

## 1.3 Recommendations

### 1.3.1 For Political Parties

- Corruption is perceived as the biggest problem facing Cambodia. Including a counter-corruption objective in a political party platform will broadly appeal to the electorate's desire for change. While individual politicians can increase their popularity by leading highly visible counter-corruption campaigns in the run-up to the next national elections, a greater degree of transparency in the conduct of political parties can counter feelings of distrust of political parties, as the survey findings demonstrated.
- At the local level, poverty, unemployment, and associated issues are perceived as the biggest problems. Visible commitment at the local level to addressing the root cause of these issues will likely be highly popular.
- Although vote buying or gift giving may still be an effective strategy for getting out a party's own supporters, it is clear that in Cambodia it is not effective in changing how voters choose to vote. Parties that wish to attract new voters would be better off spending their resources to develop and publicize programs attractive to the electorate at large.
- It is clear that the public favors political decentralization, with very large majorities in favor of directly elected officials at all levels. Although political parties would prefer to retain control over the selection of officials, there is a huge potential electoral payoff for any party willing to embrace political and fiscal decentralization.
- The political parties in Cambodia have failed to differentiate themselves in the public mind, and due to the nature of the electoral system, it is likely that voters associate the parties more with their leaders than with specific programs. Developing a detailed platform that can be distilled into four or five bullet points, to be repeated over and over, will differentiate the parties in the public's mind. Periodic polling will help determine if their messages are sinking in and to gauge their popularity with the general public. These polls will then allow parties to fine-tune their messages as they prepare for the 2018 elections.

### 1.3.2 For the Government

- Trust in state institutions is very low. Improved access to information, transparency of information and two-way channels of communications with the public will improve trust. Regular meetings with the public at the commune and district level is a known channel to build trust.

- Citizen engagement will be improved if the government actively promotes structures for participation. A ready example of this is the Ministry of Interior's efforts to promote social accountability at the commune level. In fact, the Ministry of Interior supported social accountability framework provides tools and procedures adaptable for all line ministries across government at each sub-national level and national level to improve citizen engagement.
- Adopting information technology will enhance transparency of public information and accountability of public servants at all levels of government, thus improve trust and perceptions of institutional integrity.

### 1.3.3 For Civic Educators

- Corruption is perceived as pervasive, and in some cases normal as accountability systems remain weak in Cambodia. Additional research that unpacks citizens' understanding of corruption, would strengthen the ability of civic educators to de-normalize corruption.
- Negative political consequences for institutional corruption will encourage parties to address this issue. Therefore, supporting efforts for citizens to publicly indicate their refusal to vote for known corrupt individuals or parties will contribute to curbing corruption.
- Very few understand the role of the National Assembly and its influence over policy decisions. Informing the public of the role of the National Assembly, civic educators should also teach people how to approach their individual representatives, how to voice their concerns and demands, and how to press their representatives to deliver on promised results. Representatives who are concerned that they might be voted out of office, will have greater incentives to respond to problems in a timely manner.
- Providing information on the activities of the Assembly and of individual members will enhance accountability and improve the weak accountability system currently in use. Improving citizens understanding of how national policy links to commune level decision-making, will also help to support greater accountability of the National Assembly.
- Understanding of the meaning of democracy is weak. Many have a paternalistic view of the role of government, and most perceive democracy as associated with rights or freedoms rather than self-government. While rights are an important factor in a functioning democracy, it is self-government or rule by the people that is its defining characteristic. Greater focus on self-government, achieved through citizens' direct



experience of holding local government accountable, will better prepare public understanding and better set public expectations for engaging in democratic processes.

#### 1.3.4 For Donors

- Many foreign nations, and in particular the United States and China, are perceived as interfering in the internal political affairs of the country. Recognizing that democracy cannot exist in any one-party state, it is important that donors make extra effort to be even-handed in providing support and assistance to all parties in the country.
- Increasing political and financial decentralization will serve to improve governance, accountability, and representation, and to reduce political conflict. A development or democratization strategy that includes support for decentralization will be better aligned with public demand and better able to capitalize on instrumental factors for greater public sector accountability.
- Societal trust is very low. Membership in voluntary associations in Cambodia is also very low, but interest in joining such associations is high. Rather than concentrating resources on Phnom Penh based NGOs, redoubling grassroots efforts to facilitate the development and growth of voluntary associations at the district and commune level will better enhance social trust and promote civil society.

### 1.4 Methodology

#### 1.4.1 Questionnaire Preparation

The Asia Foundation developed the questionnaire and the Indochina Research team translated all sections of the questionnaire into Khmer, including the show cards (for questions where the respondent is shown response options). Specific sections of the questionnaire were tested by Indochina Research through in-depth interviews to get a better understanding on how to translate certain concepts and how applicable some of the questions were to the local context. After this phase, the survey was tested with 13 randomly selected respondents, in Phnom Penh. This pilot data was not included in the final sample.

#### 1.4.2 Quantitative face-to-face interviews with target citizens

After finalizing the questionnaire, the quantitative survey was conducted from 19th May 2014 to 9th June 2014 through random face-to-face interviews around the country which allowed us to quantify information related to democracy and election development in Cambodia.

For a nationally representative sample, 1,000 face-to-face were interview were conducted yielding a +/- 3% margin of error. Respondents were randomly selected per province in proportion to the population size of each region and province. The sample was selected through

a two-stage process. In the first stage, interviewing points (IP) were randomly allocated among the provinces in proportion to the population. 8 interviews per IP were conducted. During the second stage, households and target respondents were randomly selected to ensure every eligible respondent (adult Cambodians aged 18 years or older) in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed, by using systematic random selection for household and Kish Grid for target respondent within the household.

Systematic random sampling was used to decide on intervals for household selection which ensured the sample's representativeness of the selected area. Then, to start fieldwork, we selected interview points which could be a household at the beginning of a village, a temple or a main road in the village. We then picked a random number between 1 and 10 in order to identify the first household; the next household was selected by determining the sampling interval (Household selection interval = Number of households divided by sample size). And selecting every Nth household thereafter in the randomly selected blocks/areas in each village.

Interviewers walked down streets selecting households on their right hand side according to the sampling interval. Where possible, interviewers changed sides of the street at the end of a block and continued at the same interval going in the opposite direction by still keeping the right hand side. There was a flexibility to go to the next household in case the selected household could not be successfully interviewed or did not meet our quota or screening criteria. The same rule applies in the case of not being able to reach the quota within the same block.

The respondent of 18 years and over was purposively selected and Kish Grid was used to select a random person from the household where more than one person was over 18 years old. In case, the respondent is not available to do the interview an appointment was made at least 2 times to revisit the household. In the case that the respondent was still not available at the time of the revisit the next household was chosen for the next interview.

*Note: Households were substituted, no respondents were substituted. It was not acceptable, for example, to substitute a spouse, parent, child, sibling (or domestic worker or visitor) in the same household for a selected respondent who happened not to be at home at the time.*

Interviews were conducted in 23 of Cambodia's 24 provinces. The only exception was Kep, which has less than 1% of the country's population, and therefore did not receive any interview point when they were proportionally distributed. In other locations, every voter in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed. For more information of sample breakdown, please refer to the table 1 below:

**Note:**

*Areas were defined into three categories:*

- *Urban, which we defined as the main town/city of the province/city. Moreover, all districts in Phnom Penh were considered urban*

- *Rural, which we defined as areas that were not the main town/city of the district or the province*
- *The number of interviews per interview point was always 8 respondents.*

Table 1: Sample breakdown by province

Province/City	# Interview Points	Total sample
Bantey Meanchey	6	48
Battambang	10	80
Kampong Cham	15	120
Kampong Chhnang	4	32
Kampong Speu	7	56
Kampong Thom	6	48
Kampot	5	40
Kandal	12	96
Koh Kong	1	8
Kratie	3	24
Mondul Kiri	1	8
Phnom Penh	12	96
Preah Vihear	2	16
Prey Veng	9	72
Pursat	4	32
Ratanak Kiri	1	8
Siem Reap	8	64
Preah Sihanouk	2	16
Stung Treng	1	8
Svay Rieng	5	40
Takeo	8	64
Oddar Meanchey	2	16
Pailin	1	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>1000</b>

#### 1.4.3 Data collection summary

The project team for the data collection was composed of a Team Leader, Operations Director, Account Manager/Technical Advisor, Translator, Project Manager, 2 Fieldwork Supervisors, 2 Team Leaders, and 3 Internal Coders. 4 teams of interviewers (13 in total) were mobilized to cover the 23 locations targeted for sampling. 1 team leader was assigned to each team of 2 to 4 interviewers. Fieldwork took 22 days, including travel time to survey locations, fieldwork supervision and quality control. The average amount of interviews per day was 4. With 13 interviewers and team leaders, no one interviewer conducted more than 4% of the total number of target completed interviews (4 questionnaires per day). The questionnaire took approximately 45 minutes to 60 minutes to complete with one respondent.

#### 1.4.4 Quality control

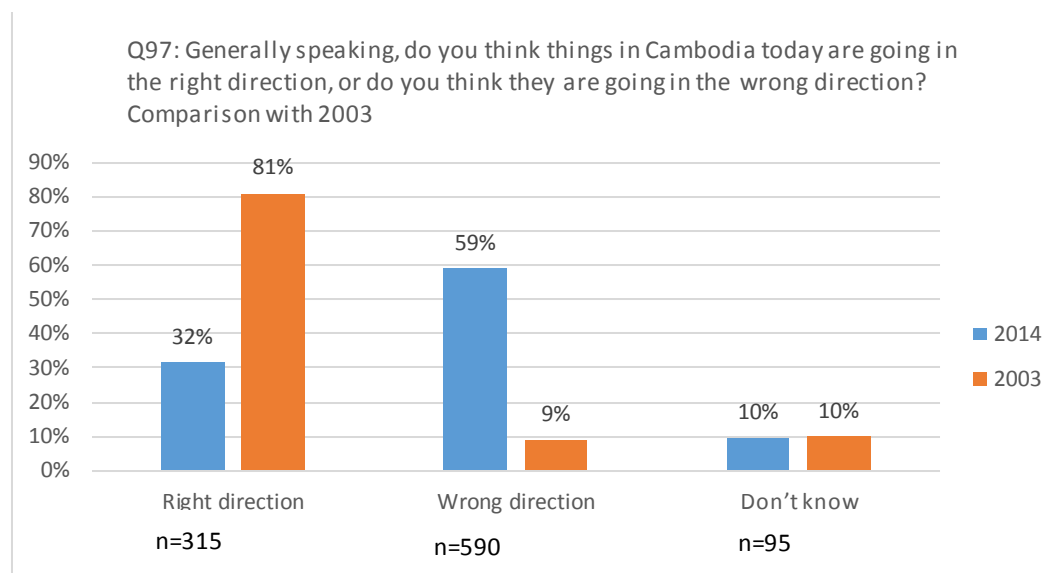
The data collection tasks complied with Esomar standards for good practice (Esomar is an international research quality trademark). A wide range of quality control procedures were deployed to ensure the quality of the data collection process throughout the duration of the project. The assigned Data Collection Project Manager works closely with the Client Service Team during set up and implementation of the study. The fieldwork team (managed by the Project Manager) is divided into 2 sub-teams: the Enumeration Team, in charge of data collection (interviewers and team leaders); and the Quality Control Team, in charge of supervising and implementing all quality control procedures (team leaders, fieldwork supervisors, project manager, operations director and client service teams)

#### 1.4.5 International Code of Conduct: Anonymity of Respondents

As per ESOMAR ICC to which Indochina Research complies, respondent's anonymity must be strictly preserved. If the respondent on request from the researcher is given permission for data to be passed on in a form which allows that respondent is personally identified then (i) the respondent must first have been told to whom the information would be supplied and the purposes for which it will be used, and (ii) the researcher must ensure that the information will not be used for any non-research purpose and that the recipient of the information has agreed to conform to the requirements of this Code.

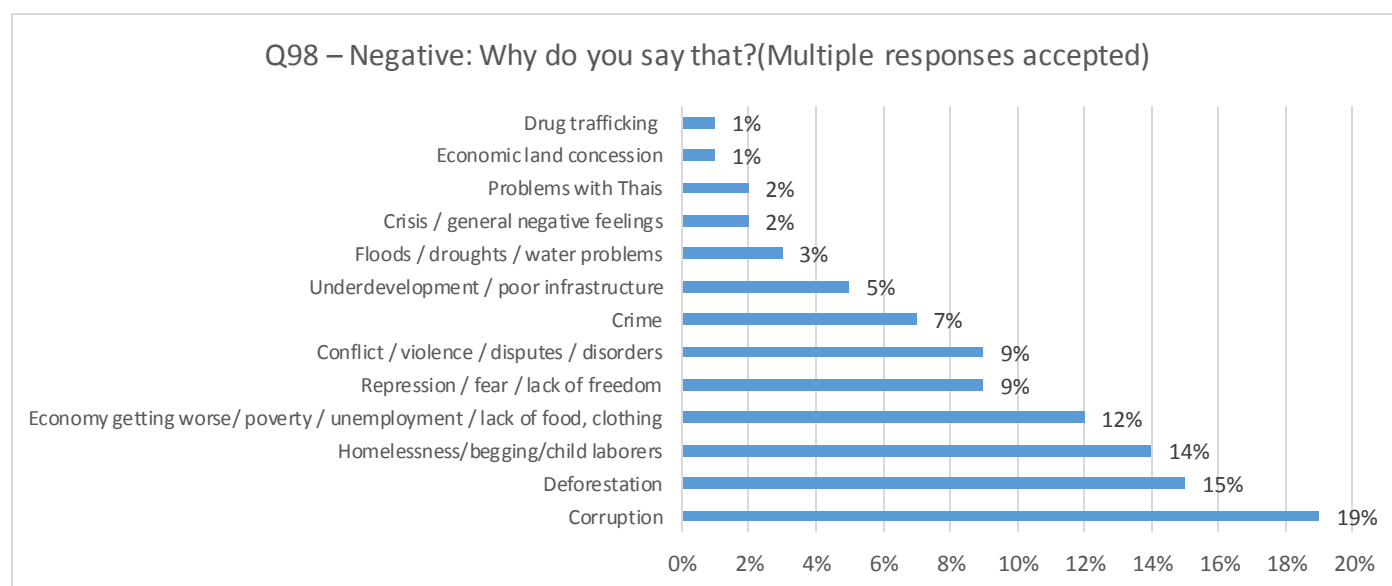
## 2 National Mood

### 2.1 Direction of the Country



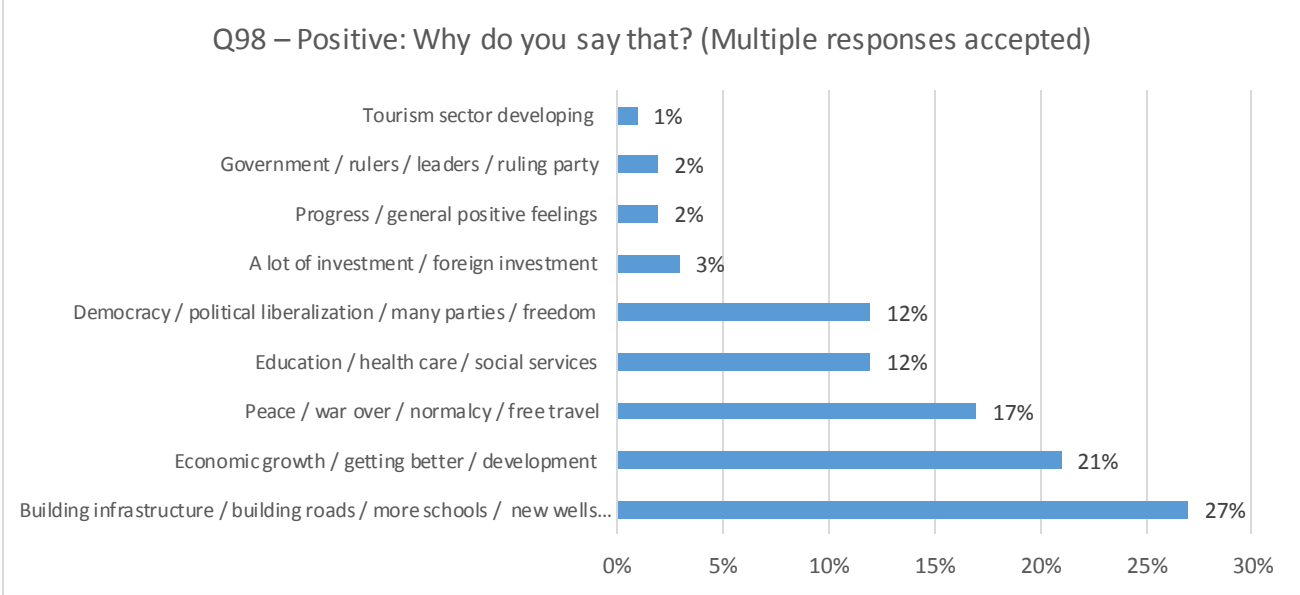
The study found that 59% of respondents in 2014 think things are going in the wrong direction in Cambodia. Compared to public opinion surveys since 2003, before the 2013 National Assembly elections, the survey findings represent the most significant shift in national mood in a decade. The precipitous negative shift in mood corresponds with key challenges Cambodia faces today, as further examined below.

### 2.2 Direction of the Country – Negative Views



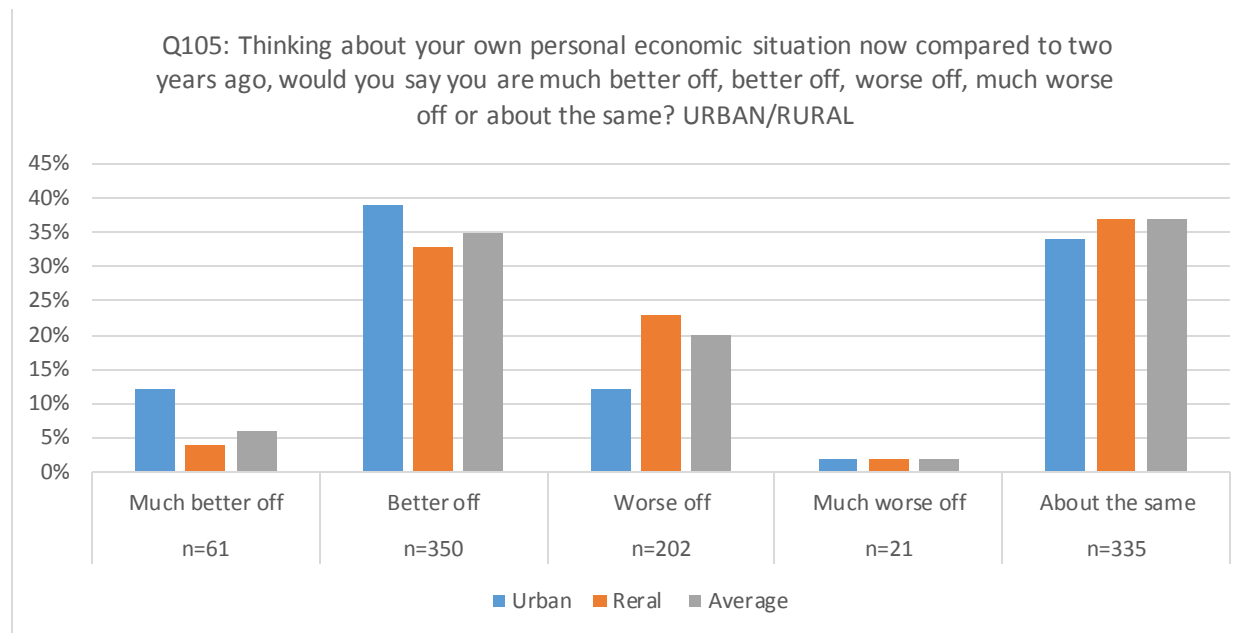
Respondents expressing a negative outlook on the country gave various reasons for their views, but corruption, deforestation, and economic issues were predominant factors in a general sense of vulnerability. Of the 59% of Cambodians who said they felt the country was headed in the wrong direction, 19% cited “corruption.” In its report, “Where Have All The Poor Gone? Cambodia Poverty Assessment 2013,” the World Bank estimates that a loss of only 1,200 riel of income per day for the 20% of Cambodians just over the poverty line would result in a doubling of the poverty rate. While poverty has been halved in the last decade, the World Bank estimates that the pace of poverty reduction in rural areas, where 90% of Cambodia’s poverty exists, has slowed to less than one percent per annum. In line with this, 26% of respondents with a negative outlook cited economic factors: “homelessness / begging / child laborers” (14%), or “the economy getting worse” (12%). Rural respondents were more likely than urban respondents to cite economic reasons for their negative views, suggesting that the economic benefits of growth over the last decade were not evenly distributed across the country.

### 2.3 Direction of the Country – Positive Views



Among the 32% of respondents who said they felt the country was headed in the right direction, a quarter (27%) cited “building infrastructure,” and a fifth (21%) credited “economic growth.” These findings correspond with other studies. Over the last decade, Cambodia cut its poverty rate in half, making it one of the best performers worldwide in poverty reduction. According to the World Bank’s 2013 poverty assessment report, increased rice production and rising prices, along with better roads connecting farmers to their markets, have been important factors in reducing poverty, confirming the most common reasons for optimism – infrastructure and economic growth – cited by participants in this survey. It is surprising that Cambodians are not more positive about the direction of the country. It is possible that positive economic growth has continued so long that it is now normalized and expected, and other concerns and issues can rise more readily to the surface.

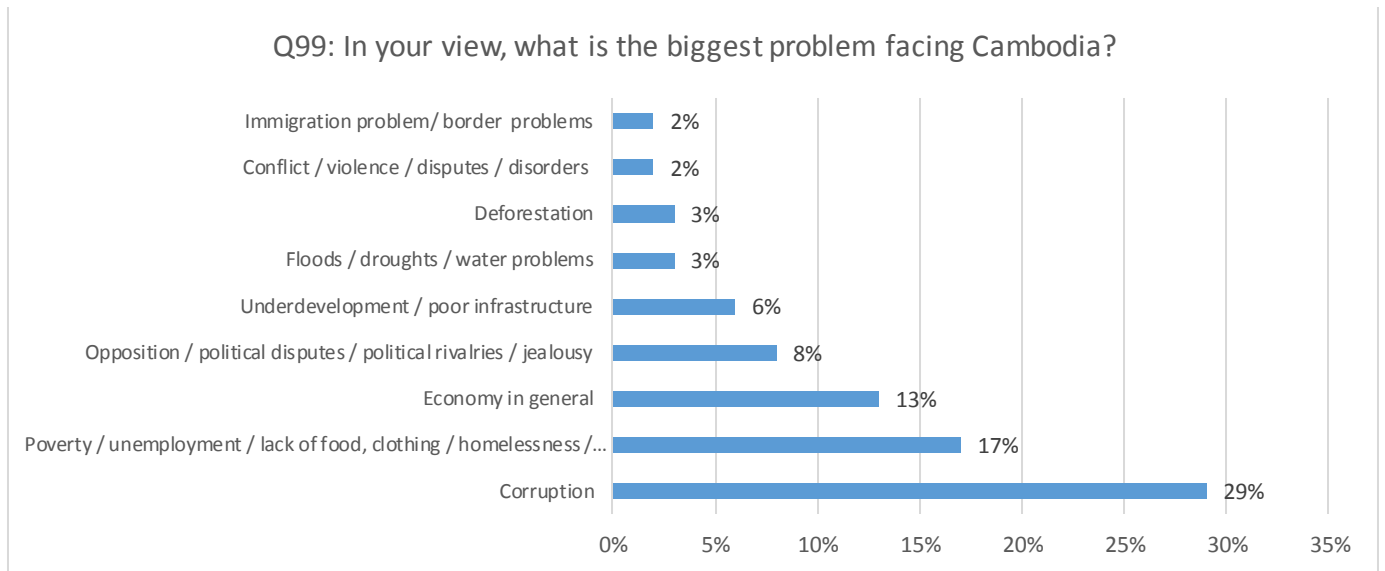
## 2.4 Personal Economic Assessment



Compared to those who say they are “worse off” than two years ago, respondents who say they are “better off” are almost twice as likely to say they believe the country is headed in the right direction, and to express satisfaction with the job government is doing. Two out of five respondents (41%) believe that their economic situation has improved in the last two years, regardless of whether they are urban or rural. An almost equal proportion (37%) believe that their economic situation is about the same. Very few (two percent) said they were “much worse” off. Yet one fifth of respondents said they were “worse off” in their own personal economic situation than two years ago. Differences in respondents’ personal economic assessments did emerge between those living in urban and rural areas. Those living in rural areas were almost twice as likely to say that they are economically “worse off,” and three times less likely to say that they are “much better off.” Again, these findings suggest that a slowdown in poverty reduction is felt more by people living in rural areas. In addition to income levels, one of the most prominent factors correlating with perceptions of better personal economic situation is education. Respondents with higher education levels reported being better off economically. Forty-one percent of respondents completing at least some secondary school reported being “better off,” compared to just 25% of respondents completing only some primary school.



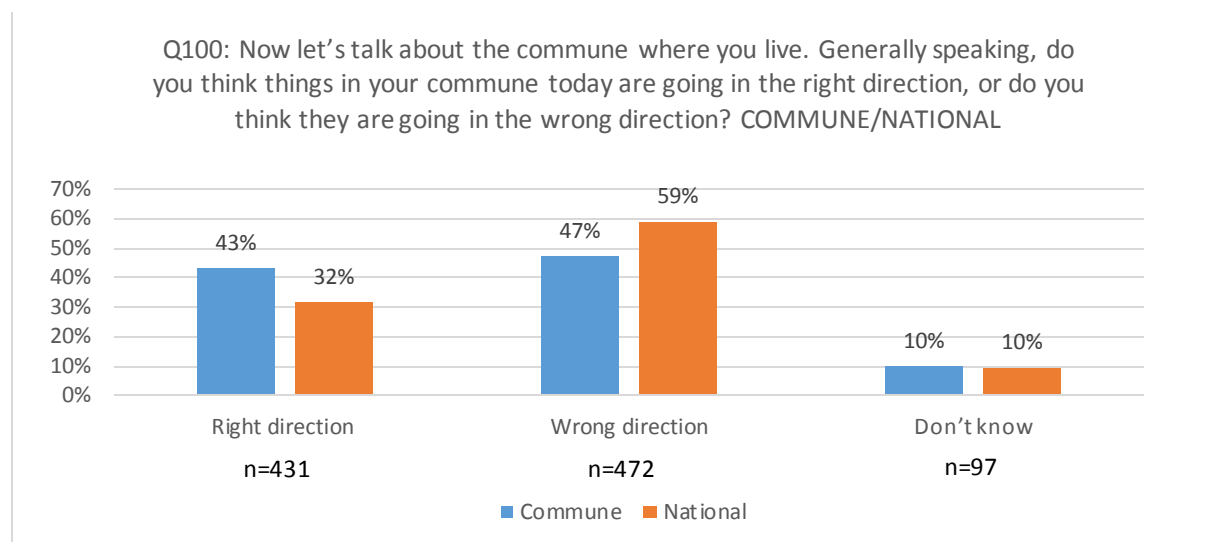
## 2.5 Cambodia's Biggest Problems: National



“Corruption” is the biggest single problem facing the country, according to 29% of all respondents. Respondents who cited “corruption” as the biggest problem were more than twice as likely to say the country was headed in the wrong direction and to be dissatisfied with government performance. As in Q98 – Negative, “reasons why Cambodia is headed in the wrong direction,” responses to Q99 relate most significantly to economic vulnerability. In addition to “corruption,” 17% of respondents said “poverty / unemployment / lack of food,” and 13% said “economy in general.”

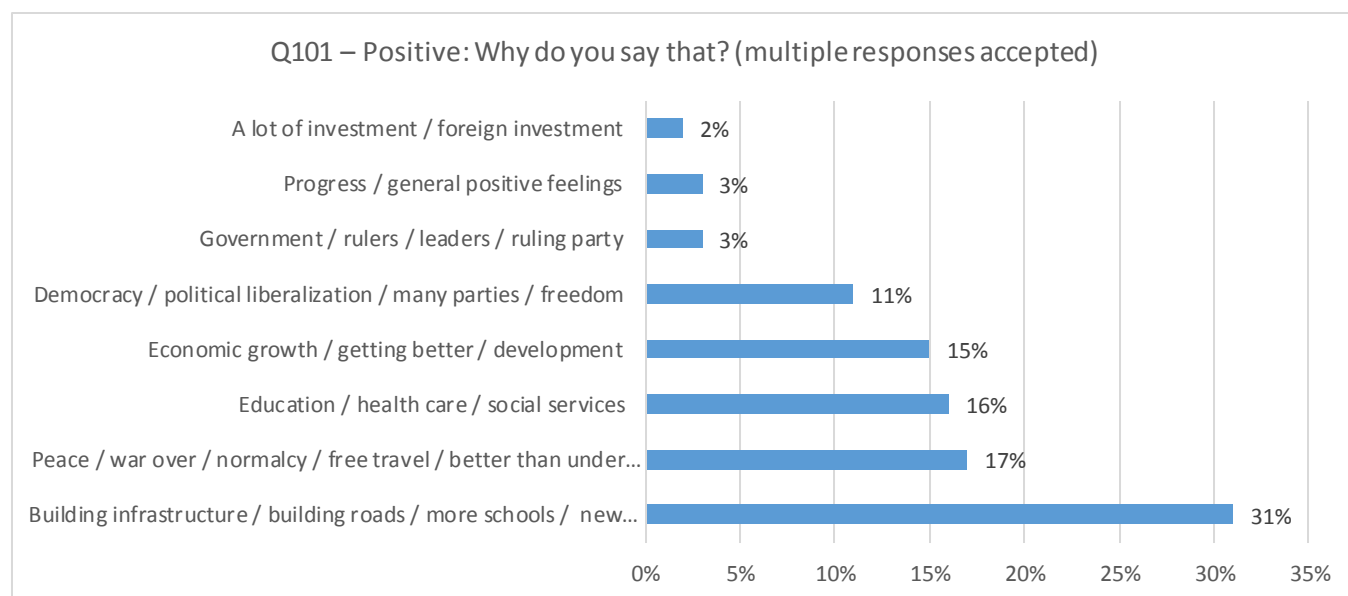
### 3 Local (Commune) Mood

#### 3.1 Direction of the Commune



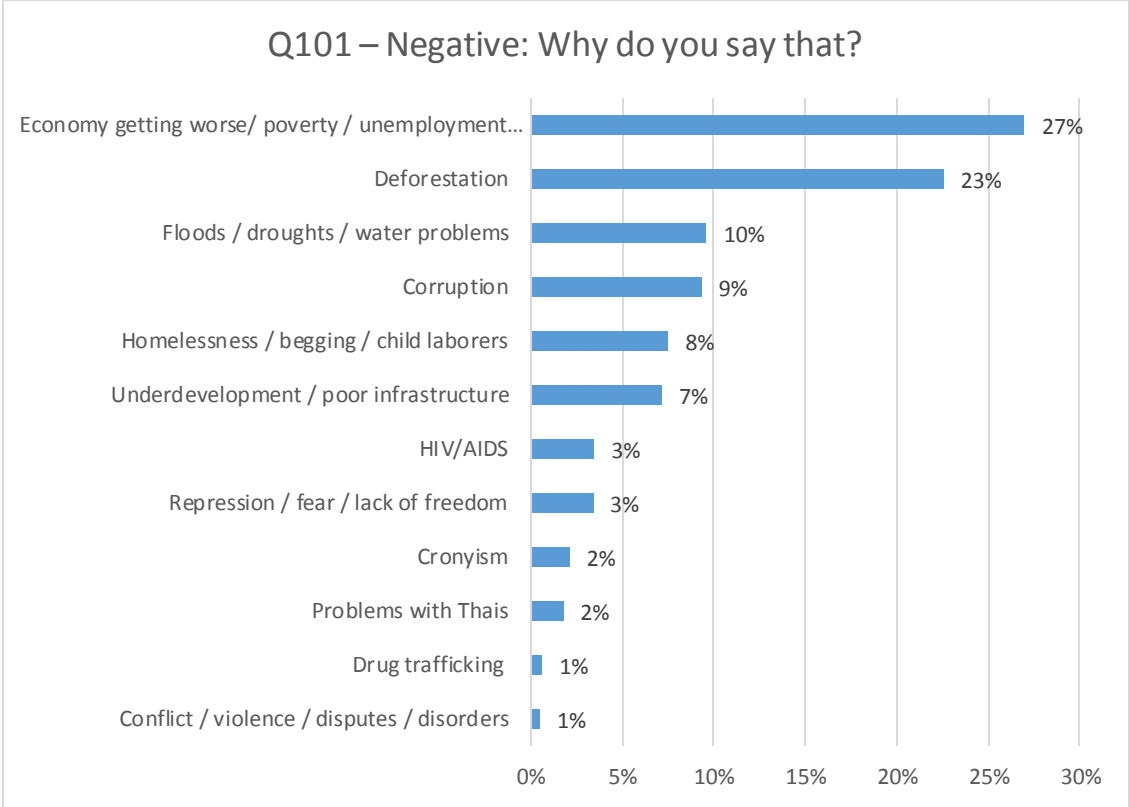
Compared to the national mood (Q97), respondents expressed more positive moods about the direction of their commune. Forty-three percent said they believe their commune is headed in the right direction, compared to only 32% who said they believe the country is headed in the right direction. This finding corresponds with the opinions expressed in Q54 and Q55, which show that respondents feel more trusting towards individuals within their locality than towards individuals in the nation at large.

#### 3.2 Direction of the Commune – Positive Views



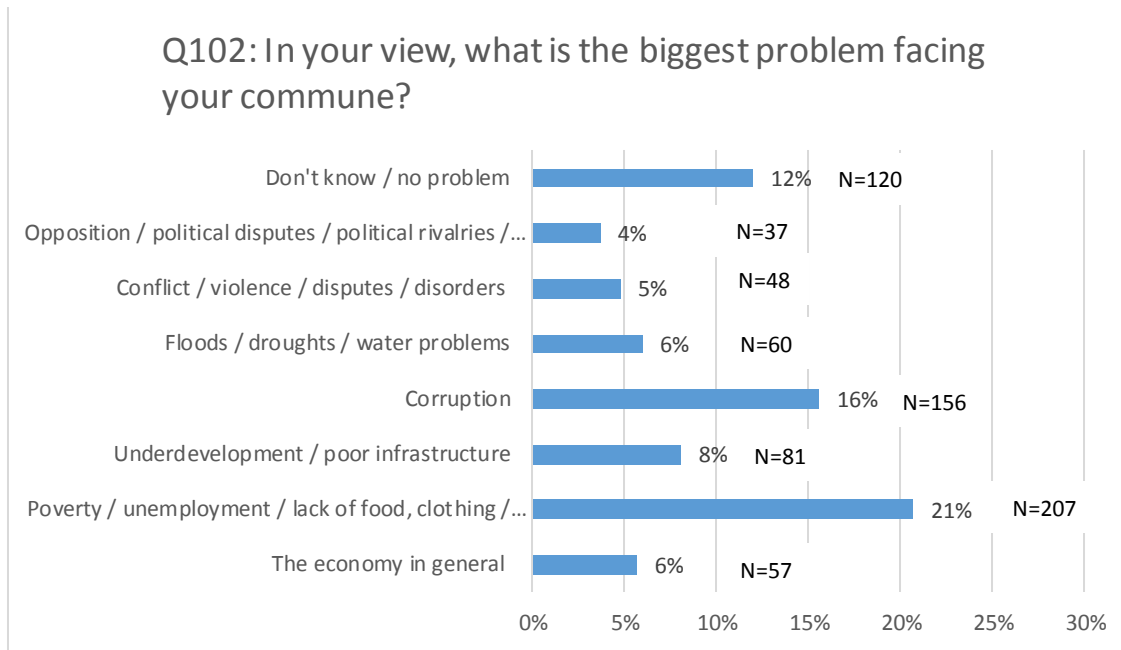
Factors related to national governance – economic growth, development, and stability – appear to have a significant impact on respondents’ positive views of their local commune. A third (31%) of all reasons given for positive views of the direction of the commune were related to improvements in infrastructure: “building infrastructure,” “building roads,” “more schools,” “new wells,” “irrigation,” etc. Sixteen percent of reasons given for having positive views on the direction of the commune were related to improving public services in “education,” “health care,” and “social services.” An almost equal proportion of responses (15%) were associated with “economic growth” and “development.” In addition to education and economic factors, positive views of the direction of the commune were associated with stability, including “peace,” “war over,” “normalcy,” “free travel,” and “better than under Pol Pot” (17%).

### 3.3 Direction of the Commune – Negative Views



Negative views of the direction of the commune were most frequently related to economic factors (27%). How much control the commune has over these factors was not tested in the survey, but as with positive factors influencing the mood of the commune, factors related to national governance – such as poverty – appear to have an overriding impact. It is worth noting that even the issue of “deforestation,” which was often cited (21%), involves both national and local factors that are often inseparable.

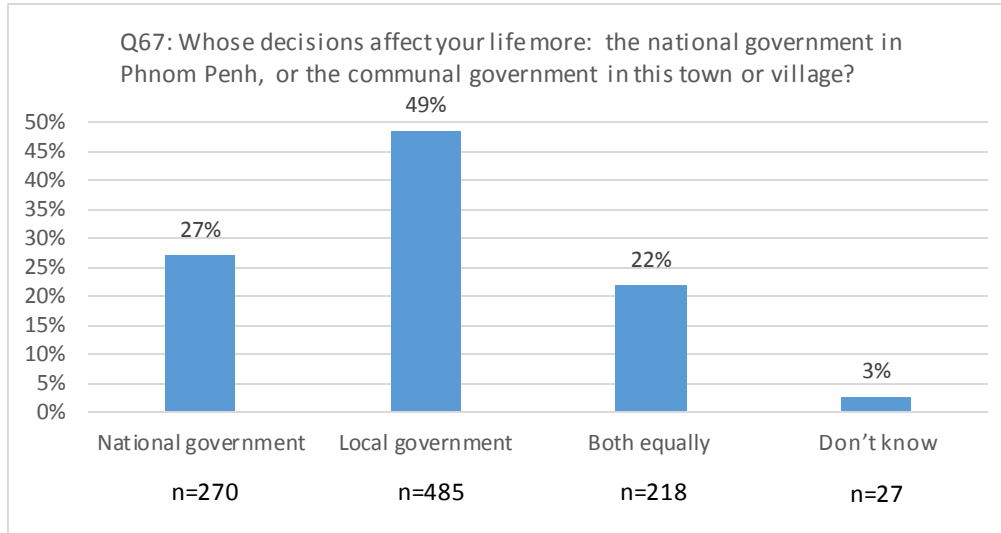
### 3.4 Cambodia's Biggest Problems: Commune



Factors outside of the commune appear to have a big impact on perceptions of the biggest problems in the commune. Half of respondents (51%) cited socio-economic issues as the biggest problems facing their commune, including “underdevelopment,” “unemployment,” “corruption,” and “the economy.” Again, since commune authorities have little influence over revenue collection and the amount of public spending in their locale, factors related to national governance appear to have a significant impact on these negative views of the commune. Interestingly, respondents did not include issues directly related to “deforestation,” despite the fact that in Q101 “deforestation” was the most often cited reason for the view that the commune was headed in the wrong direction.

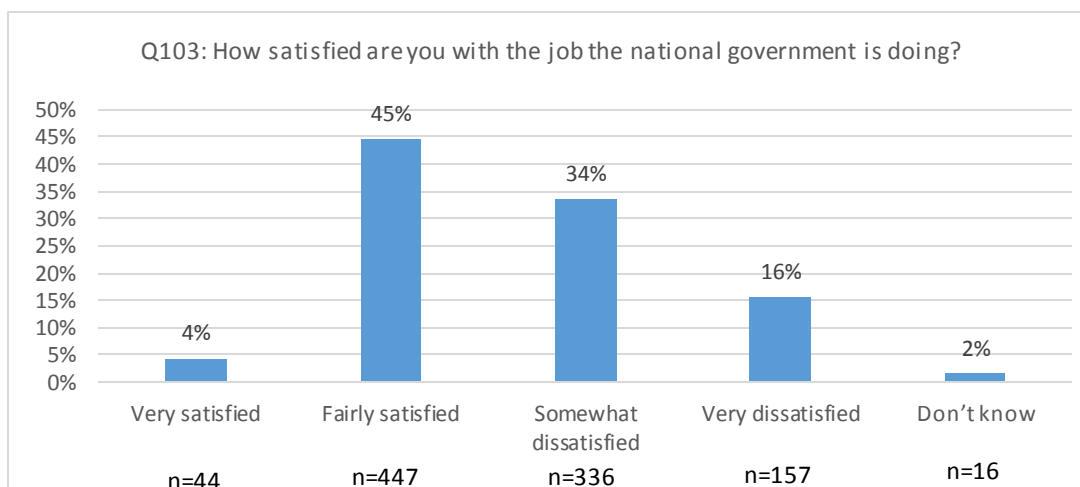
## 4 Attitudes towards National and Local Government

### 4.1 Relative Importance of National versus Local Government

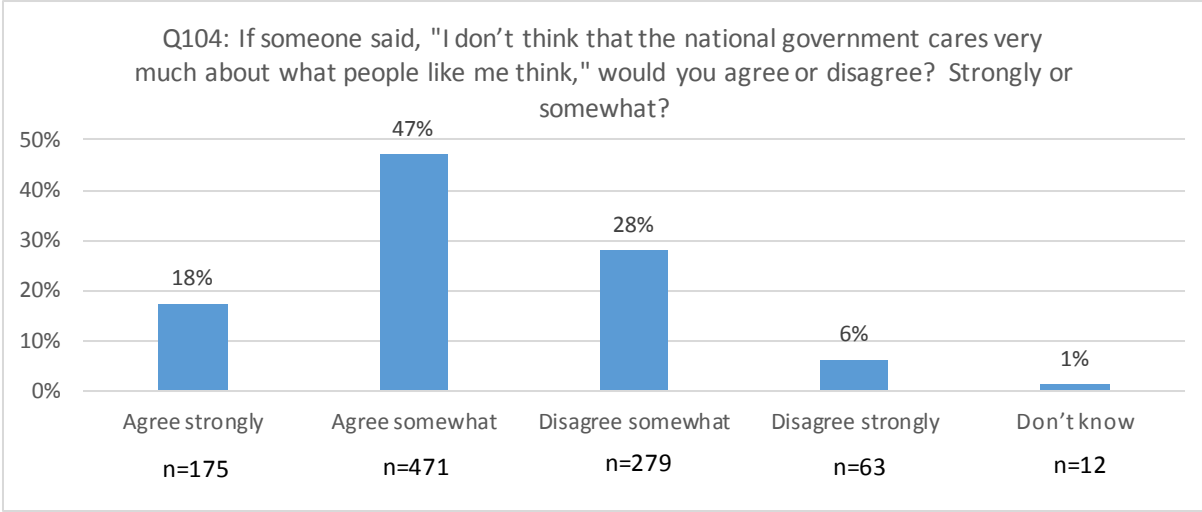


Many Cambodians (49%) hold the view that local government decisions affect their lives more than national government decisions. It seems paradoxical, then, that many of the critical problems cited by respondents relate to national policy decisions and fall largely outside the control of commune. Only 27% of respondents said that the national government affects their lives more than the local government. One possible explanation for this paradox is that citizens lack awareness of the national government's decisions, and so do not understand how those decisions affect their lives. Also, citizens live in close proximity to local government, which may contribute to an unrealistic perception of where decision-making actually occurs on critical issues that affect them.

### 4.2 Satisfaction: National Government

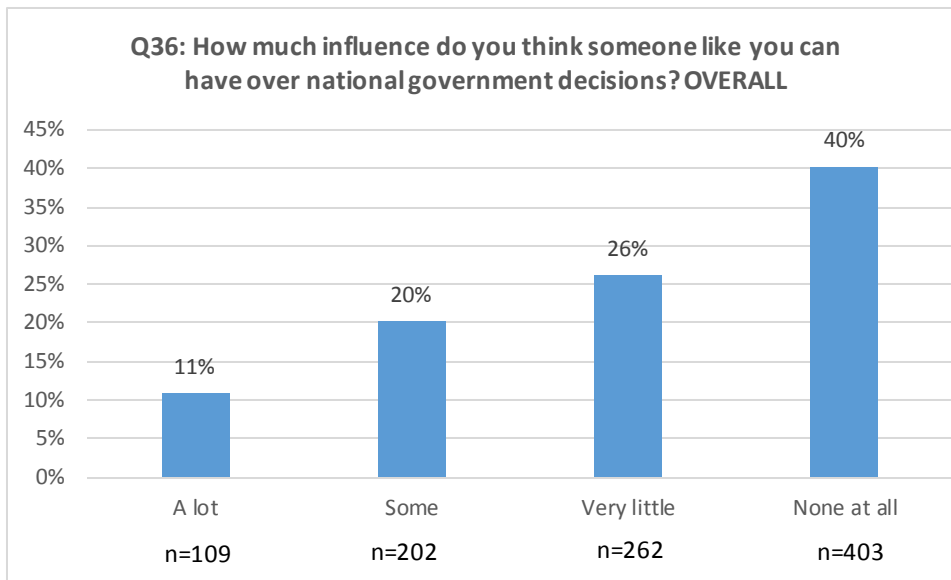


Cambodians are almost equally split in their opinion of the performance of the national government. When asked, “How satisfied are you with the job the national government is doing?” (Q103), about half expressed positive views (“very satisfied,” four percent, and “fairly satisfied,” 45%) and another half expressed negative views (“somewhat dissatisfied,” 34%, and “very dissatisfied,” 16%). By contrast, just one third of respondents said the country was headed in the right direction when questioned on the national mood (Q97). Thus, perceptions of the performance of the national government do not appear to be the only factor affecting the national mood.

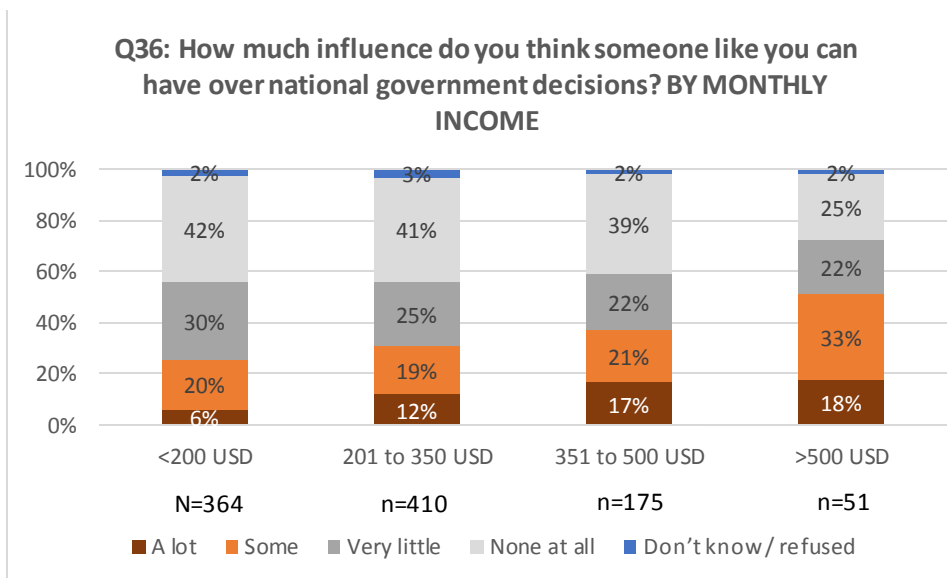


Two thirds of respondents said they don't feel that the national government cares about them. In Q104, 65% of respondents said, “I don't think that the national government cares very much about what people like me think.” Eighteen percent said they “agree strongly,” and 47% said they “agree somewhat.” Even among the 49% who said they feel satisfied with the performance of the national government, 61% agreed with the statement, “I don't think the national government cares very much about what people like me think,” with 56% agreeing “somewhat” and five percent agreeing “strongly.”

### 4.3 Citizen Efficacy: National Government



Given the largely negative national mood, it is important to know whether citizens feel that they can effect change. Overall, the degree of perceived influence over national government decisions is rather low. The survey found that just 31% believe they can have some or a lot of influence over national level decision-making, a substantial decrease from the 49% in our 2003 survey. Two thirds of survey respondents (66%) think that they have very little or no influence over decisions of the national government.

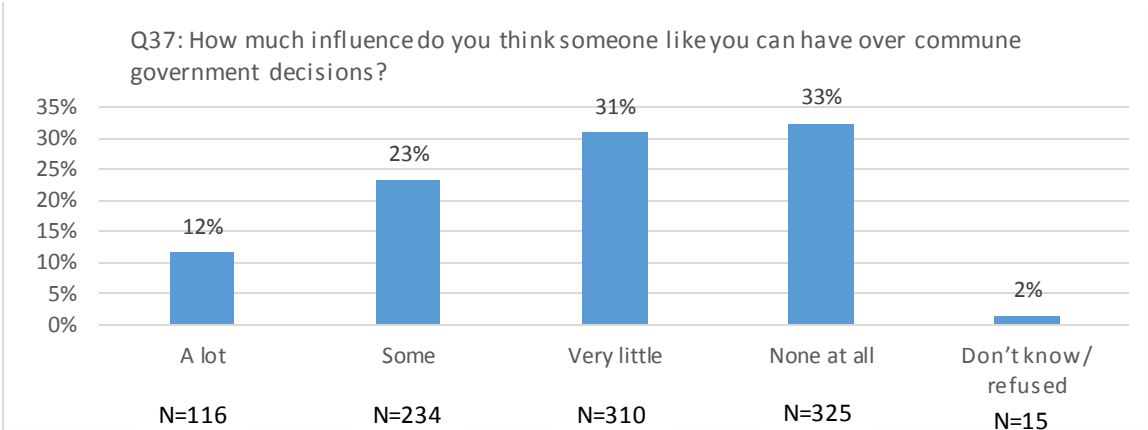


The degree of perceived influence over national government decisions increases considerably with increases in income, however. Respondents earning more than US\$500 per month were



twice as likely as those earning less than US\$200 per month to say they feel they have some or a lot of influence over decisions of the national government. Again this finding supports the view that those who are more economically vulnerable have more negative outlooks on the state and direction of the country.

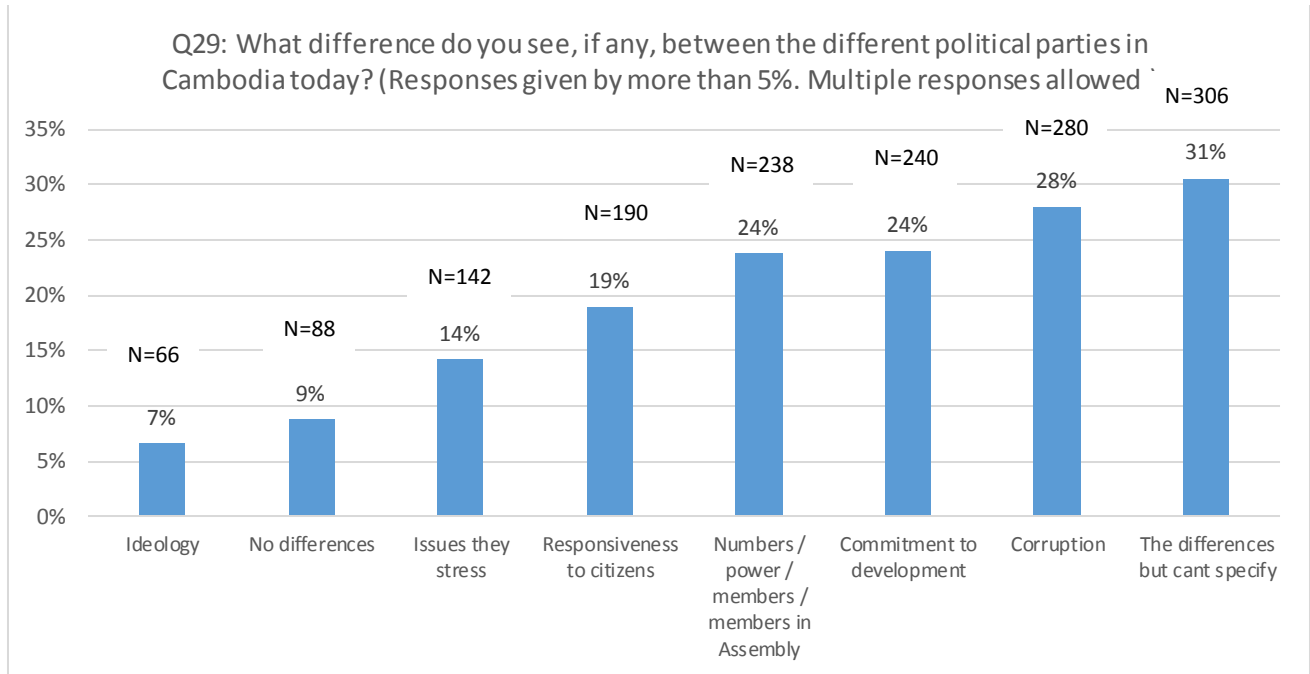
#### 4.4 Citizen Efficacy: Commune Government



Citizens’ estimation of their own political efficacy is also low at the commune level. Just 35% believe they can have some or a lot of influence over commune level decision-making. Again, income seems to play a role. Forty-nine percent of those earning more than US\$500 per month said they believe they can have some or a lot of influence over commune decision-making. In contrast, only 32% of those earning less than US\$200 per month said they believe they can have some or a lot of influence over commune decision-making.

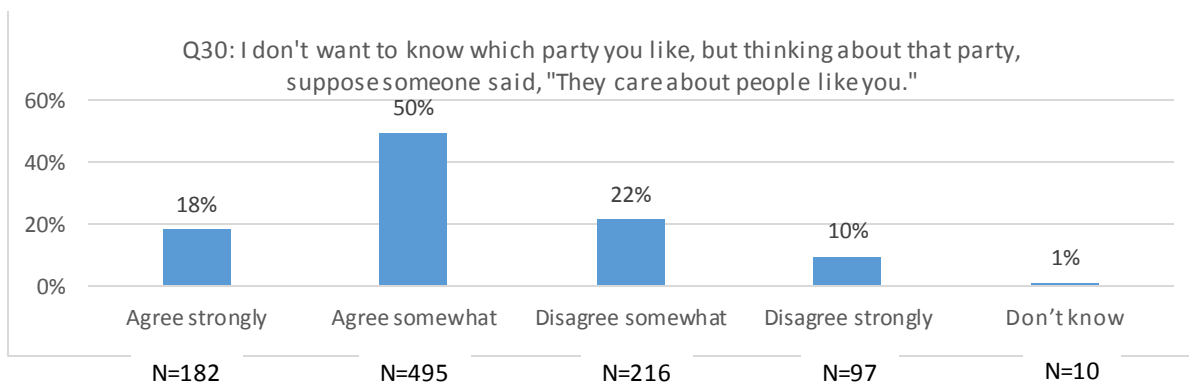
## 5 Quality of Representation

### 5.1 Differences Between Political Parties

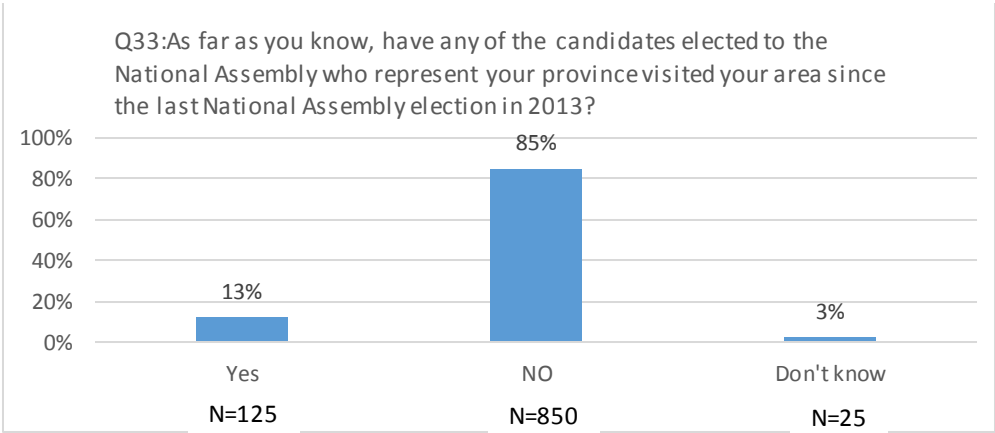


Survey findings suggest that political parties face a significant voter education challenge in advance of the 2018 elections. Responses indicate that political parties have had limited success in promoting their unique policy platforms or development agendas. Q29 (multiple responses possible) asked, “What difference do you see, if any, between the political parties in Cambodia today?” Thirty-one percent of respondents said, “There are differences, but can’t specify”; 14% said “issues they stress” (but could not specify); nine percent said “no differences”; and seven percent said “ideology” (but did not specify). Among differences respondents could identify were “corruption” (28%), “commitment to development” (24%), “numbers/power/ members in parliament” (24%), and “responsiveness to citizens” (19%).

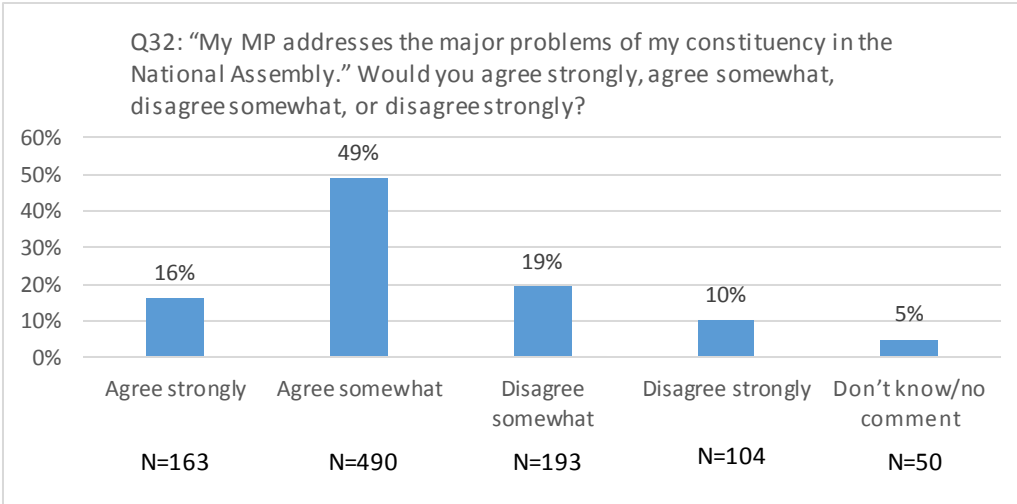
### 5.2 Constituent Relations



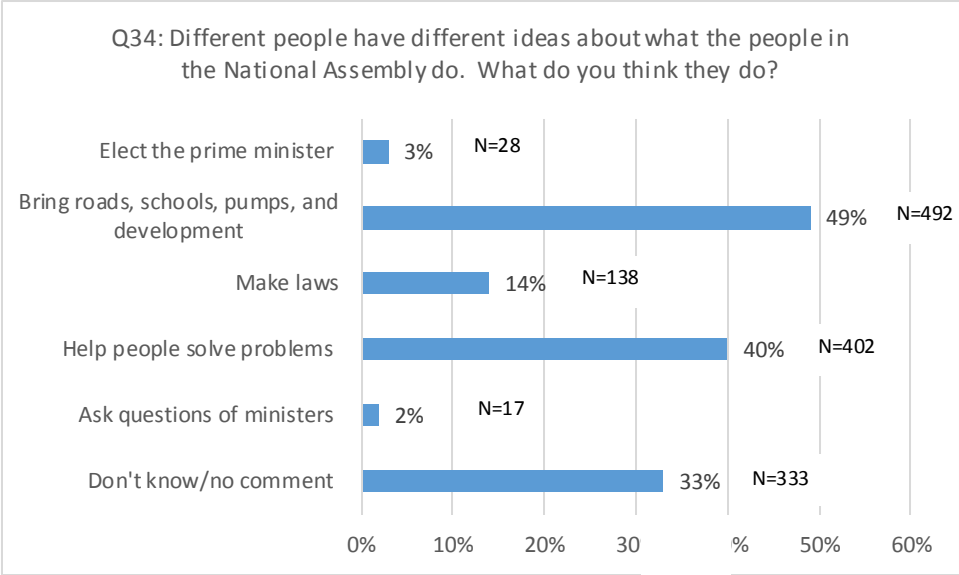
The survey results suggest that the majority of Cambodians (68%) feel that political parties care about them, but this finding is correlated strongly with people’s satisfaction with the performance of the government. Among those who said they are satisfied with the performance of the government (49%), 63% said they agree that their political party cares about people like them. Among those who said they are dissatisfied with the performance of government (50%), only 37% agree that their political party cares about people like them.



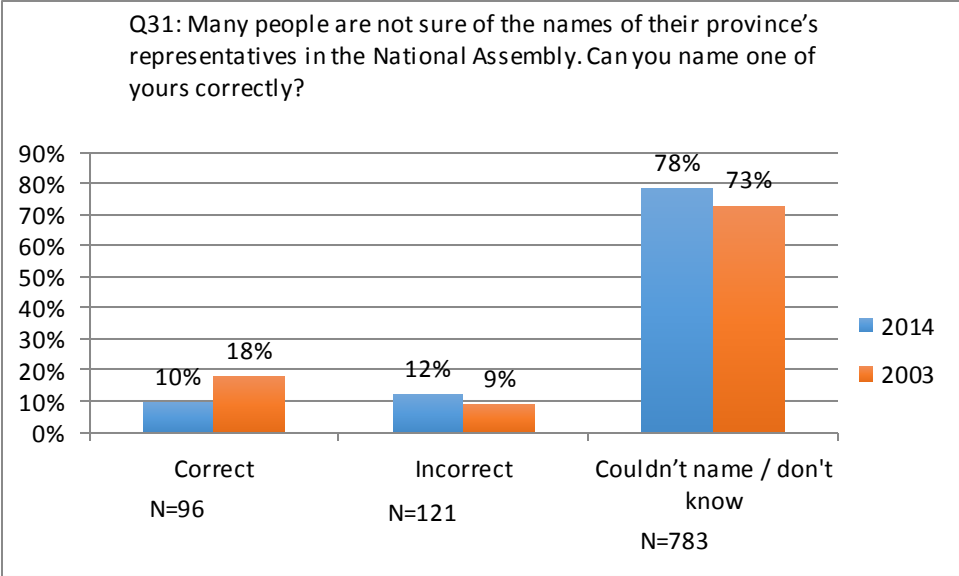
Just 13% of respondents had heard of one of their elected representatives visiting their province since the 2013 national elections. This finding suggests that many Cambodians feel that national government officials, even when perceived to be doing a good job, are disconnected from ordinary citizens. This finding supports the view that further devolution of authority would likely receive popular support.



Regardless of whether they know who he or she is, most people (65%) said they believe their MP addresses the major problems in their constituency in the National Assembly. Whether responses were aspirational or more descriptive was not ascertained by the survey.



Almost half of the respondents (49%) said they believe the members of the National Assembly make decisions largely related to the provision of infrastructure. A third of all respondents said they do not know, or had no response. Just 14% were aware of the lawmaking function of the National Assembly, and only two percent mentioned the accountability mechanism, “ask questions of ministers.”



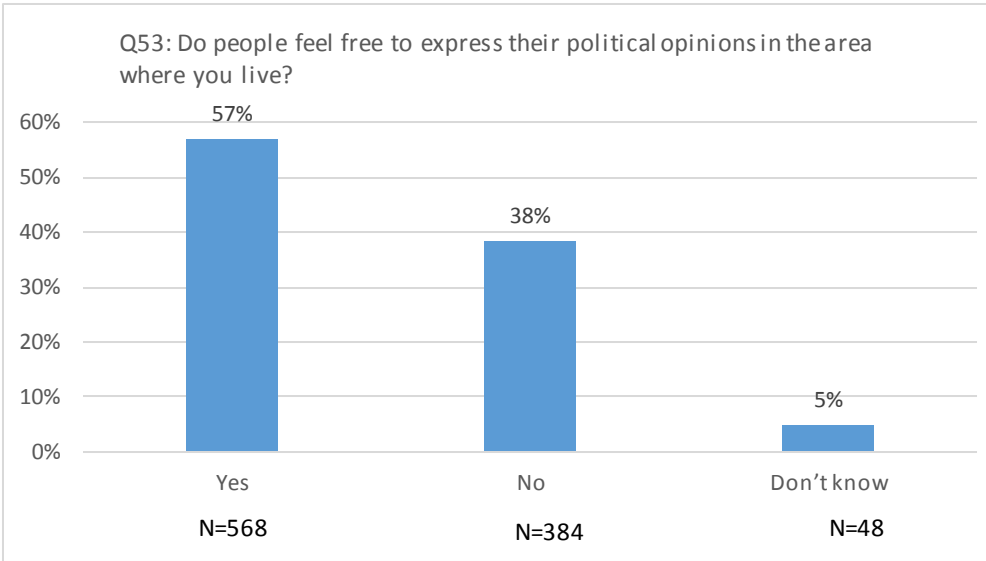
Q31 asked, “Many people are not sure of the names of their province’s representatives in the National Assembly. Can you name one of yours correctly?” Survey results suggest the connections between representatives and their constituents in Cambodia are weak, with just 10% of respondents able to name any of their representatives.

## 6 Democratic Attitudes, Values, and Behaviors

The survey explored the degree to which Cambodians share and exercise a range of democratic values, attitudes, and behaviors. For many Cambodians, the word “democracy” has positive connotations, but understanding and internalization of the concept are still weak. The survey found that Cambodians’ attitudes are high on political tolerance, mixed on gender equity, and mixed on relational trust. Many hold a paternalistic view of government and still feel fear in expressing their political views in public. Women are still significantly less likely than men to feel comfortable expressing political views in public.

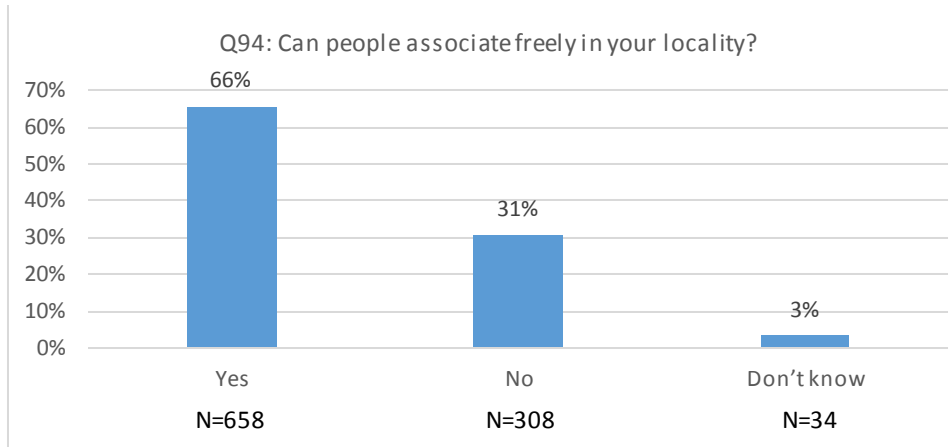
### 6.1 Fundamental Values

#### 6.1.1 Freedom of Speech



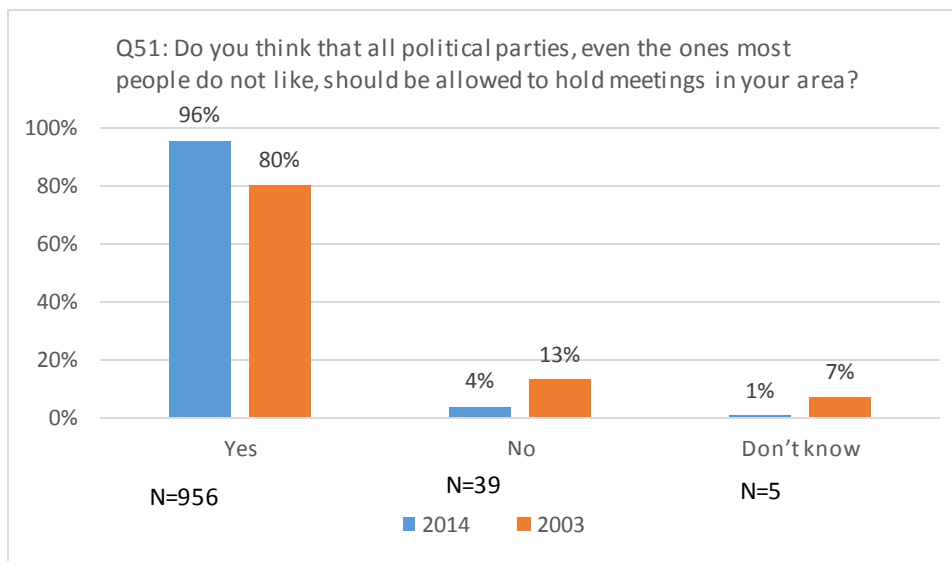
The perception of freedom to express political opinion varies greatly across provinces in Cambodia, and according to respondents’ views of government performance. Among respondents who said they were satisfied with government performance, 74% felt people were able to express their political views freely. Of those who said they were dissatisfied with government performance, only 40% said they felt they could express their views freely. When asked, "Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live?" (Q53), 57% of respondents said “yes,” 38% said “no,” and five percent said “don’t know.”

### 6.1.2 Freedom of Association

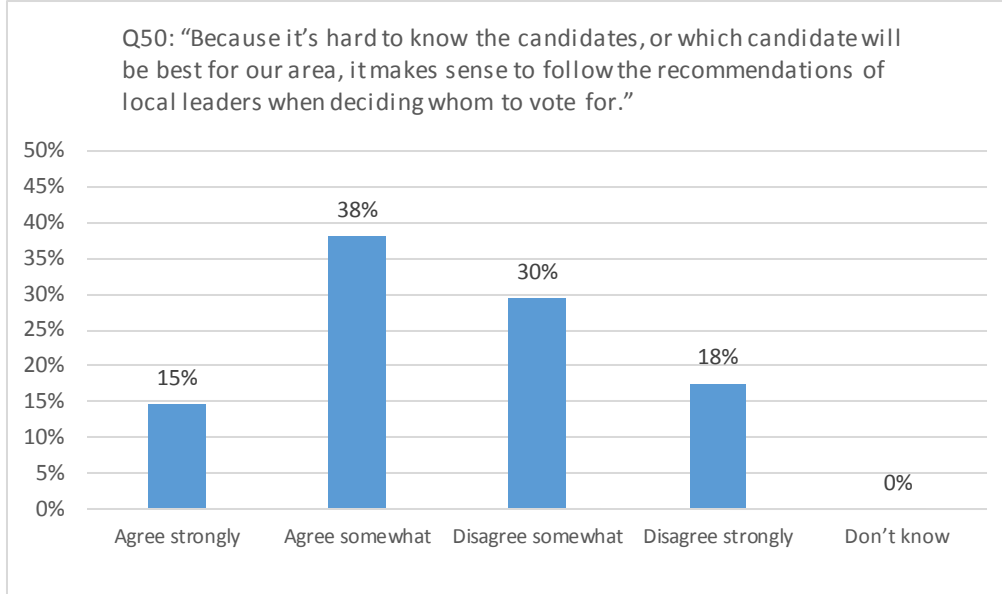


Whether Cambodians feel they can associate freely in their locality varied greatly across provinces, and was also strongly correlated with the level of agreement the respondents had with government. Overall, two thirds of all respondents (66%) said they think people can associate freely in their locality. Of respondents saying they are satisfied with the performance of government, the number saying they think people can associate freely in their locality rose to 82%. Conversely, among respondents who said they were dissatisfied with the performance of government, only 49% said they feel people can associate freely in their locality.

### 6.1.3 Political Tolerance

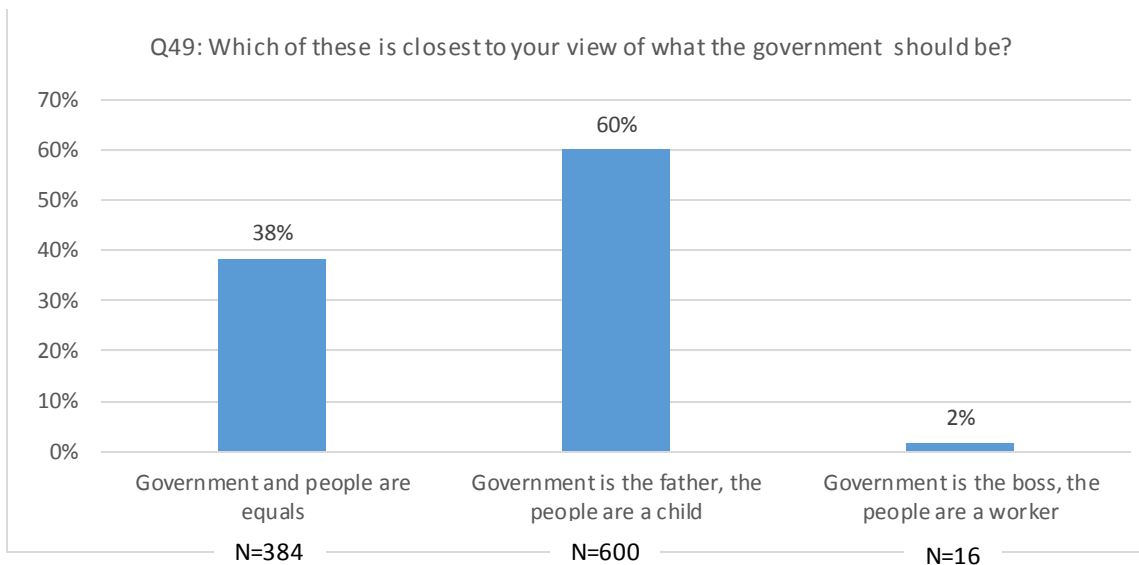


Despite the relatively recent history of political violence in Cambodia, political tolerance appears to be remarkably high. In fact, political tolerance has increased since our 2003 survey. Almost all Cambodians (96%) believe any political party should be allowed to hold meetings in their area,



and 99% say differing political opinions would not affect a friendship. As a regional comparison, in Thailand in 2010 we found just 79% willing to allow any party to meet in their area.

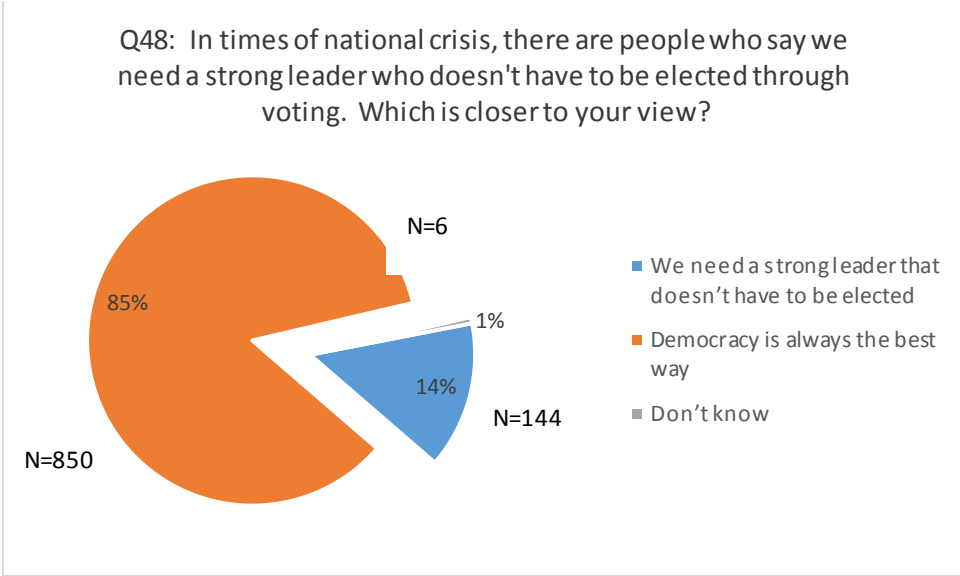
#### 6.1.4 Attitudes towards Authority



For many Cambodians, the word "democracy" has positive connotations, but internalization of the concept is still questionable. A majority of Cambodians (60%) express a paternalistic view of the role of government, while just 38% show a more democratic understanding of the relationship between government and citizens. Younger people are slightly more likely to see government as a father than older people, suggesting that direct and indirect influences like school curricula and increased access to media are having little effect in changing this understanding. Consequently, civic educators should directly address this understanding, with this finding providing a clear benchmark from which to measure progress and impact over time.

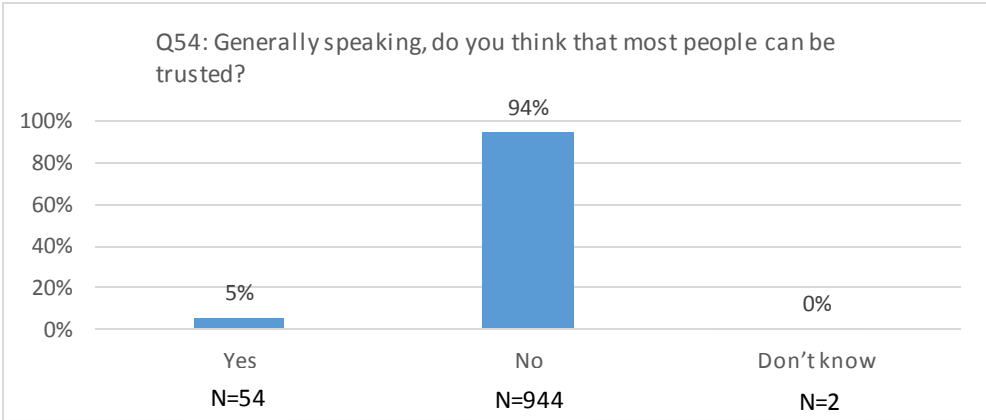


The influence of local leaders in the political process is strong, with 53% believing it makes sense to follow the recommendation of local leaders in selecting a candidate to vote for. This finding cuts across demographic groups.



Despite the paternalist views expressed, respondents overwhelmingly do not support the view that a strong, unelected leader is acceptable in times of crisis. Fully 85% said that democracy is always the best way.

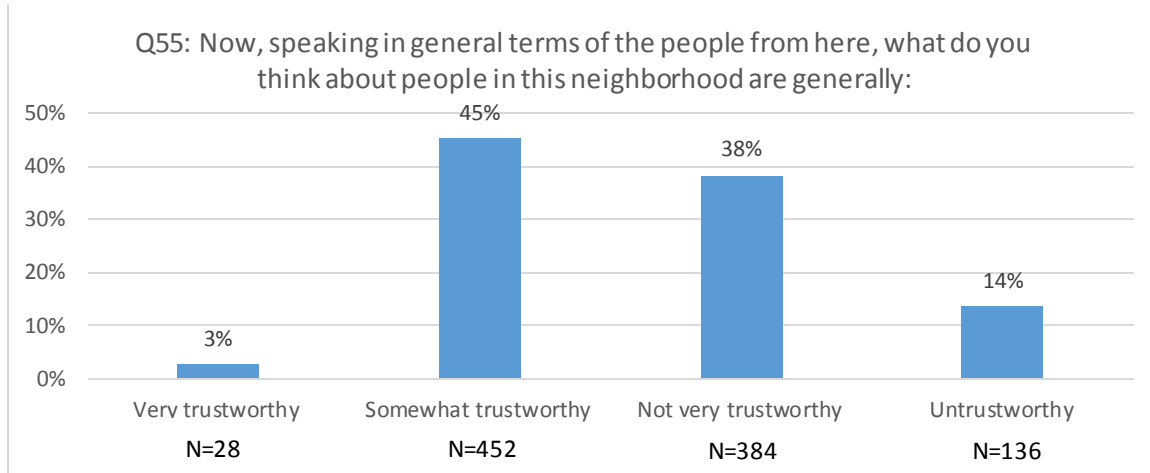
6.2 Trust: General



The 2014 survey found general societal trust to be extremely low in Cambodia. Ninety-four percent of respondents said they believe that most people cannot be trusted. In other country studies, low levels of societal trust have also been shown to inhibit economic growth. Increasing participation in civic associations has been shown in other country contexts to increase societal trust and economic growth. According to responses to questions 56 to 66, which measured the perceived integrity of a range of organizations and institutions in Cambodia, associational life in

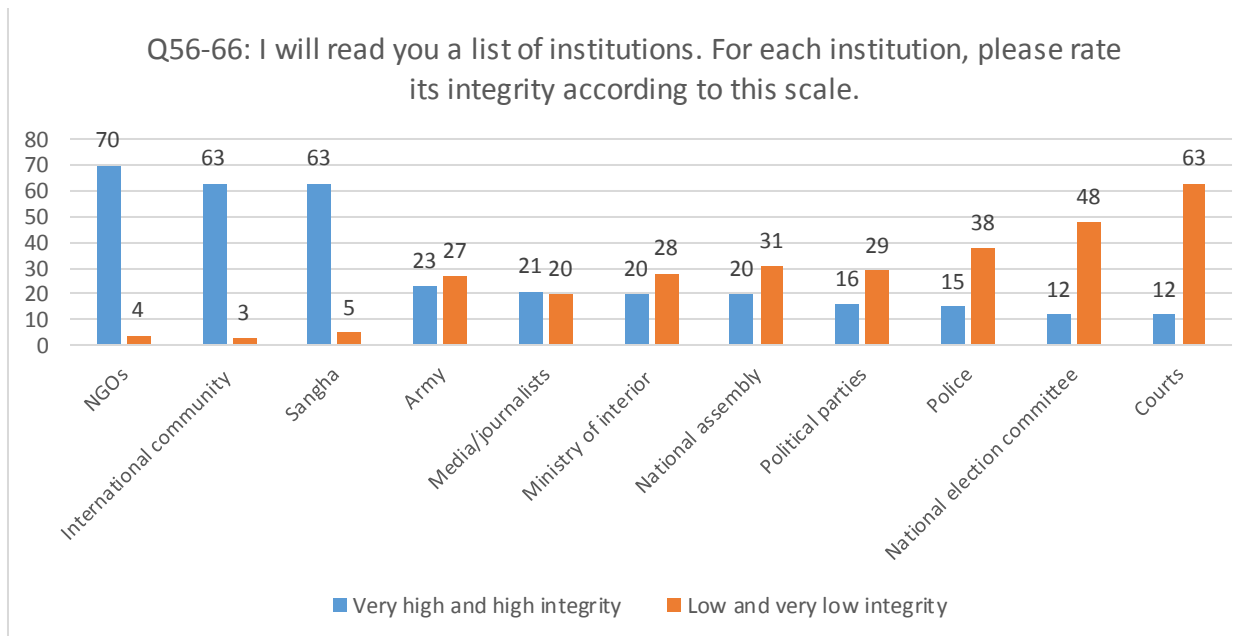
Cambodia appears to be stronger with Buddhist Sangha and NGOs, and limited in regards to public sector institutions.

### 6.3 Trust: Neighborhood



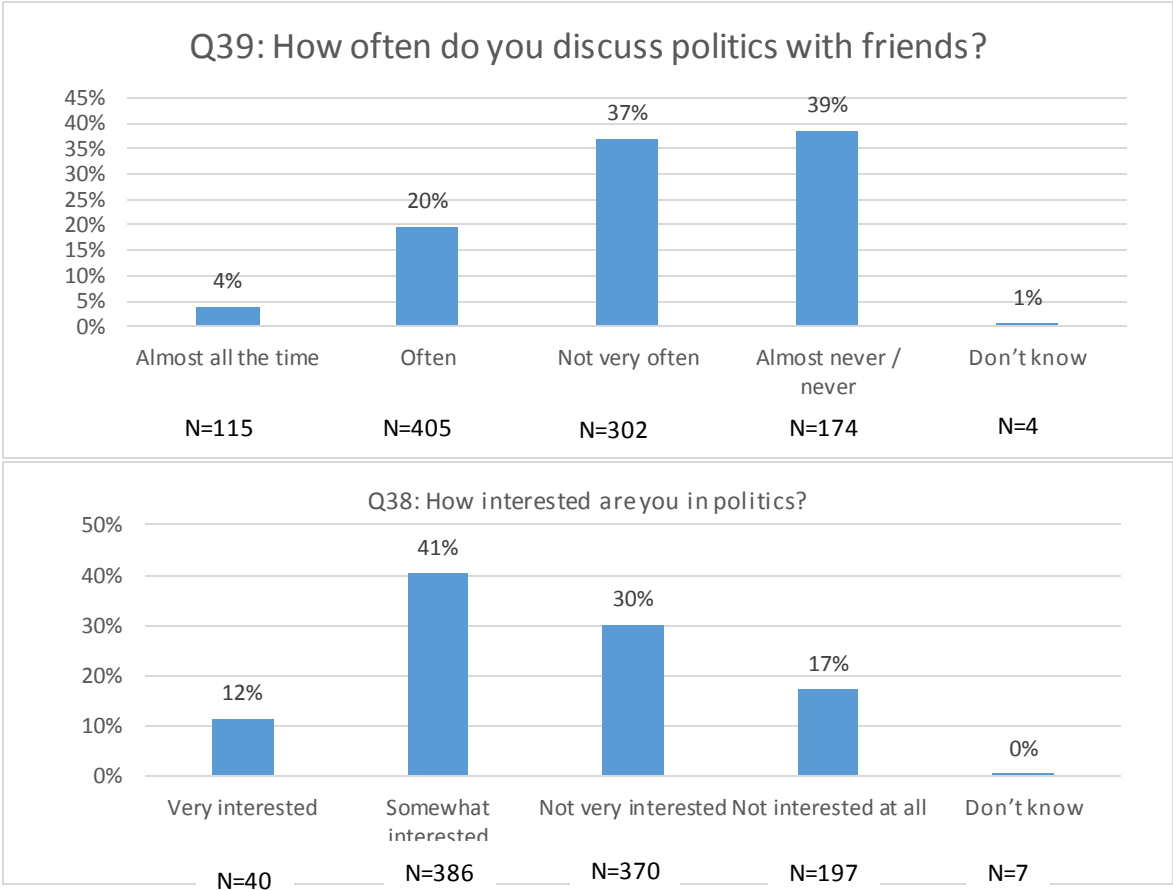
Local trust appears to be somewhat stronger but still low, with 52% saying people in their neighborhood cannot be trusted. An explanation for higher levels of trust in people in one’s neighborhood, yet low levels of societal trust, could be that people’s associational life is compartmentalized to one’s locality, where civic associations at the local level are not linked to other such associations elsewhere. The higher level of trust locally parallels support for the view that the opinions of local leaders influence political decision-making, as seen in Q50.

### 6.4 Trust: Institutions

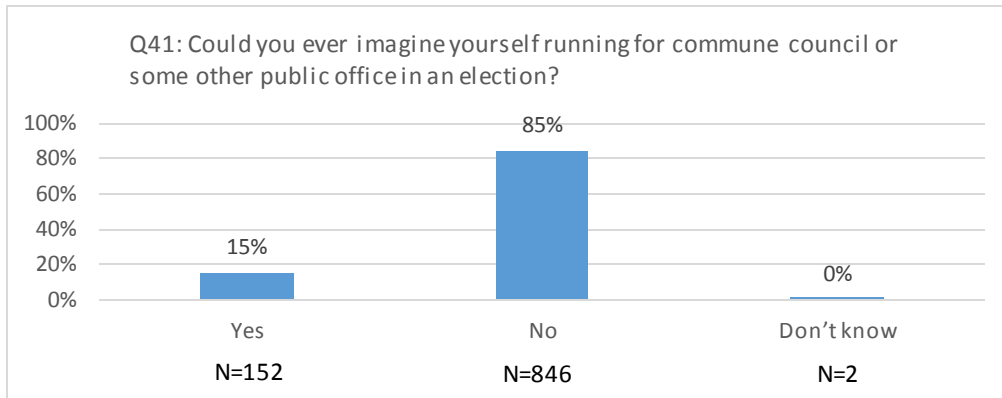


NGOs, the Buddhist hierarchy (Sangha), and the international community are perceived as the institutions with the highest integrity, while the courts, the election commission, and the police have the lowest ratings. As such, the survey findings support the view that to increase citizen trust, there is a need for significant reforms in the police and judicial sectors. However, strengthening the operational capabilities of these institutions is unlikely to be sufficient to increase public trust. Multiple factors affect the perceptions of low integrity in government institutions. A number of recent studies have suggested that the associational qualities of public sector institutions are limited. Citizens tend to have one-way, top-down exchange relations with these institutions. Another significant factor likely to affect citizen perceptions of integrity is the degree to which the institutions are rules-based, making interactions predictable. Further study is required to determine the impact that improved citizen exchange with public sector institutions might have on citizen trust in those institutions. Reform of the election commission has already commenced (as of July 2014), and it will be interesting to rerun this question after the next elections to determine if the reforms have increased public trust in the election commission.

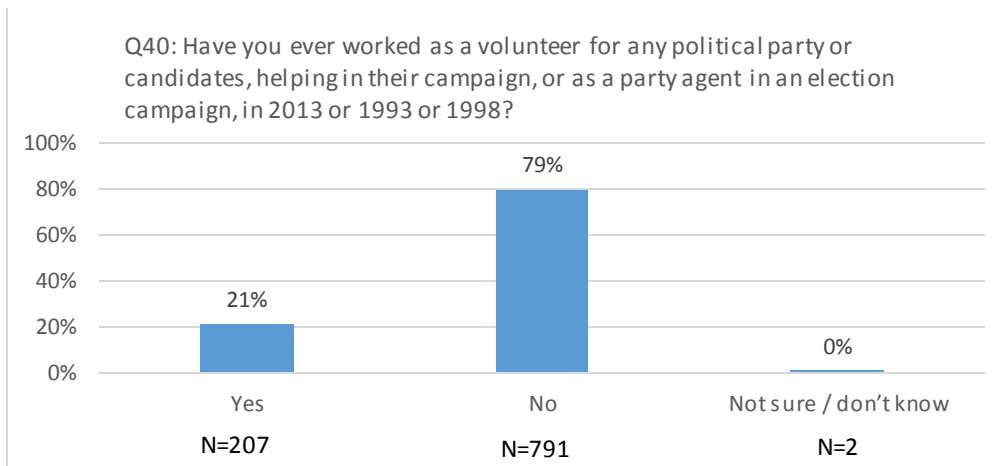
6.5 Political Participation



Although 53% report that they are somewhat interested or very interested in politics, just 24% report that they often discuss politics with friends. Interest in politics and willingness to speak with friends about politics increases gradually with the age of respondents. Men (61%) are significantly more likely to express their interest in politics than women (44%), and men (29%) are more likely than women (19%) to discuss politics with friends.



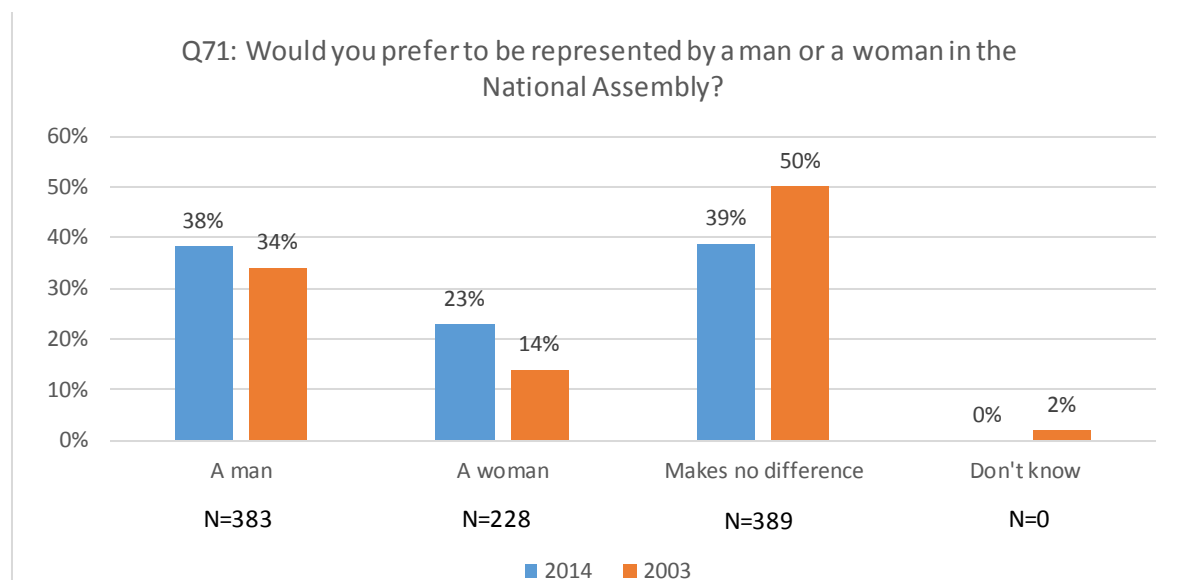
Fifteen percent can imagine running for commune council or some other elective office. Young voters (18%) and men (18%) were most willing to run for office, but 13% of women were also willing.



One in five (21%) report having worked for a political party or candidate in previous elections, but men (28%) are twice as likely as women (14%) to have participated.

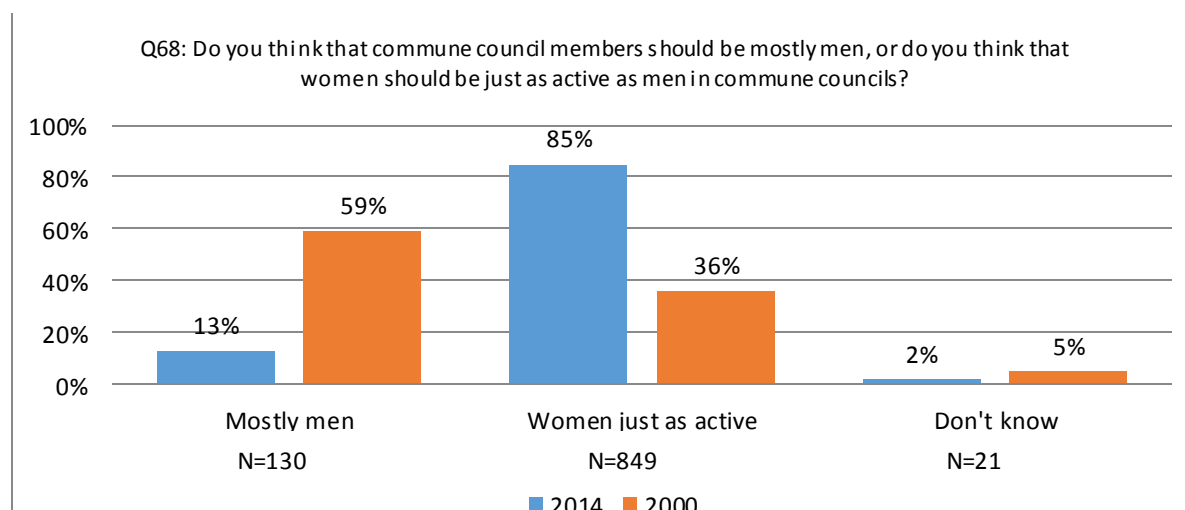
## 7 Women's Political Empowerment

### 7.1 Attitudes on Representation: National Assembly



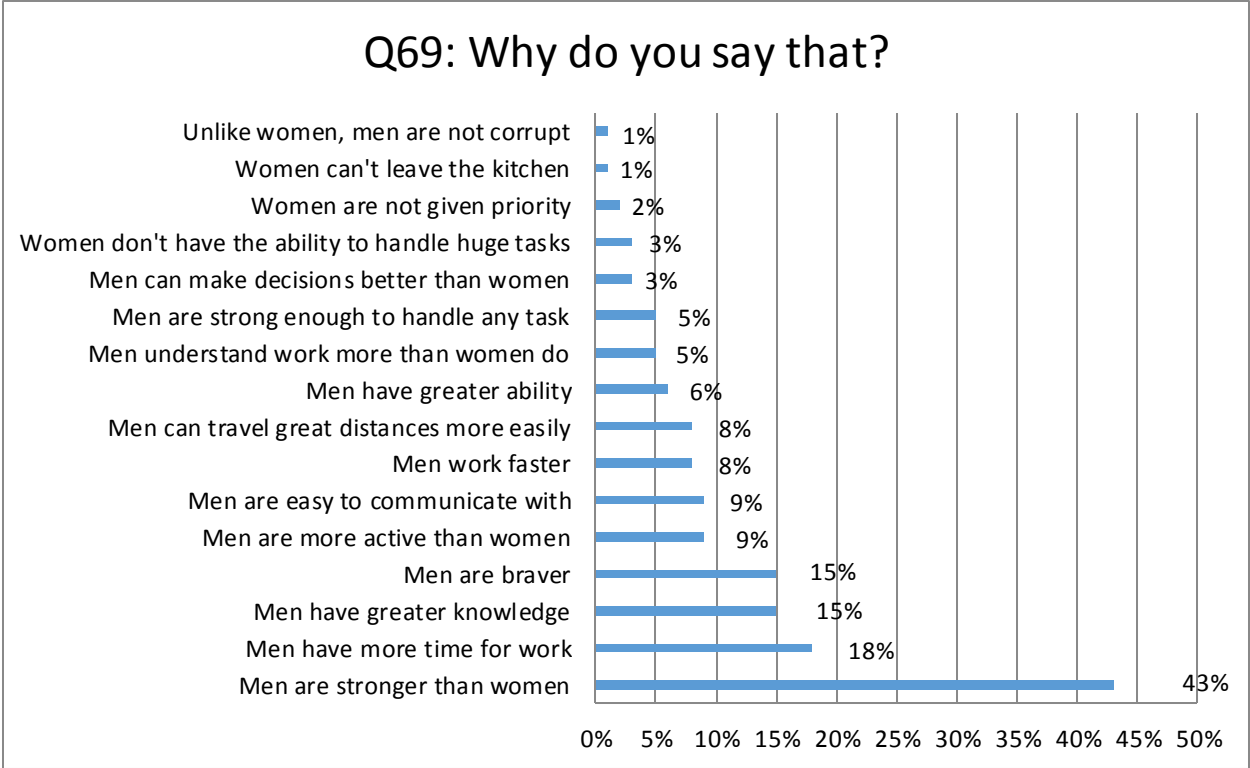
As was the case ten years ago, more Cambodians would prefer a man than a woman to represent them in the National Assembly, according to the 2014 survey. However, more respondents in 2014 said they would prefer to be represented by a woman than in 2003. In the 2014 survey results, 38% said they would prefer to be represented by a man, 23% would prefer to be represented by a woman, and just 39% said it makes no difference. Only 12% of male respondents said they would prefer to be represented by a woman in the National Assembly. Women, on the other hand, split their preferences equally, a third preferring women (33%), a third preferring men (33%), and a third saying it makes no difference (34%).

### 7.2 Attitudes on Representation: Commune Council



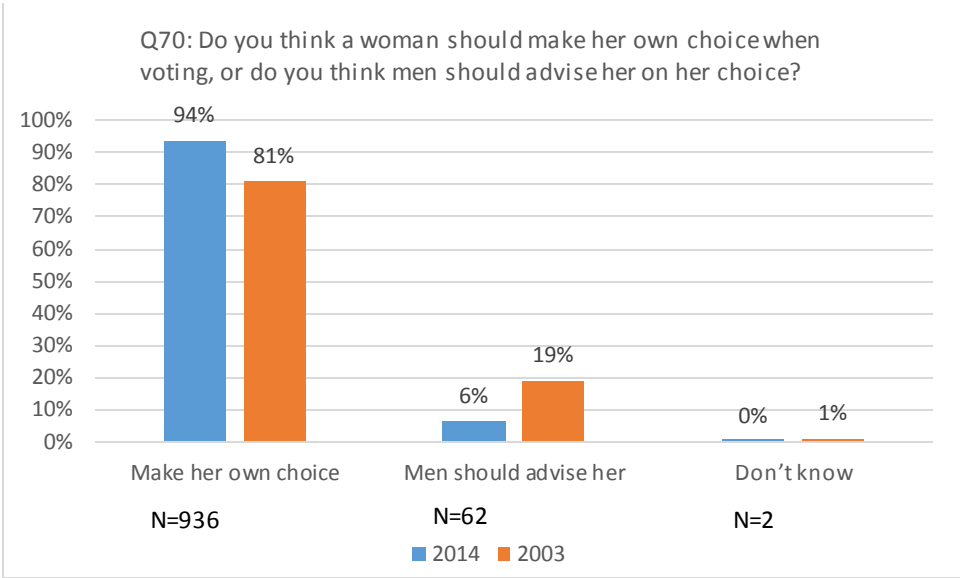
In contrast to views favoring male representation in the National Assembly, most respondents (85%) believe women should be just as active as men in commune councils. Only 13% believe the commune council should be mostly men, with men (16%) slightly more likely than women (10%) to give this response or “don’t know.” This finding is an inversion of our results in 2000, and is evidence of a major shift in Cambodian’s understanding of the appropriate role of women in society. Potential causes of this shift include increased exposure to international norms through the media, the influence of civic education, and direct experience with female commune councilors.

7.3 Attitudes on Representation: Reasons for Negative Bias



The main reasons given by the small subset still preferring men were “men are stronger” (43%), “men have more time for work” (18%), “men have greater knowledge” (15%), and “men are braver” (15%).

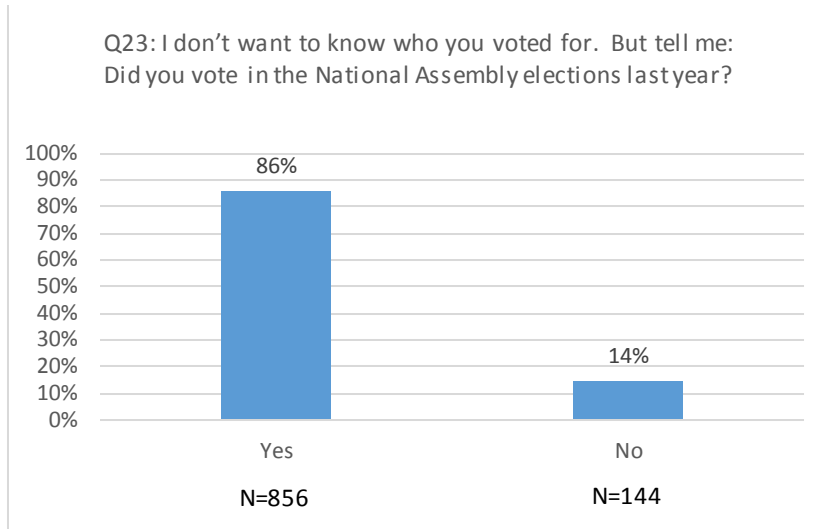
### 7.4 Attitudes on Voting Autonomy



When it comes to attitudes towards women’s autonomy in voting, 94% believe that a woman should make her own choices, and only six percent believe that men should advise her. Possible causes of this shift include increased exposure to international norms through the media, the influence of civic education, increased economic diversification and participation, and direct experience with female commune councilors.

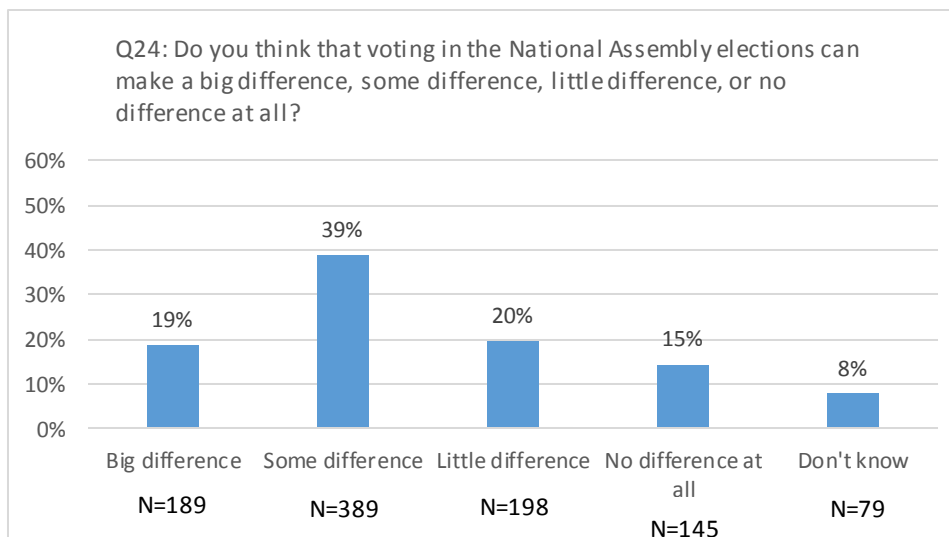
## 8 2013 National Assembly Elections

### 8.1 Voted in National Assembly Elections



When asked the question (Q23), “Did you vote in the national assembly elections last year?” 86% of respondents said “yes.” The most significant factor in determining whether someone voted was age. Unsurprisingly, those least likely to vote were younger people between 18 and 24: just 72% of respondents in this age range (self-identified) said they voted in last year’s elections, whereas 96% of respondents age 45 to 54 said they voted. Respondents segregated by income, gender, and education also appeared to vote in similar frequencies, suggesting that those factors were at least equal determinants of voter turnout.

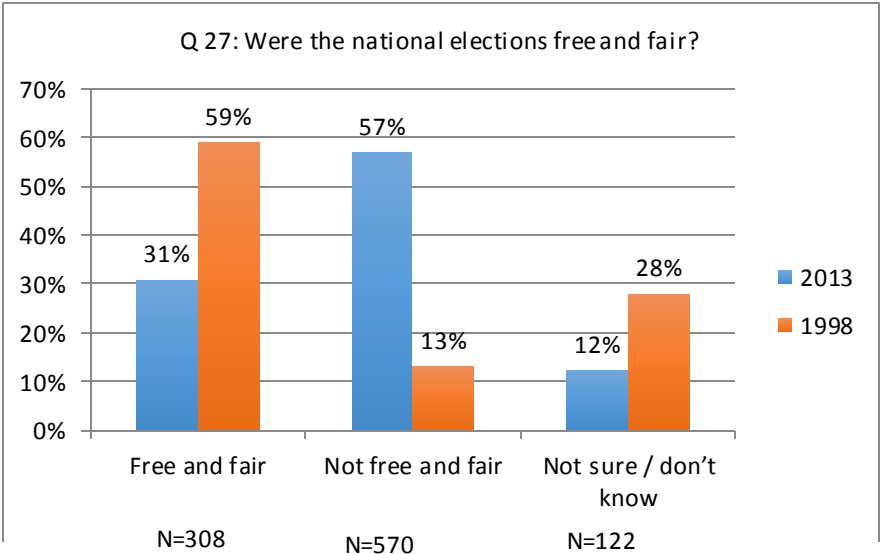
### 8.2 Efficacy: National Assembly Elections



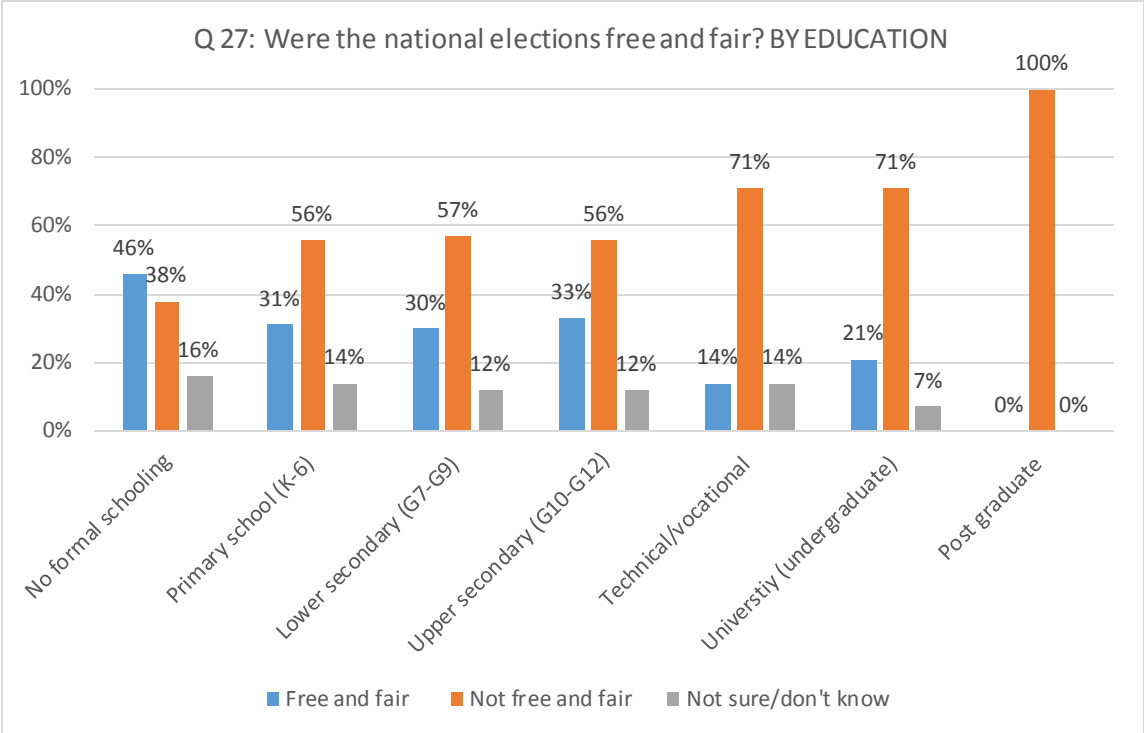


The majority of Cambodians believe that voting in the National Assembly elections can make a difference, according to the survey findings. When asked what difference voting in the national elections can make (Q24), 58% felt that voting in the national assembly elections could make some or a big difference, while 35% thought voting would make little or no difference, and eight percent did not know. The most significant factor in determining whether respondents thought their vote would make a difference was income. Twenty-nine percent of respondents earning less than US\$200 per month (self-identified) said they thought the election would make “some difference,” whereas among those who earn more, 45% said the election would make “some difference.”

### 8.3 Quality of National Assembly Elections

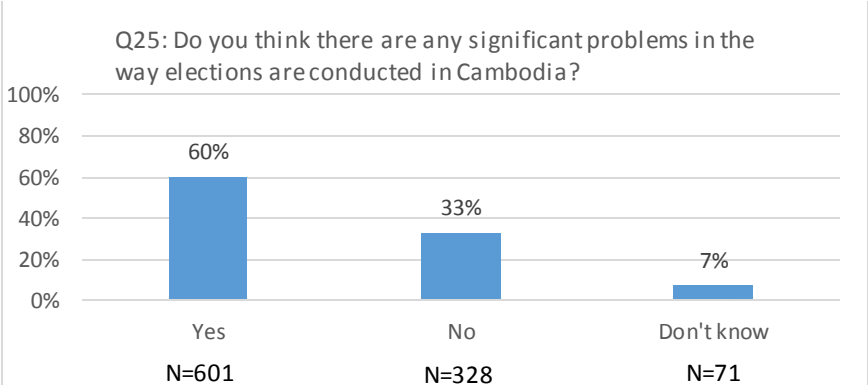


The majority of Cambodians think the 2013 national elections were “not free and fair,” according to the survey findings. Q27 asked, “Were the national elections free and fair?” Fifty-seven percent said the elections were not free and fair, 31% said the elections were free and fair, and 12% were unsure. These findings mark a reversal in public perception of electoral integrity from the 1998 National Assembly elections. The Asia Foundation’s survey conducted in 2000, asking about the 1998 National Assembly elections, found that only 13% thought those elections were not free and fair.



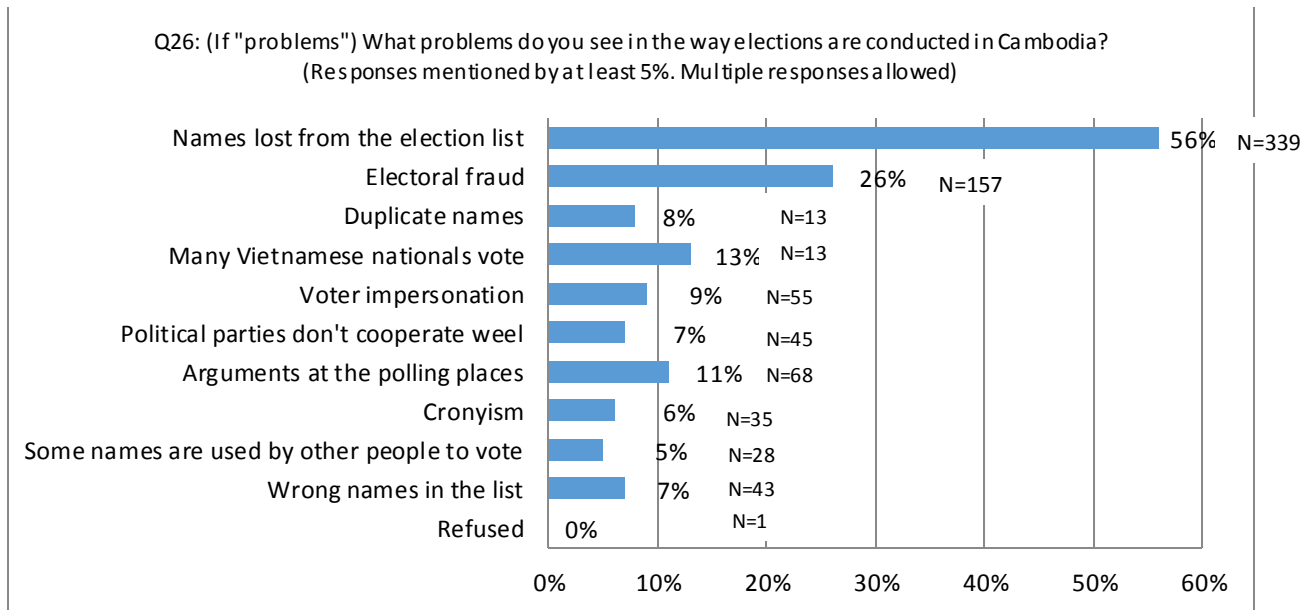
Level of educational attainment is a significant factor in determining whether people think the elections were free and fair, according to the survey results. Forty-six percent of those who received no formal schooling thought the elections were “free and fair,” compared to only 21% of university graduates. Conversely, a university graduate was almost twice as likely as someone with no formal schooling to believe the elections were “not free and fair.” There were only modest differences between respondents according to gender, urban and rural, and whether the respondent had access to social media.

8.4 Problems with Elections



The majority of Cambodians believe there are significant problems in the way elections are conducted, according to survey findings. Q25 asked, “Do you think there are any significant problems in the way elections are conducted in Cambodia?” Sixty percent of respondents said

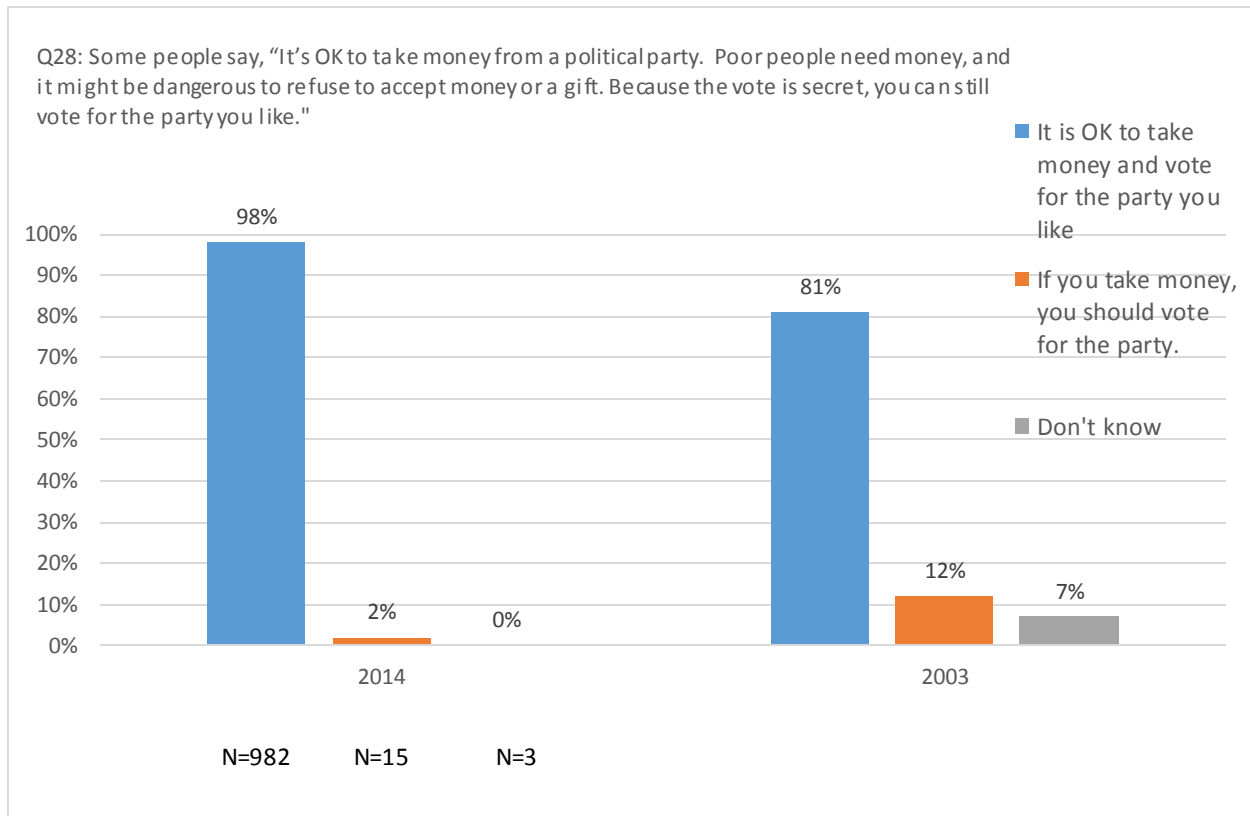
“yes.” Among all respondents, 33% said “yes,” and seven percent were unsure. Among those who had no schooling, 41% said “yes,” whereas this number rose with education level to 71% among technical/vocational and college graduates. Among those who said they thought the country was headed in the wrong direction, 76% said “yes,” they thought there were significant problems in the way elections are held. Among those who said they thought the country was headed in right direction, only 37% said “yes.”



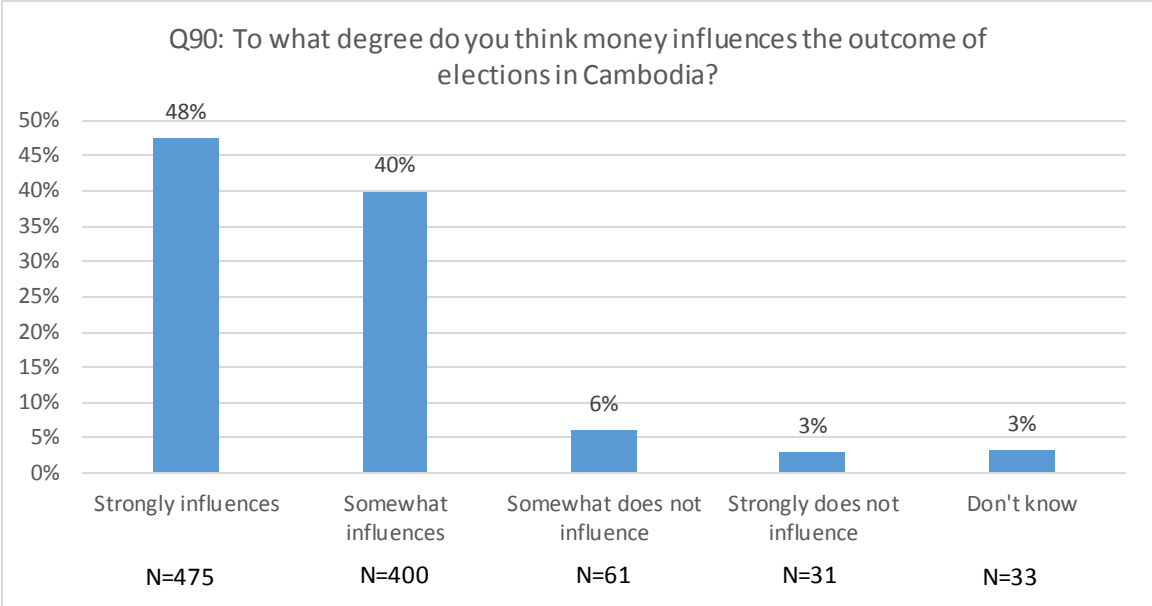
By far the most commonly mentioned problem in the way elections are conducted was “names lost from the election list” (56%), followed by “electoral fraud” (26%). There was little difference in the types of electoral problems cited by those who said the country was headed in the right direction and those who said the country was headed in the wrong direction. It is important to note that these are perceptions rather than factual reports of malpractice, and as such can be influenced by media reporting.

## 9 Factors Influencing Elections

### 9.1 Money in Politics

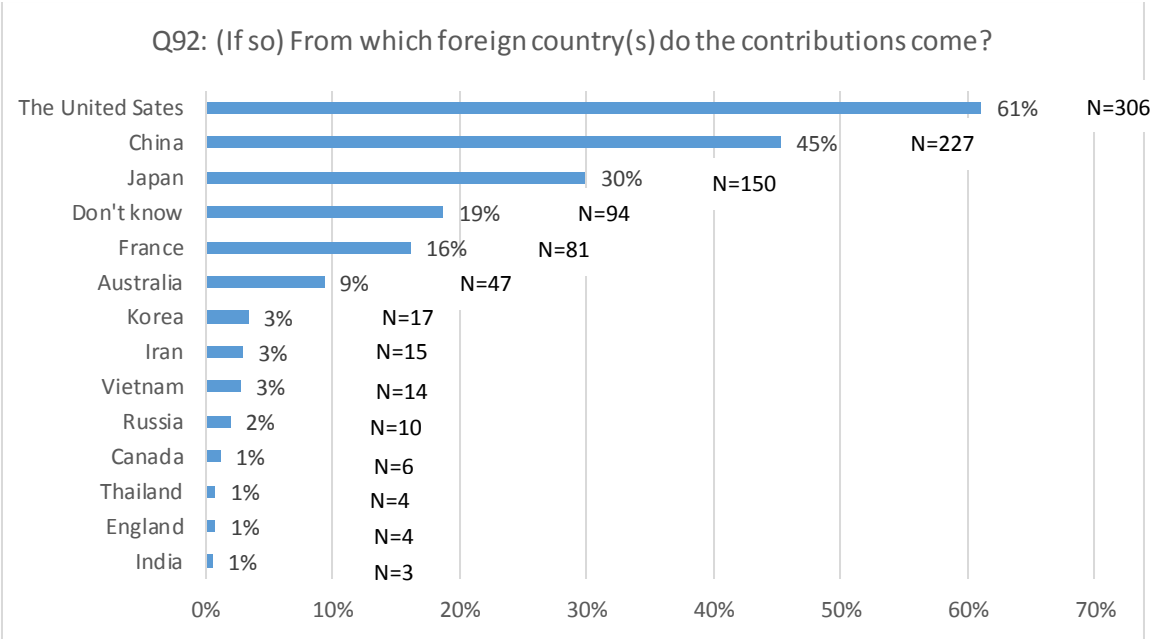


According to the survey findings, virtually all Cambodians think it is okay to accept money from a political party but to vote for the party they like. This is a significant change in perceptions of "vote buying" from our 2003 survey, where just 81% thought it was okay to take the money and still vote their choice. Recent research suggests that, in most cases, vote buying (money or gifts) occurs between candidates and their supporters rather than non-supporters. The gift is a symbol of the ties between candidate and constituent (which is particularly important in patron/client or feudal societies), and its purpose is more to turn out the vote than to alter political choice. In Cambodia, it is now clear that vote buying is not an effective tactic for changing political choice, as 98% of respondents say it would be okay to take the money from any candidate and then vote for the party they like.



While “vote buying” is not perceived to be an influencing factor, money in politics is still perceived to be a significant factor in influencing the outcomes of elections in Cambodia. In contrast to the widely held view that handouts from political parties do not influence the way people vote (Q28), 88% of respondents in Q90 said they felt money influences the outcomes of elections in Cambodia (“strongly,” 48%, and “somewhat,” 40%).

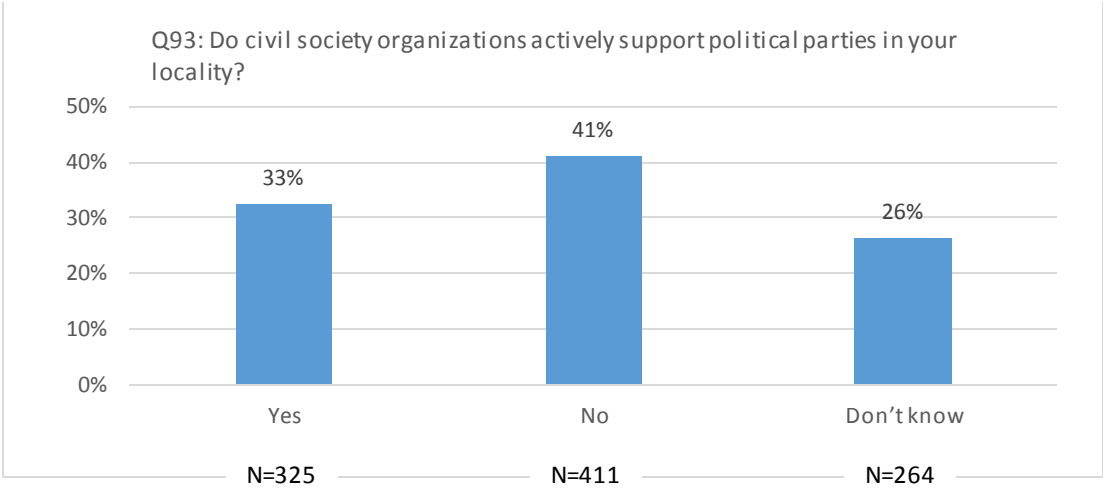
**9.2 Foreign Contributions**



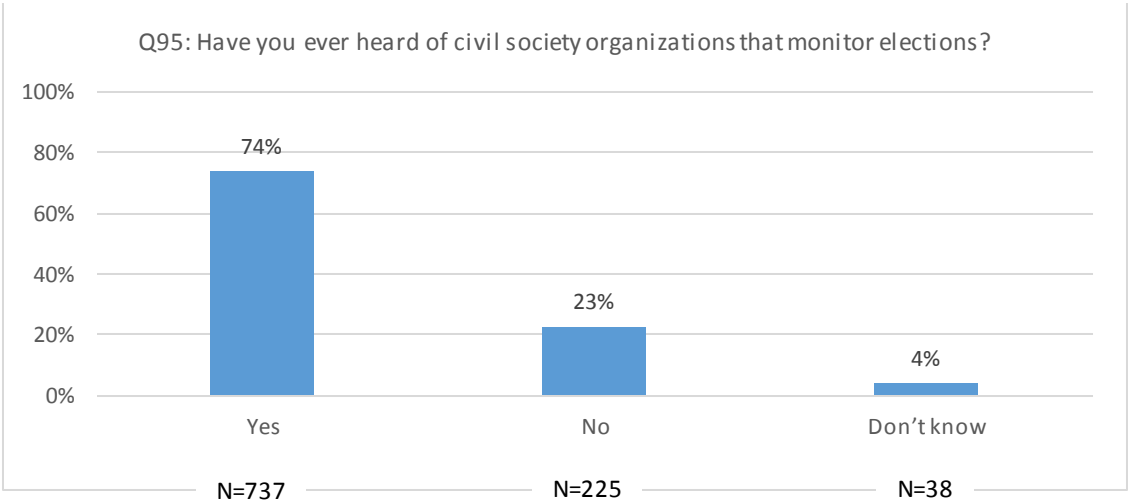
Among the 50% of respondents who felt that campaign contributions to political parties by foreign countries influenced the outcome of the election, the United States, China, and Japan

were by far the countries most cited. Q92 (multiple responses possible) asked, “From which foreign country(s) do the contributions come?” Sixty-one percent of respondents said the United States, 45% said China, 30% said Japan, and 16% said France. Only three percent said Vietnam and one percent said Thailand, both of which border Cambodia. Q92 did not specify whether the respondents thought the contributions were coming from the governments of the foreign countries or from people in those countries (e.g. the Cambodian diaspora).

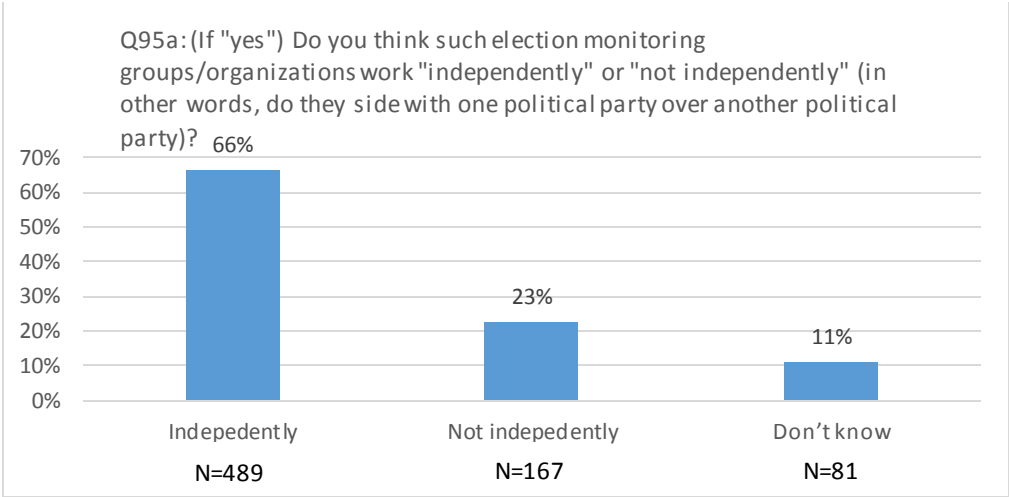
### 9.3 Civil Society



Q93 asked, “Do civil society organizations actively support political parties in your locality?” Thirty-three percent of respondents said “yes,” 41% said “no,” and 26% said “don’t know.” The survey did not ascertain how respondents defined “civil society.” The question of which political parties civil society organizations support was not asked. The question of how civil society organizations support political parties was not asked. The survey did not ask whether respondents thought civil society organizations supported just one political party or more than one.

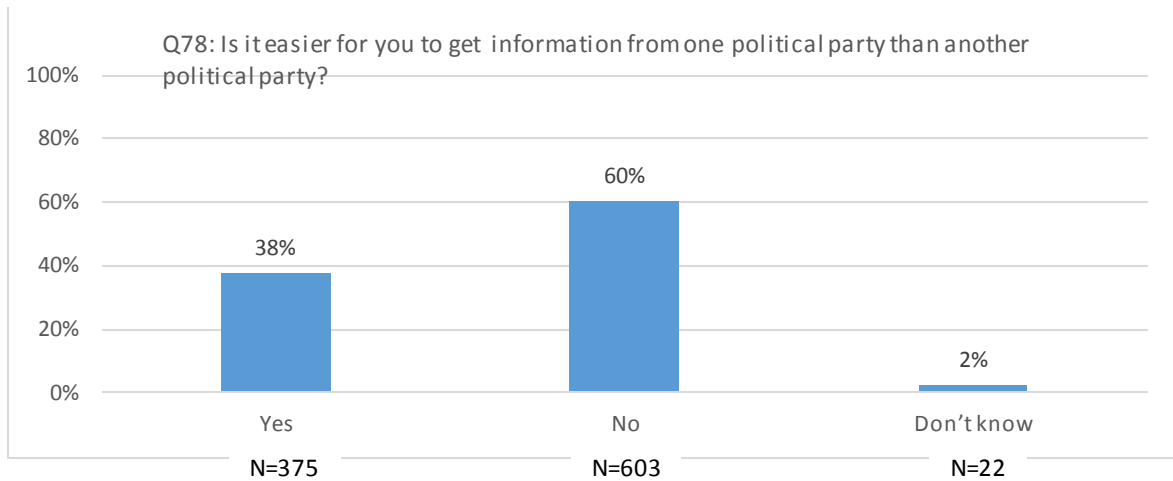


Awareness of civil society organizations that monitor elections in Cambodia is high. Q95 asked, “Have you ever heard of civil society organizations that monitor elections?” Seventy-four percent of respondents said “yes,” and 23% said “no.” There were significant differences among respondents according to their demographic characteristics. Higher income, older, more educated, and male respondents were significantly more likely to have heard of civil society organizations that monitor elections than lower income, younger, less educated, and female respondents.

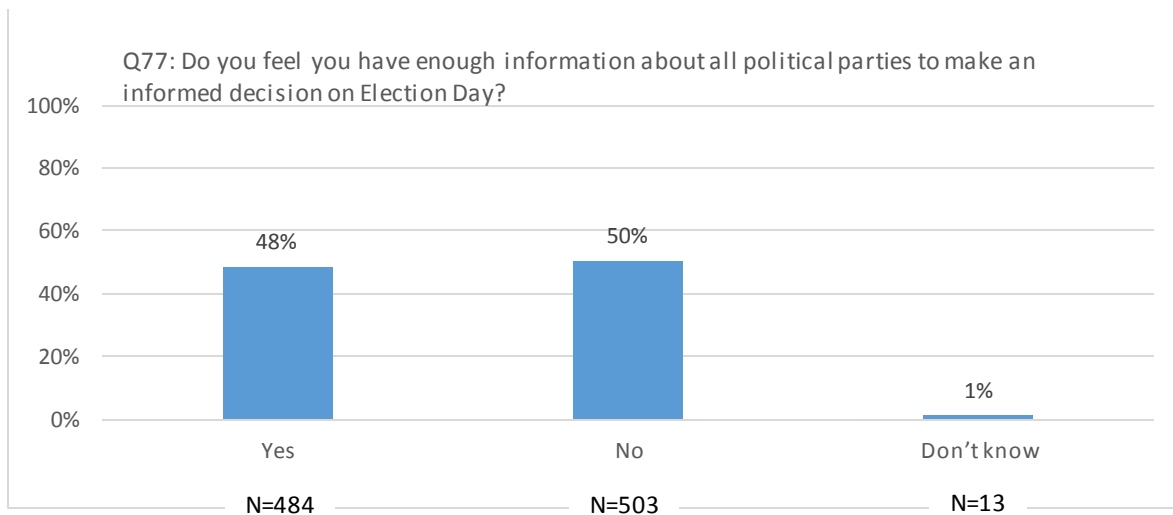


The majority of respondents said they think civil society organizations that monitor elections work independently. Q95 asked those who had heard about civil society organizations that monitor elections, “Do you think such election monitoring groups/organizations work ‘independently’ or ‘not independently’ (in other words, do they side with one political party over another political party)?” Sixty-six percent of respondents said “independently,” and 23% said “not independently.” Among the most significant potential influencing factors was satisfaction with the job the government was doing. Eighty percent of respondents who were satisfied with the government’s performance said they thought civil society organizations that monitor elections work “independently,” while just 54% of those who were dissatisfied with the government’s performance said, “independently.” Responses varied significantly by province.

## 9.4 Access to Information



Survey findings suggest that access to information from political parties is not perceived as an overriding problem by the majority of Cambodians, and thus may be only a modestly popular priority for reform. Q78 asked, “Is it easier for you to get information from one political party than another political party?” Sixty percent of respondents said “no,” and 38% said “yes.” Among respondents to Q78 who also said they were dissatisfied with the performance of government, 71% said “no,” it is not easier to get information from one political party than another, whereas among those who said they were satisfied with the performance of government, only 50% said “no.” These differences would also suggest that, across the general population, dissatisfaction with the level of access to information from political parties is linked weakly, if at all, to negative views of government performance.

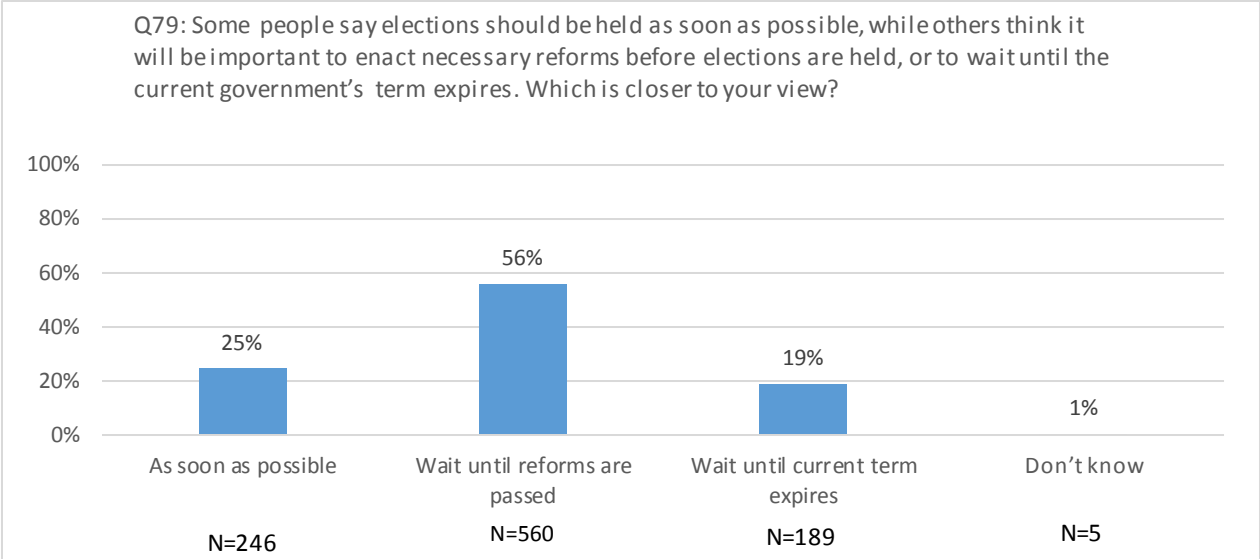


In line with other findings in this survey (see Section 5, Quality of Representation), almost half of Cambodians don't feel they know enough about the political parties to make an informed decision. In other words, the public may not see clear differences between the political parties, which again relates to the lack of policy articulation in campaigns.



# 10 Priorities for Election Reform

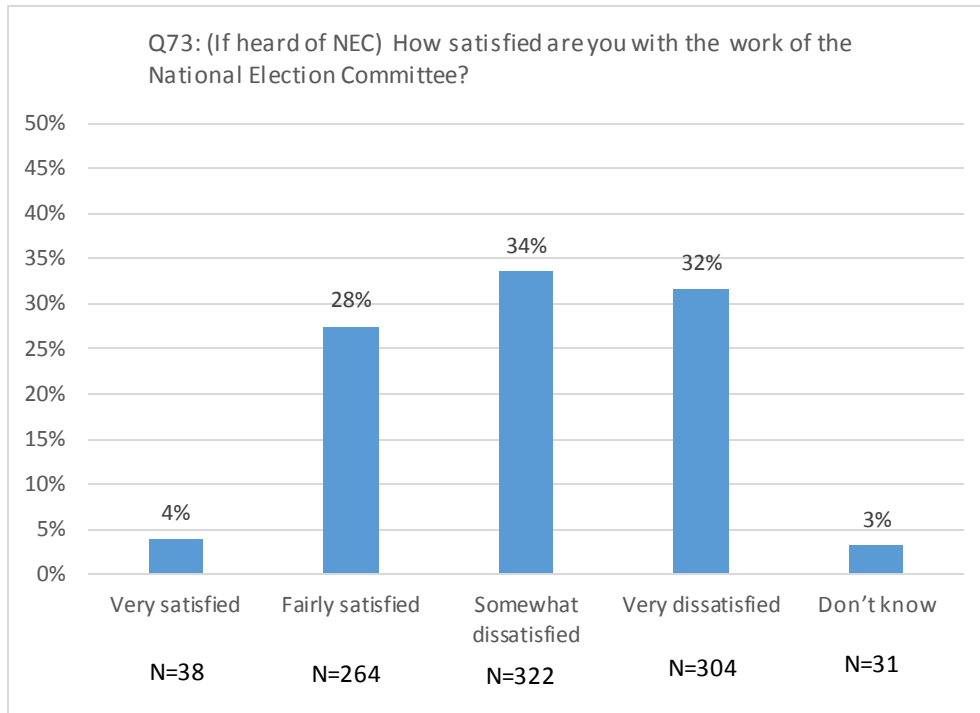
## 10.1 Timing of New Elections



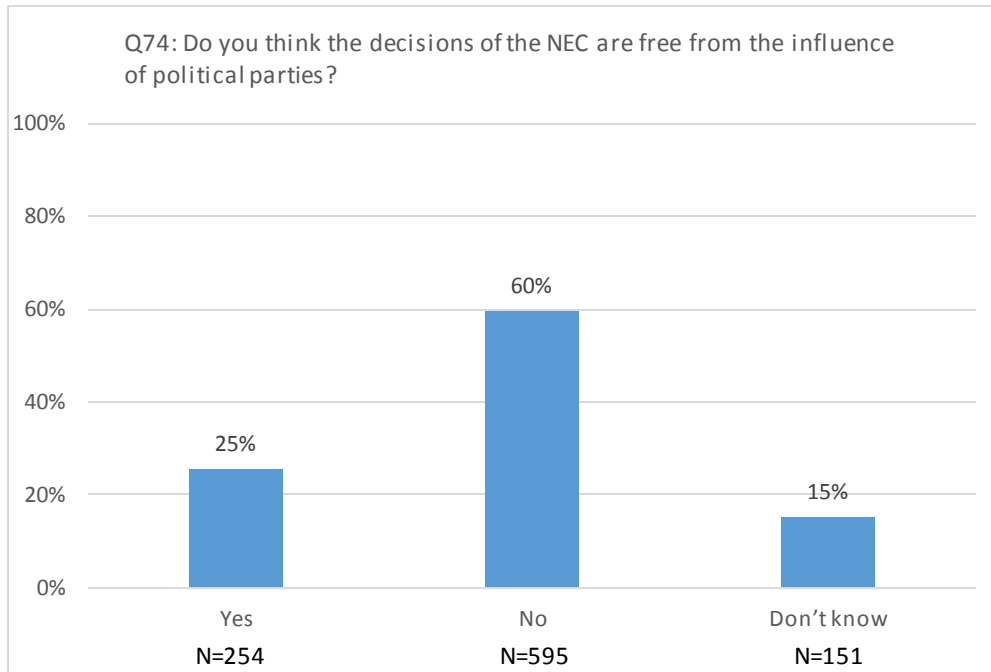
Results suggest there is broad public support for election reform, but considerably less support for holding new elections immediately. Q79 asked, “Some people say elections should be held as soon as possible, while others think it will be important to enact necessary reforms before elections are held, or to wait until the current government’s term expires. Which is closer to your view?” Half of respondents (56%) said, “Wait until reforms are passed.” One quarter (25%) said, “as soon as possible.” One out of five respondents (19%) said, “Wait until current term expires.” Among those who expressed the opinion that the country was headed in the right direction, 43% said, “Wait until current term expires.” This number dropped to five percent among those who thought the country was headed in the right direction. Still, among the “right direction” group, 42% said, “Wait until reforms are passed,” compared to 65% among the “wrong direction” group.

## 10.2 National Election Committee

Almost everyone (96%) has heard of the NEC, but just a third (32%) are satisfied with its work, and only 25% believe it is free of the influence of political parties. When asked if they preferred the current system, with “neutral” commissioners, or a “balanced” commission, with equal representation from all parties, a huge majority (82%) preferred a “balanced” commission. Respondents also overwhelmingly (79%) preferred an independent election commission rather than a less expensive one under the Ministry of Interior, and this reform was adopted in July 2014.



Respondents overwhelmingly (96%) said they had heard of the National Election Committee (Q72). Q73 asked those who had heard of the NEC, “How satisfied are you with the work of the National Election Committee?” Approximately one third of the respondents were satisfied (“very satisfied,” four percent, and “fairly satisfied,” 28%), while two thirds were dissatisfied (“very dissatisfied,” 32%, and “somewhat dissatisfied,” 34%). It is important to note that the number of respondents who said they were “very dissatisfied” equaled the number of respondents who said they were either “fairly dissatisfied” or “very dissatisfied.” Not surprisingly, those who said they thought the elections were free and fair were much more likely to also say they are satisfied with the NEC (85%), as compared to those who said the elections were not free and fair, who were much more likely to be dissatisfied with the NEC (95%). Additionally, among respondents who said they thought the country was headed in the right direction, 36% said they were dissatisfied with the work of the NEC. In contrast, among those respondents who said they thought the country was headed in the wrong direction, 84% said they were dissatisfied with the work of the NEC. Therefore, the national mood and satisfaction with the NEC are positively correlated.

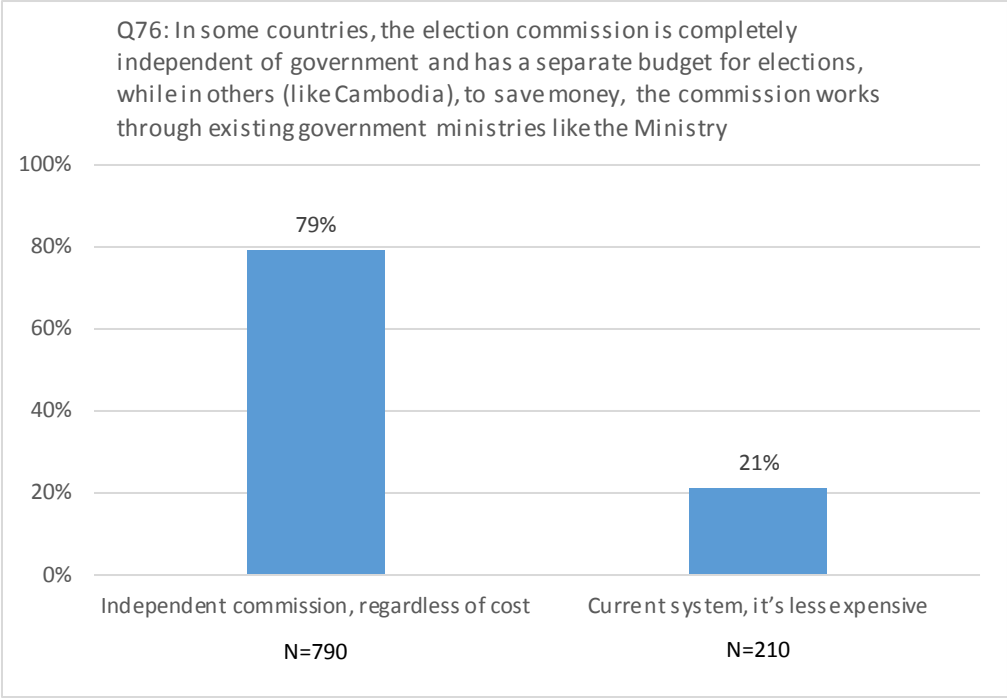


Q74 asked those who said they had heard of the NEC, “Do you think the decisions of the NEC are free from the influence of political parties?” Sixty percent of respondents said “no,” 25% said “yes,” and 15% said “don’t know.” Among those who said they were dissatisfied with the NEC, 93% responded “no,” compared to those who were satisfied with the NEC, of whom only two percent responded “no.” Among other factors, regional differences between respondents seem to play a significant role in their views of the NEC. Among those who thought the country was headed in the right direction, 50% said “yes,” they thought the NEC was free from political influence, whereas among those who thought the country was headed in the wrong direction, only 12% said “yes.”

Q75: Currently, election commissioners should be neutral individuals with no party affiliation. Some say that it would be better to have a balanced commission with representatives from each party. Which is closer to your view?

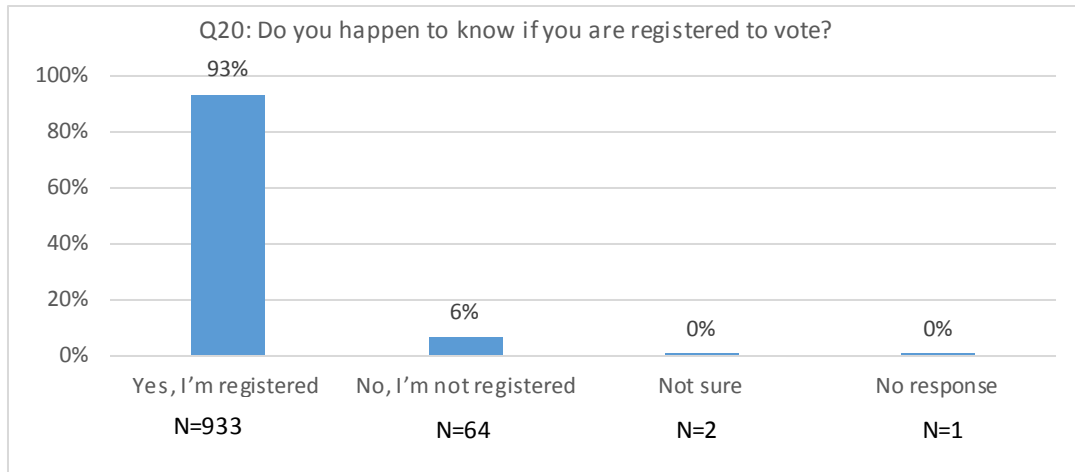


Survey findings support the July 2014 agreement made between the CPP and CNRP to make a constitutional amendment to provide for a “balanced” National Election Committee. Q75 asked, “Currently, election commissioners should be neutral individuals with no party affiliation. Some say that it would be better to have a balanced commission with representatives from each party. Which is closer to your view?” Eighty-two percent responded, “Have a balanced commission”; 18% responded, “Keep the current system.” Among those who were satisfied with the performance of government, 73% said they preferred a balanced commission, while 91% of those who were dissatisfied with the performance of government said they preferred a balanced commission.



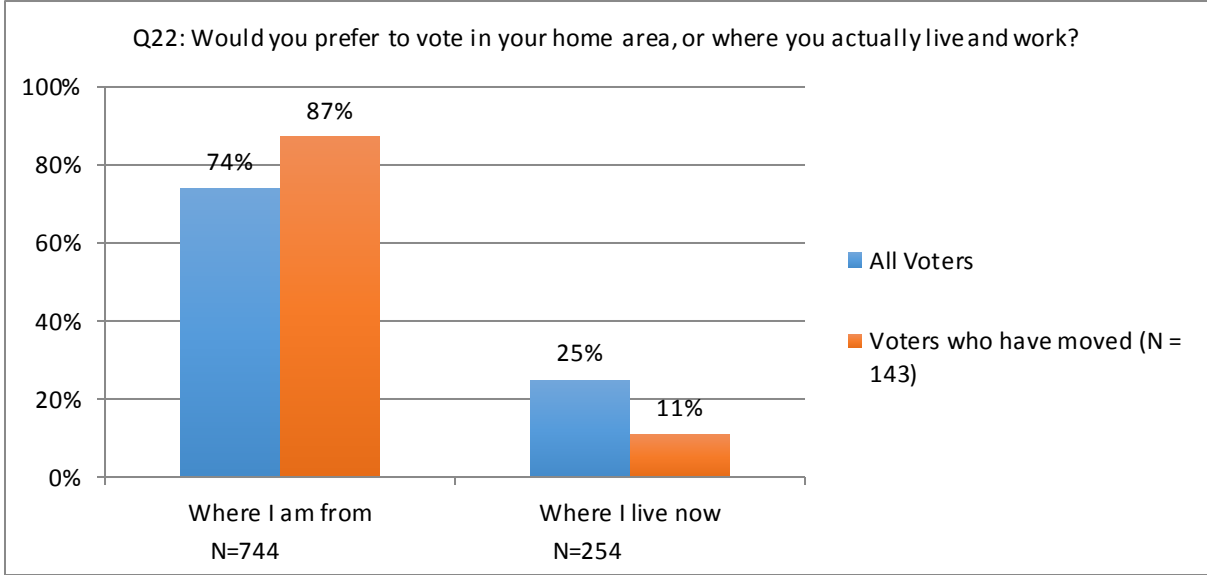
Q76 asks, “In some countries, the election commission is completely independent of government and has a separate budget for elections, while in others (like Cambodia), to save money, the commission works through existing government ministries like the Ministry of Interior. Which model do you prefer?” Seventy-nine percent of respondents said they prefer “an independent commission, regardless of cost,” and 21% said they prefer the “current system, it’s less expensive.”

### 10.3 Voter Registration



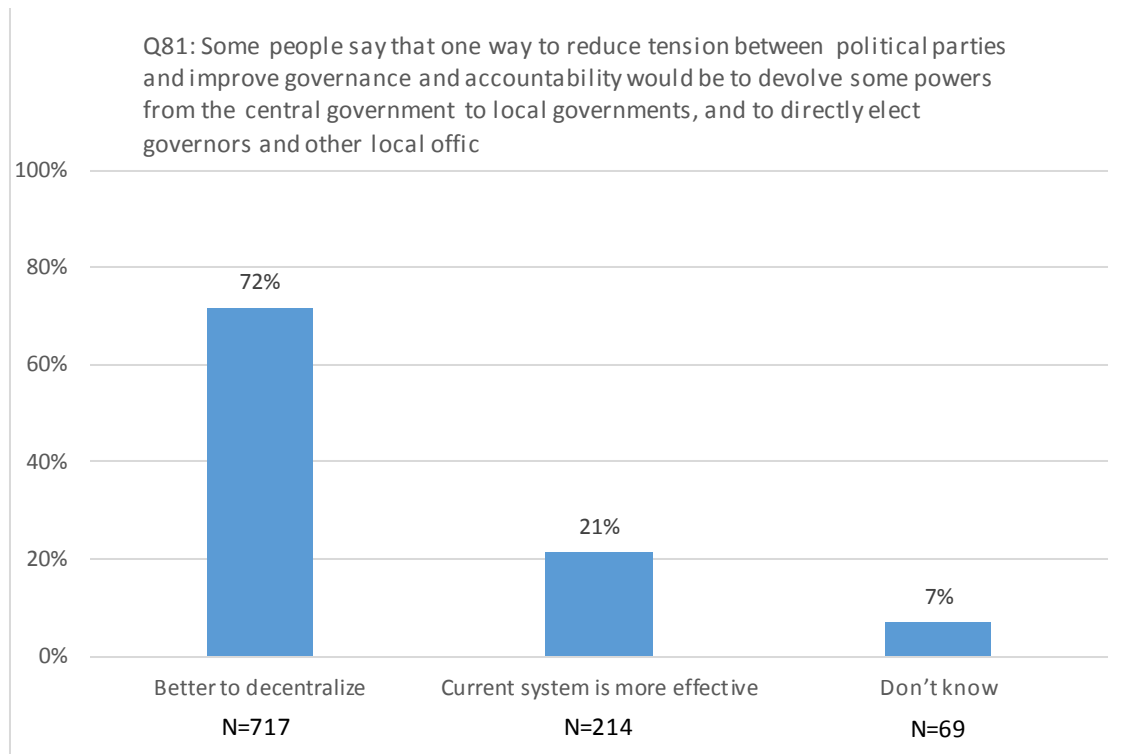
Almost all Cambodians (93%) report being registered to vote. Unsurprisingly, voters between the ages of 18 and 24 have the lowest registration rate at 88%. Although some remote provinces reported lower-than-average registration rates, the samples were too small to be definitive; but interestingly, the two most populous provinces, Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham, also had lower-than-normal registration rates.

In 2013, the Neutral and Impartial Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC), the Center for Advanced Studies (CAS), and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a voter registration audit of the voter registry, which found that 83% of the eligible population were registered. While 93% of respondents in our survey reported being registered, it is possible that 10% of respondents believed they were registered but were not found on the voter registry, thus accounting for the discrepancy.



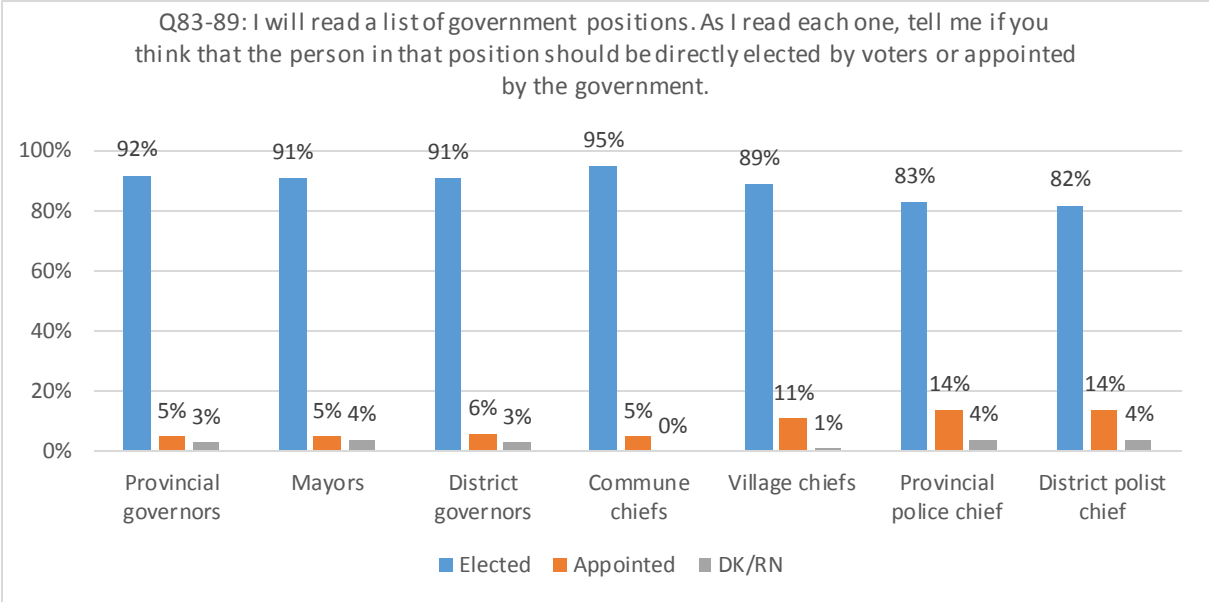
The majority of Cambodians prefer to vote where they are from, even if the majority also live far away from their hometowns. When asked, “Do you live (sleep and work) where you are registered to vote?” (Q21), 86% of respondents said “yes.” However, when asked, “Would you prefer to vote in your home areas, or where you actually live and work?” (Q22), many fewer voters (25%) said they would vote “where I live now.” It may seem counterintuitive that people prefer to travel and vote far from where they live and work, but we asked a similar question in The Asia Foundation’s A National Survey of the Thai People conducted in 2009, and those findings also suggested that a large majority of migrants preferred to vote in their home village rather than where they live. Subsequent qualitative work suggested that migrants saw the election as a convenient opportunity and excuse to visit family and friends in their home village, and we may assume a similar explanation here. Whether this explanation holds in Cambodia requires further research.

## 10.4 Decentralization of Elections



The majority of Cambodians support giving more powers to local officials through direct elections. In fact, only one out of five Cambodians (21%) supports the status quo. Q81 asked, “Some people say that one way to reduce tension between political parties and improve governance and accountability would be to devolve some powers from the central government to local governments, and to directly elect governors and other local officials. Other people believe that government will be more effective and efficient if centrally controlled. Which is closer to your view?” About three quarters (72%) believe it is “better to decentralize.” Twenty-one percent said they believe the “current system is more effective.” Similar responses held across demographic and other factors such as income, gender, education, occupation type, location (urban vs. rural), and access to social media.

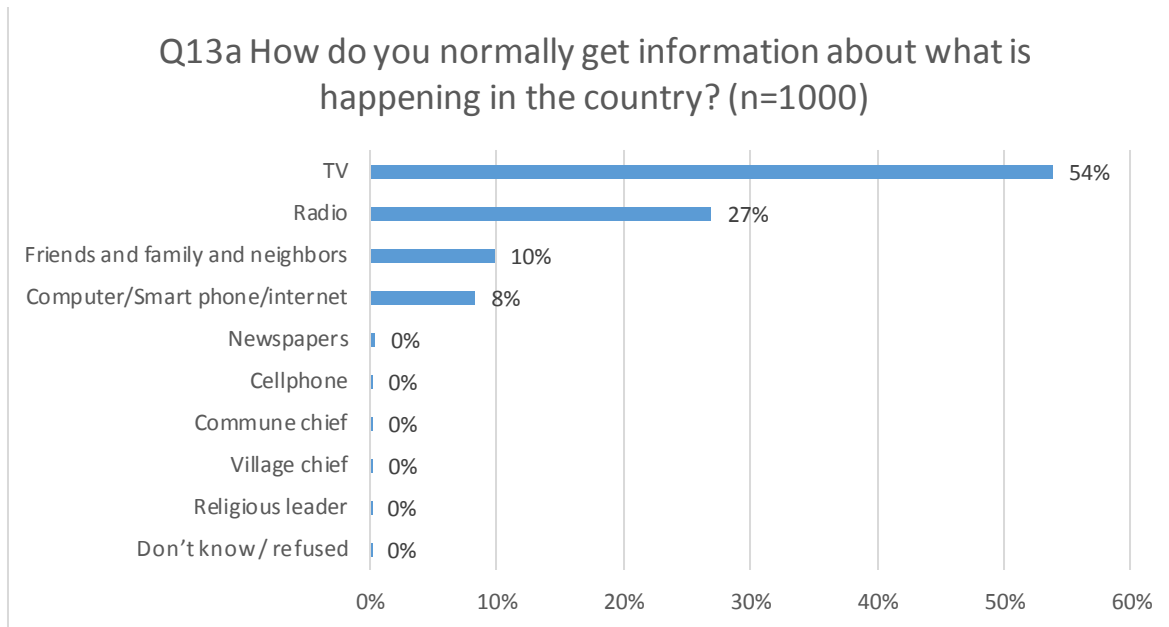




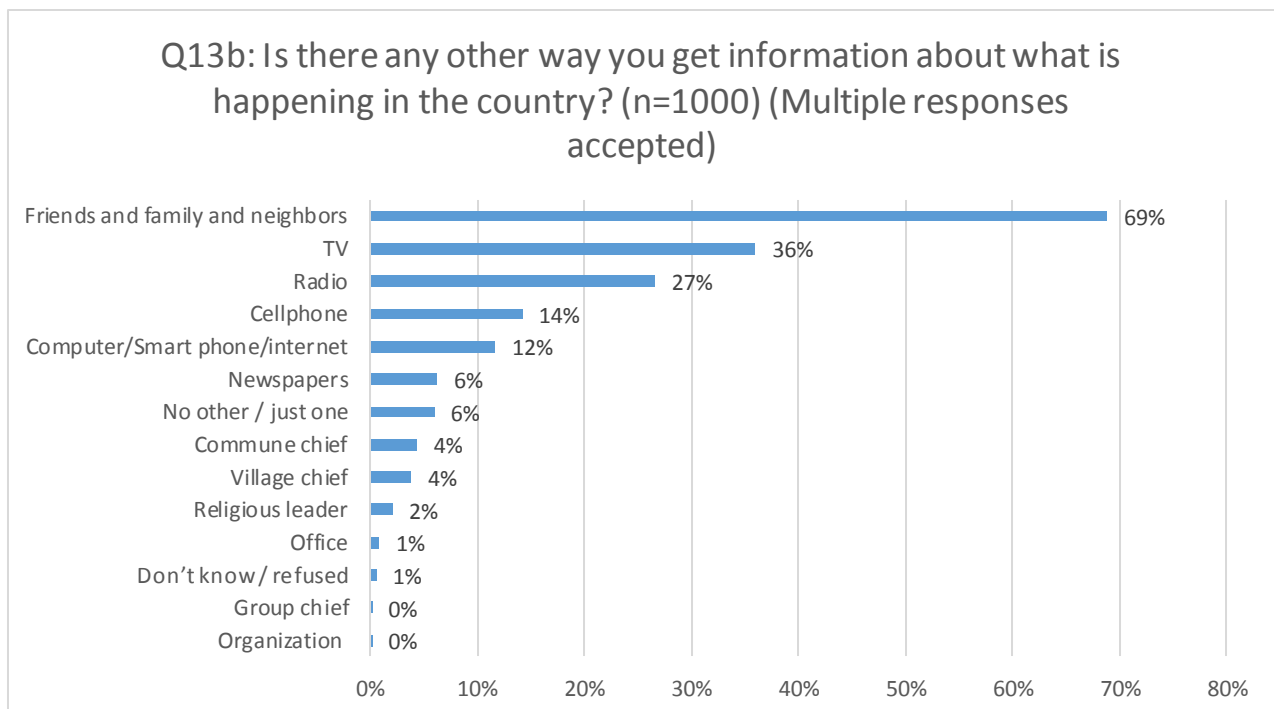
Cambodians overwhelmingly prefer to directly elect key officials at the subnational level rather than having them appointed. Q83-89 asked if certain positions at the subnational level should be directly elected by voters or appointed by the government. The highest support for direct elections for a position was for the commune chiefs (95%), followed by the provincial governors (92%). Of the positions tested, the lowest support for elections was for provincial and district police chiefs, with 80% of respondents wanting direct elections. Response rates were similar whether respondents thought the country was headed in the right or the wrong direction.

## 11 Media

### 11.1 Access to Information

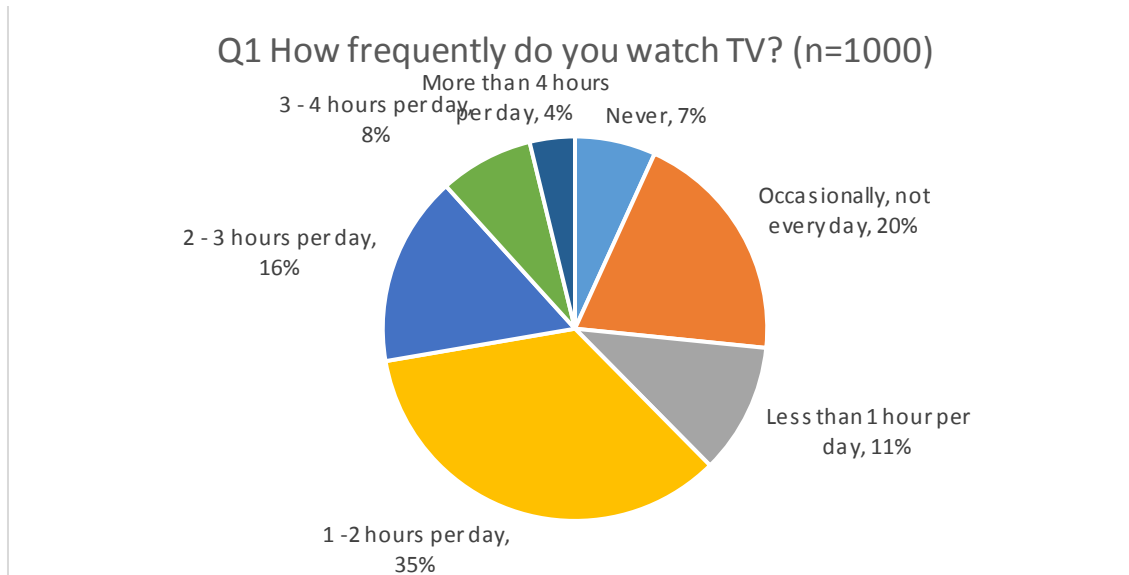


Just over half of all respondents said that TV was how they normally get information about what is happening in the country. Respondents were twice as likely to cite TV (54%) than radio (27%) as the source they normally get information about what is happening in the country.



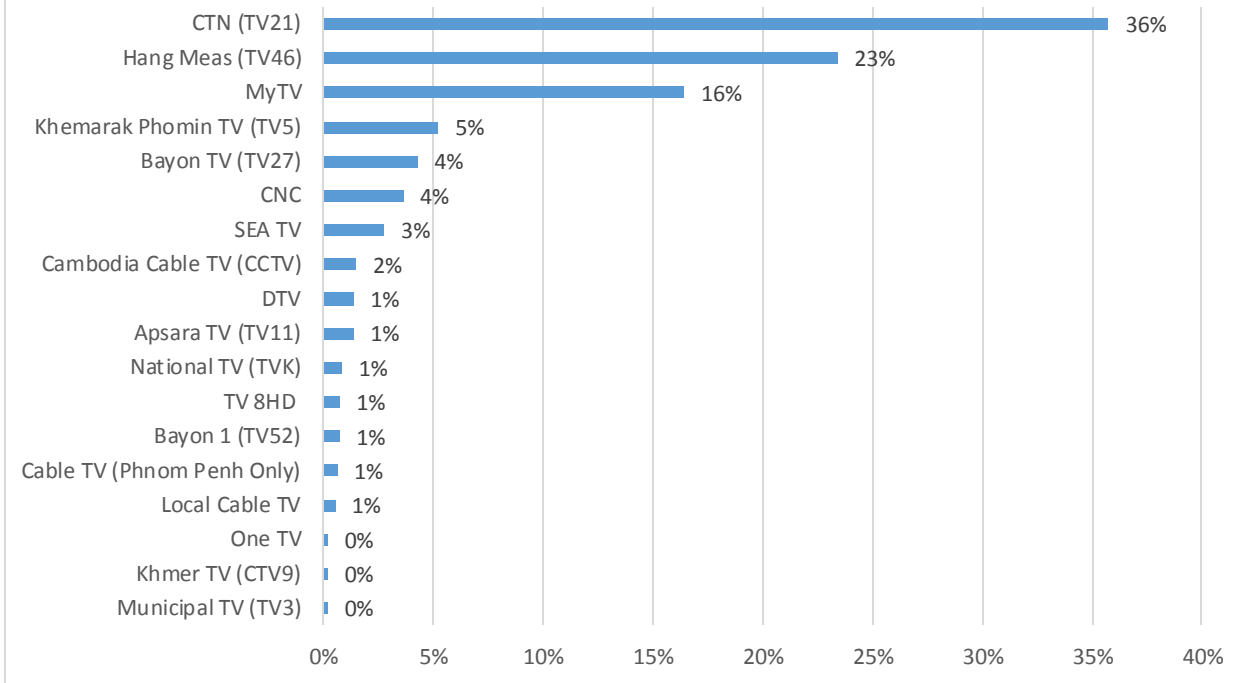
Information gathering through friends and family and neighbors (i.e. word-of-mouth) was cited by more than two-thirds (69%) of respondents as another way they get information on what is happening in the country.

## 11.2 TV



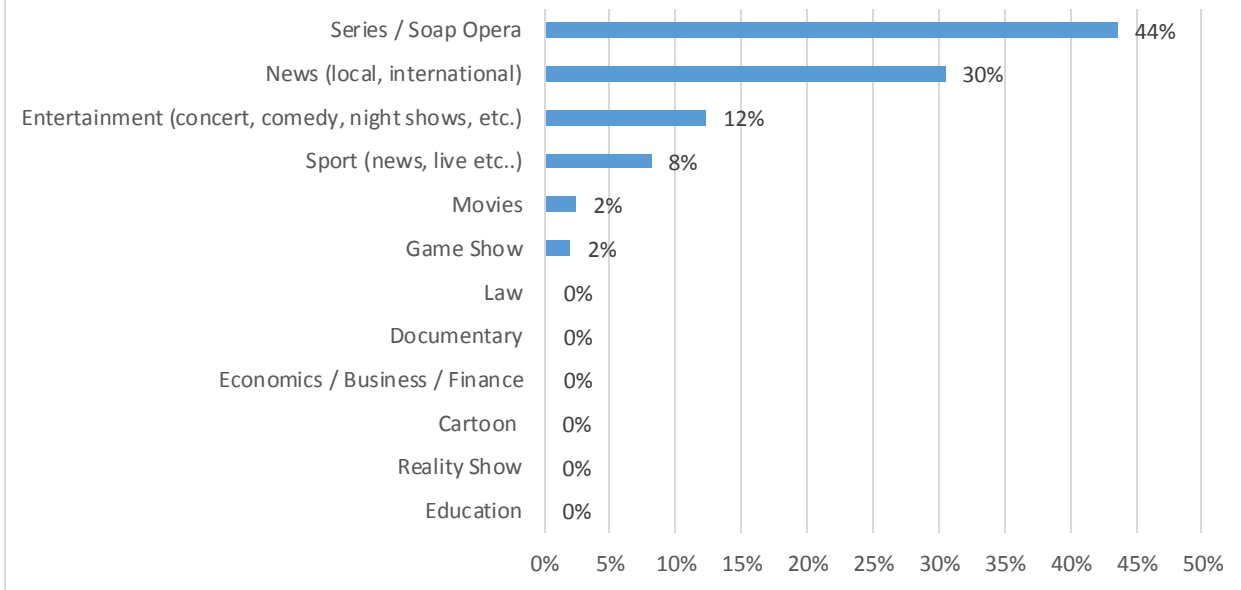
Two-thirds of respondents (63%) said they watch at least 1 hour of TV per day. 35 percent of respondents said they watch 1 -2 hours per day. Respondents with higher education and income levels said they watched TV only slightly more frequently than those with lower education and income levels. The survey results suggest that nearly all Cambodians have at least some to regular access to TV regardless of socio-economic group the person belongs to. When asked, (Q2) “Which day of the week do you watch TV most often?” about half of all respondents (54%) said “no particular day” while 33% said either “Saturday” or “Sunday”, and others days of the week were seldom singled out. When asked (Q4) “What time of day do you usually watch TV?” 61% said they watch TV between 5 – 9pm, while 14% said they watched TV between 8am – 12 noon and 17% said they watched TV between 12 noon and 5 pm.

### Q3a Which TV station do you watch most often? (n=932)

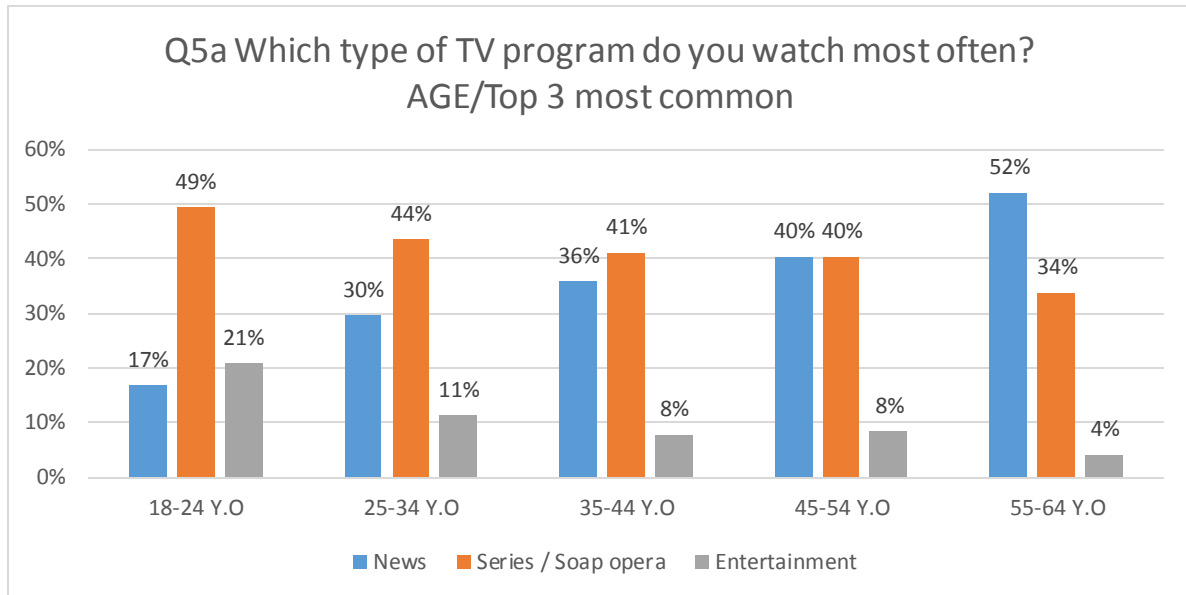


About one-third of respondents (36%) said they watched CTN most often. Combined the Royal Group’s CTN, MyTV and CNC TV stations account for over half (56%) of the stations respondents said they watched most often.

### Q5a What type of program do you watch most often (n=932)

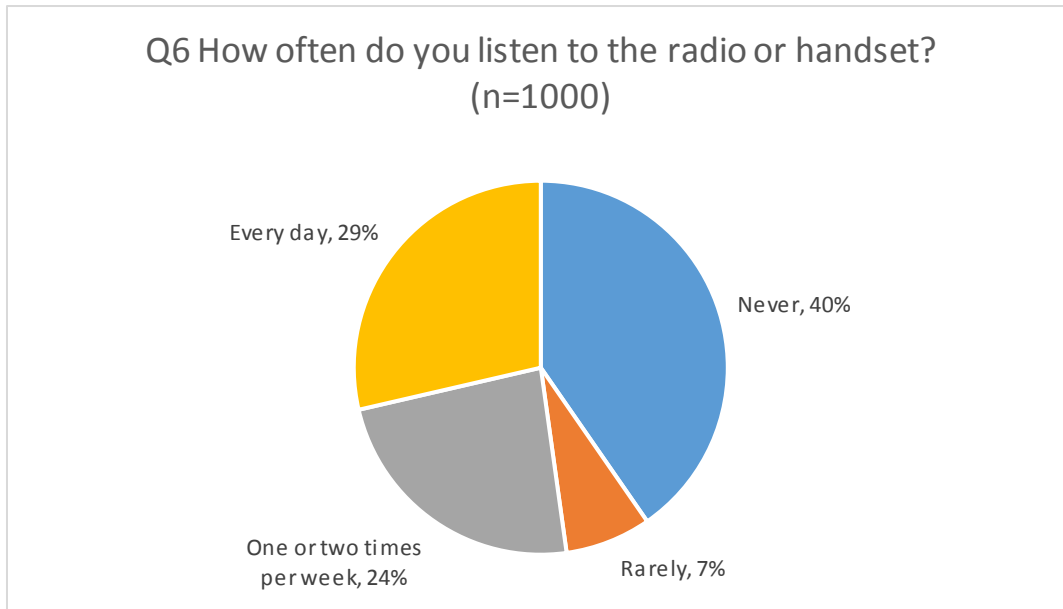


Series or soap opera were the most frequent (44%) type of program respondents watched, according to the survey results. The second most frequently watched program type the respondents said was local or international news (30%).

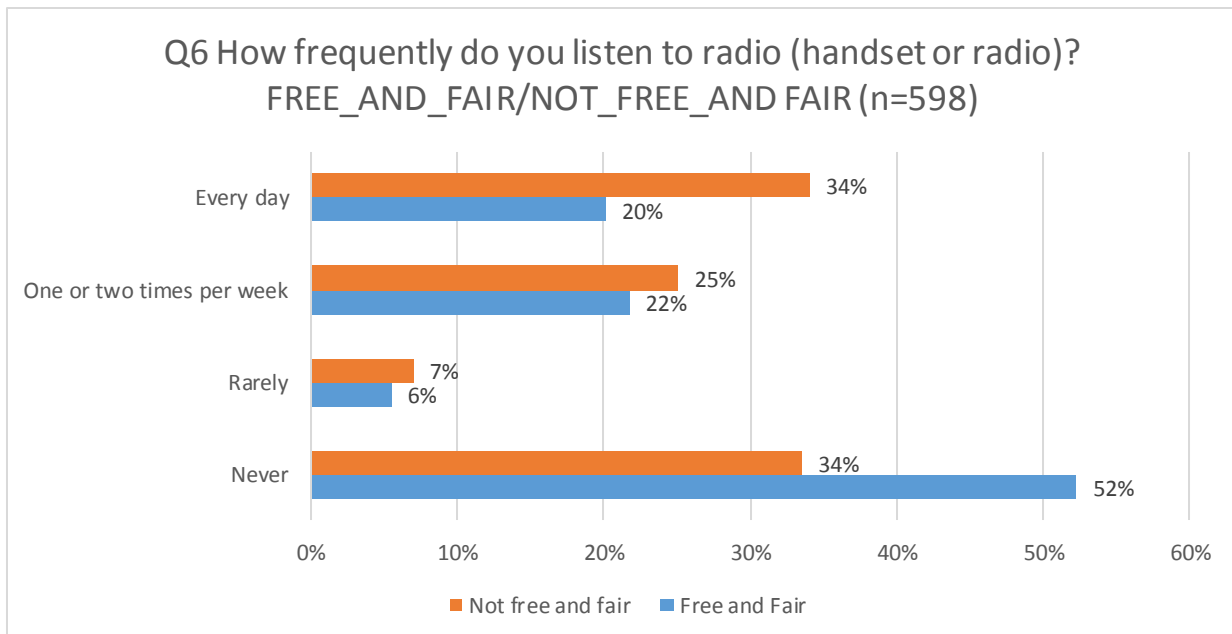


The TV content consumed correlated strongly with the age of the respondent. When assessing the top three most common type of TV program watched, older respondents were less likely to say they watched entertainment, series and soap operas, as compared to younger respondents. 55 to 64 year olds compared to 18 to 24 year olds were three times more likely to say that news was the type of program they most often watched. Assessing the impact of news on TV and political opinion, there was no significant correlation between watching the news and political opinion such as whether the respondent thought the elections were free and fair.

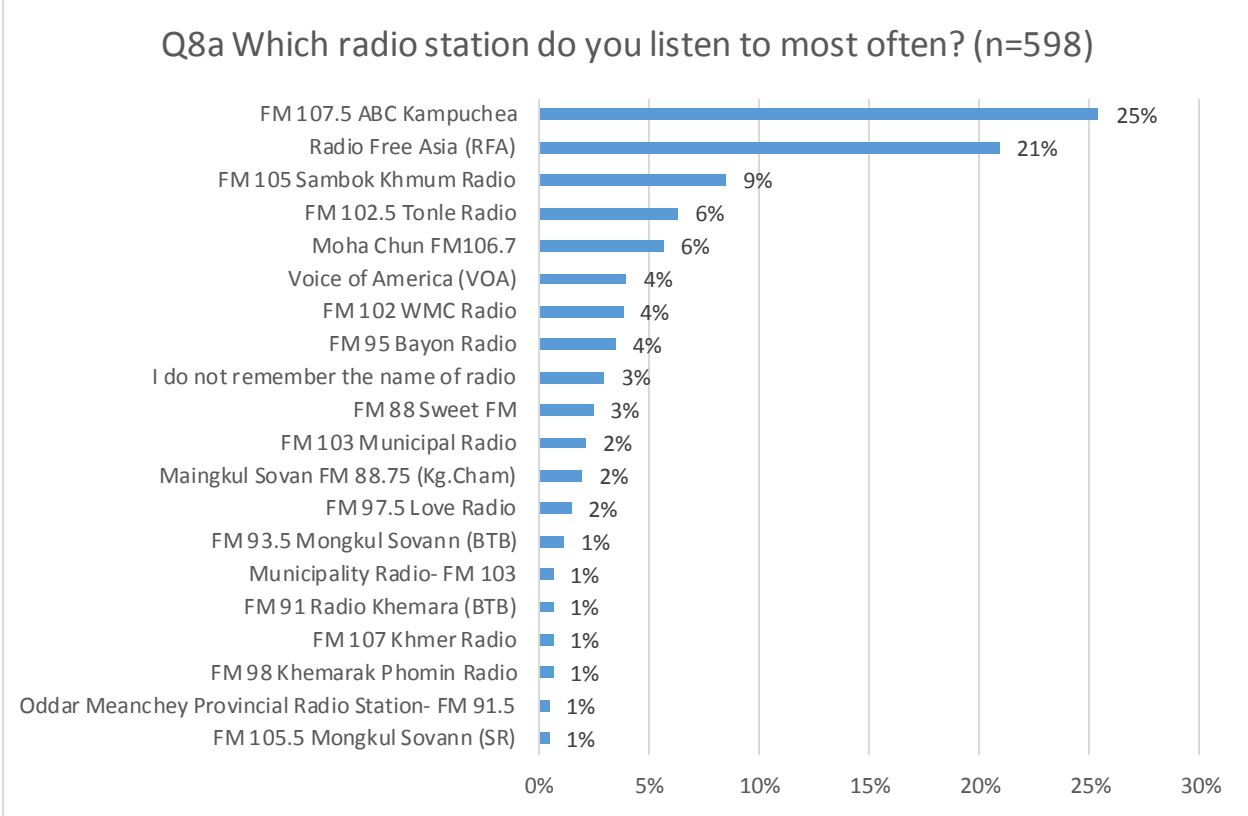
### 11.3 Radio



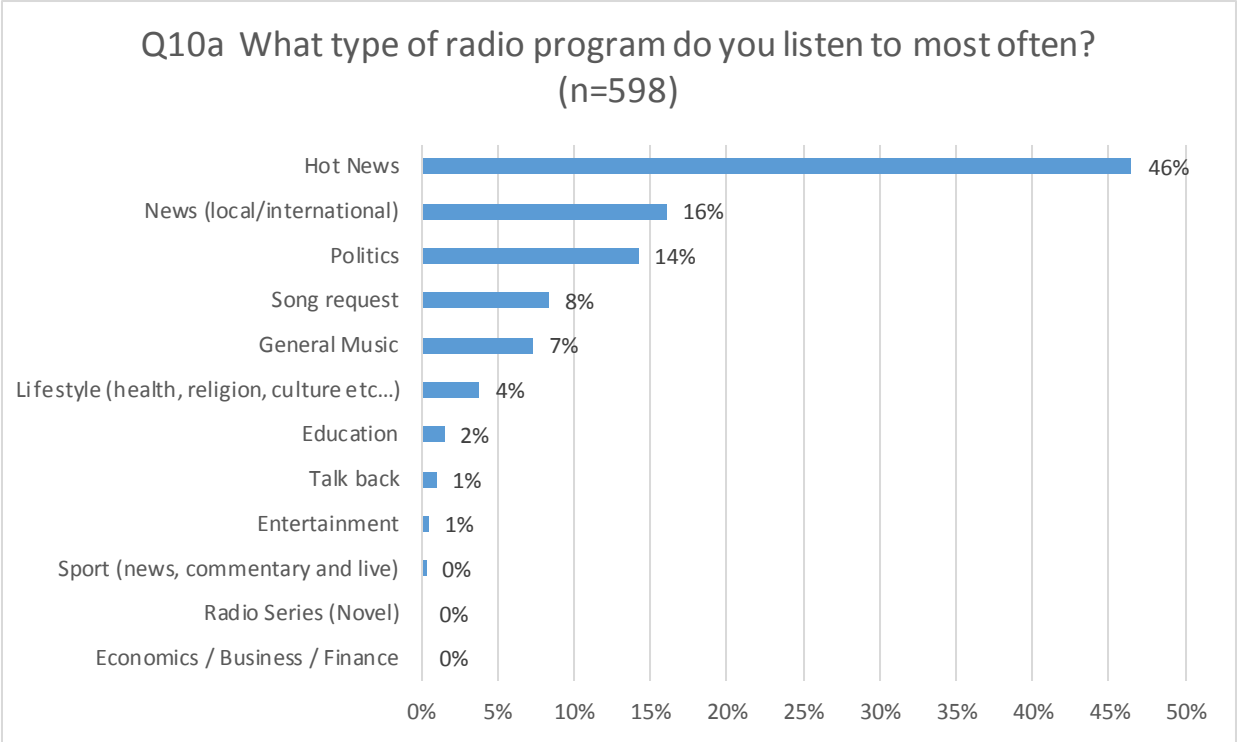
Less than one-third of respondents say they listen to the radio every day, suggesting there is considerably lower radio listenership than TV viewership. For example, 40% of respondents say they never listen to the radio compared to only seven percent of respondents said they never watch TV. While income appears to be weakly correlated with listening to radio, education is more significant. Fifty-seven percent of those with no formal schooling said they listen to the radio everyday compared to university graduates of which 33% say they listen to the radio every day. Whether the respondent was living in rural or urban area was not a significant factor for radio listenership. However, the respondent's sex correlated significantly with radio listening. For example, 47% of women say they do not listen to the radio compared to 33% of men.



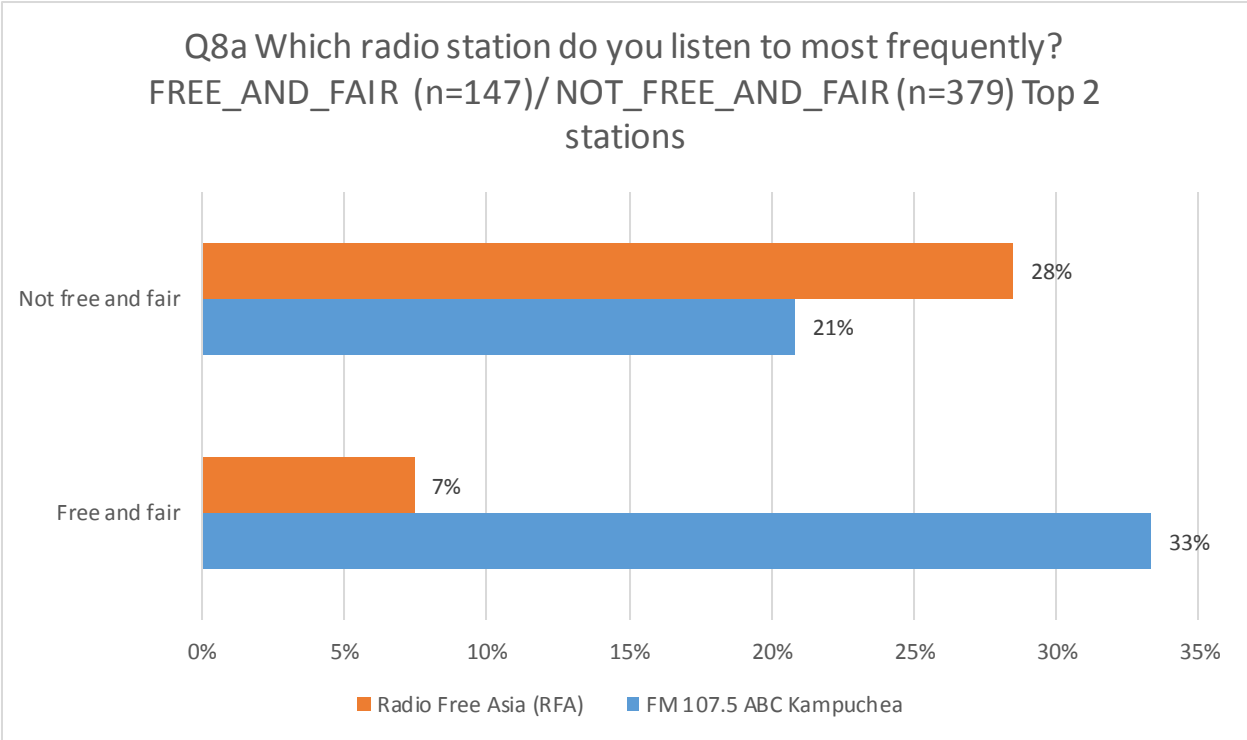
In contrast to TV, there was variation in political opinion depending on the radio program and how often the respondent listened. Respondents were more than twice as likely to say they believed the elections to be free and fair if they never listened to the radio compared to those who said they listened every day. Among those respondents who said the elections were free and fair, 20% said they listen to the radio every day. In contrast, among those who said the elections were not free and fair, 34% said they listen to the radio every day.



The most often listened to radio stations were FM 107.5 ABC Kampuchea (25%) and Radio Free Asia (21%).



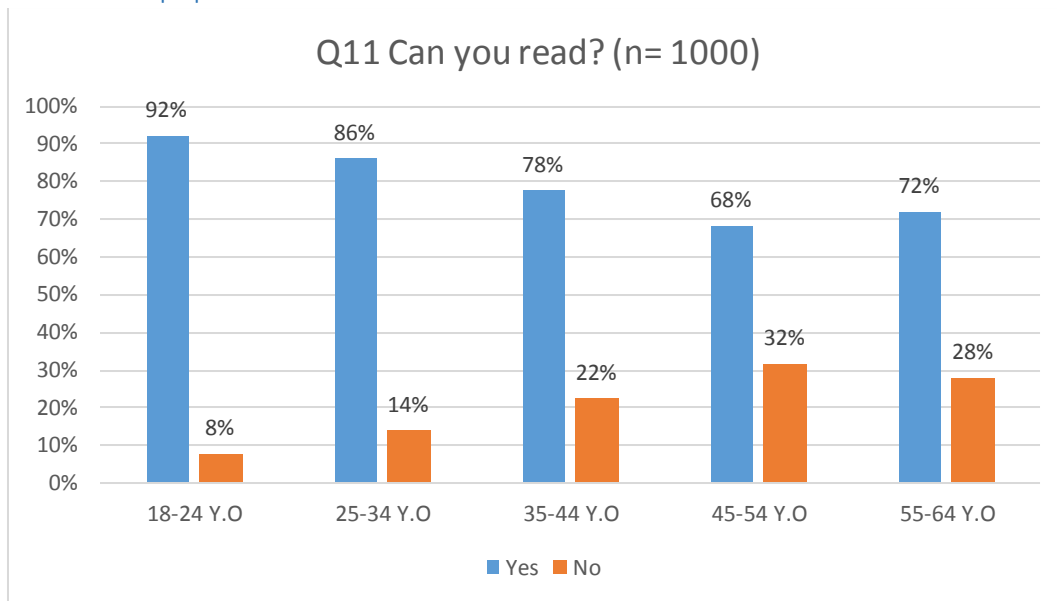
Respondents said they most often listen to “hot news” (46%), local or international news (16%), or politics (14%).



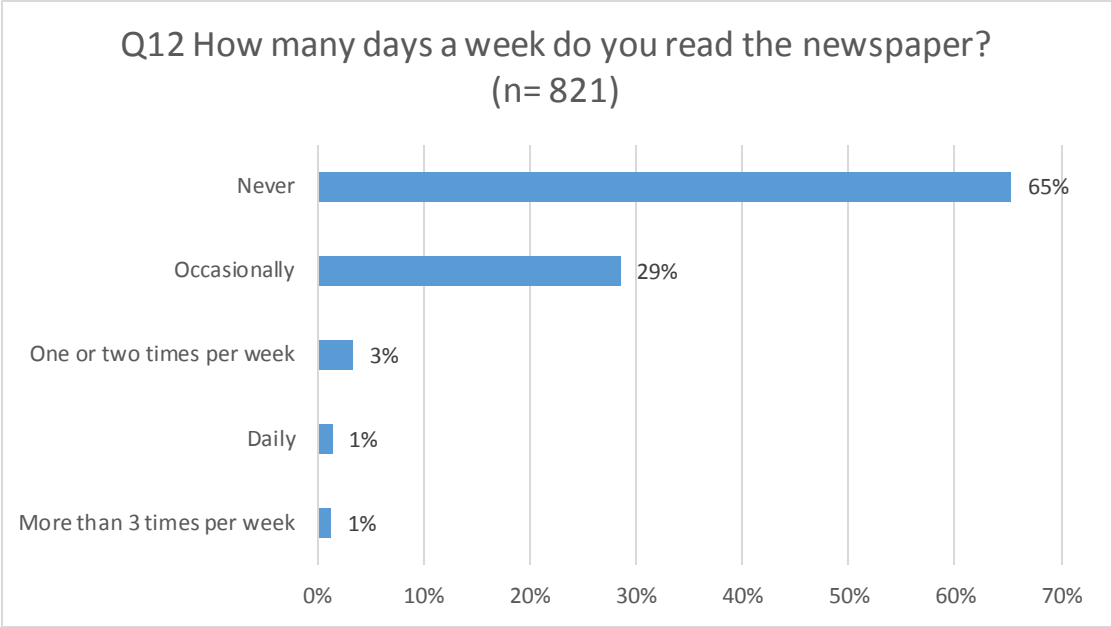


Respondents' opinions varied as to which of the top two radio stations they listened to most frequently depending on whether they thought the elections were free and fair or not. Among those who believed that the elections were free and fair, one-third (33%) listened to FM 107.5 FM ABC Kampuchea while only 7% listened to Radio Free Asia. Among those who said they thought the elections were not free and fair, frequency of listenership of the two radio stations was much closer. It is important to note that the data does not establish a cause-effect relationship only correlation. It might be that select a news channel based on views they already hold.

#### 11.4 Newspaper

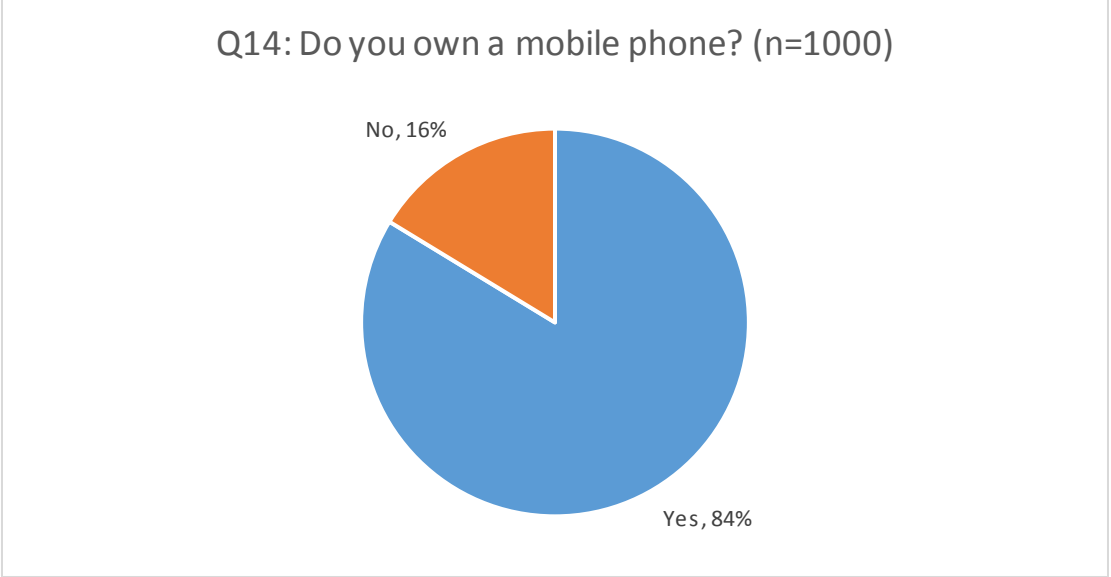


In assessing newspaper readership, the survey found that reading was strongly correlated with age. Almost one-third (32%) of 45-54 year olds say they cannot read compared to only 8% of 18 – 25 year olds who say they cannot read. Reading was also positively correlated with higher levels of education, higher income, living in an urban area and being a man. Among those living in urban areas, 93% said they could read. Among respondents living in rural areas, only 78% said they could read. Among men, 88% said they could read. Among women only 76% said they could read.

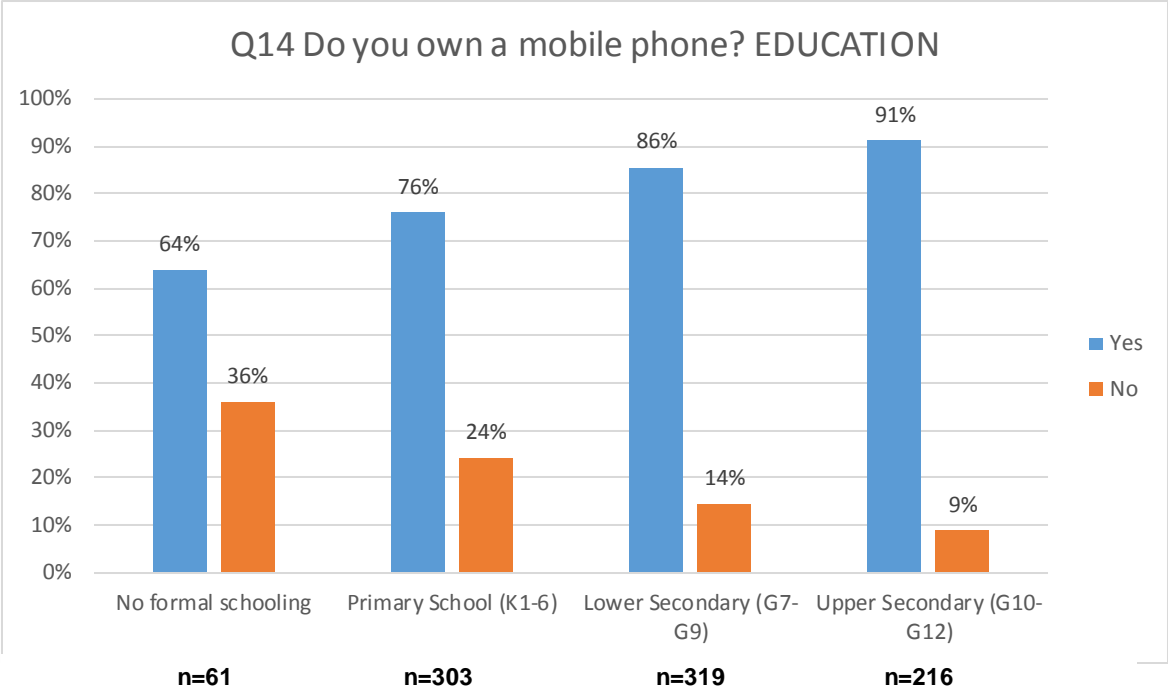


While over two-thirds (65%) of respondents said they never read the newspaper and only 1% of respondents said they read the newspaper on a daily basis, 29% said they read the newspaper occasionally (i.e. less than one time per week). As per Q11 on literacy, while more 18 – 24 year olds say they can read than 45 – 54 year olds, there is little difference between the two groups in their frequency of reading the newspaper.

11.5 Mobile Phone

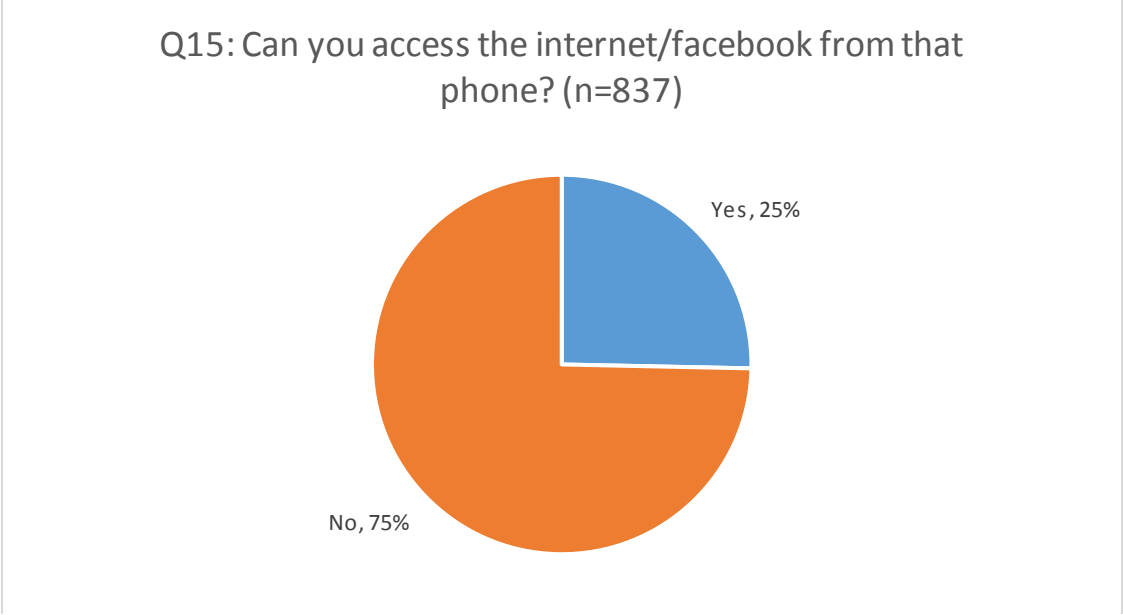


An overwhelmingly majority (84%) of respondents said they own a mobile phone. It is important to note that since the survey asked whether the respondents owned a mobile phone versus have access to a mobile phone. Therefore actual access to a mobile phone is likely to approach 100%.



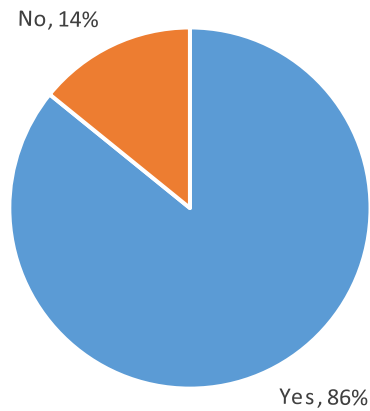
Mobile phone ownership went up with higher levels of educational attainment. Female, older, and lower income respondents were less likely to own a mobile phone.

11.6 Internet



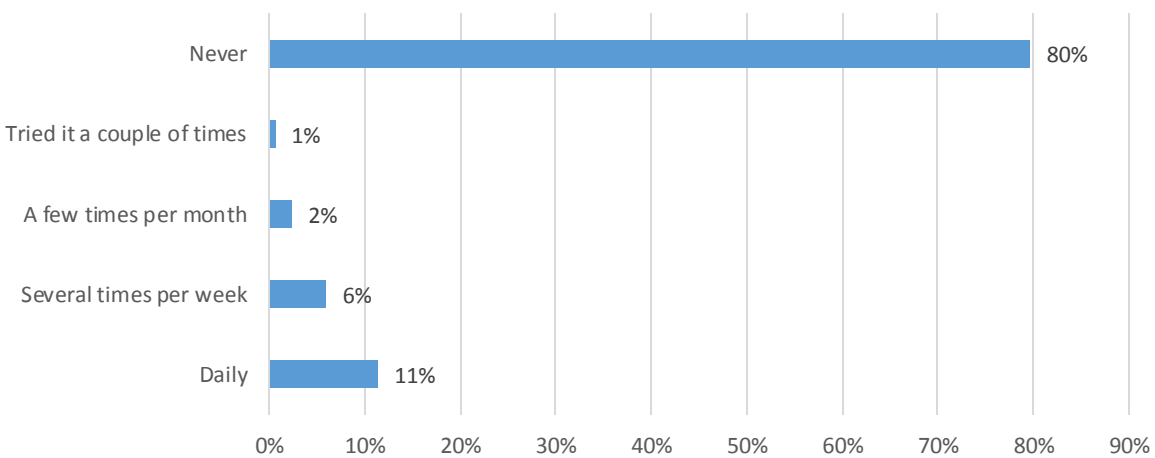
Among respondents who said they have a mobile phone, one-quarter (25%) said they have access to the internet.

Q17 Do you ever use your phone or computer to access the internet? (n=233)



The survey sample taken was not large enough to provide a statistically significant response to the question of whether the respondent uses their phone or computer to access the internet. However, understood as broadly indicative only, of the 233 respondents who said they owned a phone or computer, 86% of respondents say they had access to the internet through their phone or computer.

Q19\_1: What apps or programs do you normally use to access the internet? FACEBOOK (n=967)



Eleven percent of respondents said they access Facebook on a daily basis and 3% said they used YouTube on a daily basis. For other apps, usage was substantially lower. For example, less than 1% of respondents said they had ever used Twitter or WhatsApp. Unsurprisingly, the younger the respondent the more likely they were to access Facebook on a daily basis. However, the survey did not determine the type of content accessed by Facebook users.

## Appendix: Survey Questionnaire

### Cambodia Election Reform Study

Q'naire No. \_\_\_\_\_ [1-6]  
 Card No \_\_\_\_\_ [7-8]

<b>Respondent Identity :</b>	
Address : _____	Interviewer's Name: _____
_____	Start : _____
_____	Finish : _____
	Length of Interview : _____

#### **INSTRUCTION FOR RESEARCHER:**

DO THE INTERVIEW AS A CONVERSATION. ASK QUESTIONS WITH GENTLE, CAREFUL AND WITH SOFT TONE. DO NOT ASK AS AN INTEROGATION OR INTIMIDATION.

GIVE SUFFICIENT TIME TO RESPONDENT TO THINK AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS.

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION, PLEASE ASK WHETHER HE/SHE WANTS IT TO BE REPEATED.

#### **INITIAL SCREEN: RESPONDENTS MUST BE CAMBODIAN CITIZENS OVER 18**

**INTRODUCTION:** I would like to ask you some questions about the lives and concerns of Cambodians today. I work for XXXXXX, a private research center which is not part of the government and not working for it. Your answers will be confidential; no one will find out what you say. There are no right or wrong answers; we just want to find out your opinion, so you can say whatever you like.

#### **Screening Question**

- S1 Would you mind telling me how old you are?
- |                             |   |                  |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------|
| Less than 18 years old..... | 1 | <b>Terminate</b> |
| 18 – 24 Years old.....      | 2 | Continue         |
| 25 – 34 Years old.....      | 3 | Continue         |
| 35 – 44 Years old.....      | 4 | Continue         |
| 45 - 54 Years old.....      | 5 | Continue         |
| 55 – 64 Years old.....      | 6 | Continue         |
| Over 64 Years old.....      | 7 | <b>Terminate</b> |

- S2 Province
- |                  |   |              |    |
|------------------|---|--------------|----|
| Banteay Meanchey | 1 | Preah Vihear | 13 |
| Bat Dambang      | 2 | Prey Veang   | 14 |
| Kampong Cham     | 3 | Pousat       | 15 |
| Kampong Chhnang  | 4 | Rotanak Kiri | 16 |

Kampong Speu	5	Siem Reap	17
Kampong Thum	6	Krong Preah Sihanouk	18
Kampot	7	Stueng Traeng	19
Kandal	8	Svay Rieng	20
Kaoh Kong	9	Takaev	21
Kracheh	10	Otdar Mean Chey	22
Mondul Kiri	11	Kep	23
Phnom Penh	12	Pailen	24

## 1- Media Exposure and Information Source

*I would now like to talk about your media exposure...Firstly lets talk about your TV viewing habits*

### Showcard

Q1. How frequently do you watch TV? (Record SA)

Never.....	1	<b>Go to Q6</b>
Occasionally, not every day.....	2	
Less than 1 hour per day.....	3	
1 -2 hours per day.....	4	
2 - 3 hours per day.....	5	
3 - 4 hours per day.....	6	
More than 4 hours per day.....	7	

Q2. Which day of the week do you watch TV most often?

Monday.....	1
Tuesday.....	2
Wednesday.....	3
Thursday.....	4
Friday.....	5
Saturday.....	6
Sunday.....	7
No particular day.....	8

Q3a. Which TV Station do you watch most often? **Record SA**

Q3b. Which other TV stations do you watch occasionally? **Record MA**

	Q3a Most often	Q3b Occasionally
Municipal TV (TV3) .....	1.....	1
Khemarak Phomin TV (TV5) .....	2.....	2
National TV (TVK) .....	3.....	3
Khmer TV (CTV9) .....	4.....	4
Apsara TV (TV11) .....	5.....	5
Bayon TV (TV27) .....	6.....	6
CTN (TV21) .....	7.....	7
MyTV.....	8.....	8
SEA TV.....	9.....	9
Bayon 1 (TV52).....	10.....	10
Hang Meas (TV46) .....	11.....	11

CNC.....	12.....	12
Cambodia Cable TV (CCTV) .....	13.....	13
Cable TV (Phnom Penh Only) .....	14.....	14
Satellite TV.....	15.....	15
Local Cable TV.....	16.....	16
DTV.....	17.....	17
One TV.....	18.....	18
Other (specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I do not remember the name of TV.....	98.....	98
Don't watch TV.....	99.....	99

Q4. What time of day do you usually watch TV?

5 - 8 am.....	1
8 am - 12 noon.....	2
12 noon - 5 pm.....	3
5 - 9 pm.....	4
9-11 pm.....	5
Don't know .....	98

Q5a. Which type of programs do you watch most often? **Record SA**

Q5b. Which other type of programs do you watch occasionally? **Record MA**

	Q5a Most often	Q5b Occasionally
News (local, international).....	1.....	1
Economics / Business / Finance.....	2.....	2
Series / Soap Opera.....	3.....	3
Movies.....	4.....	4
Sport (news, live etc..).....	5.....	5
Entertainment (concert, comedy, night shows, etc.).....	6.....	6
Documentary.....	7.....	7
Education.....	8.....	8
Game Show.....	9.....	9
Reality Show.....	10.....	10
Lifestyle (health, religion, culture etc..).....	11.....	11
Others (Specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**RADIO: Now I would like to talk about your Radio Listening Habits**

**Showcard**

Q6. How frequently do you listen to radio (handset or radio)?

DO NOT READ - Record SA

Never.....	1>>> Go to Q11
Rarely.....	2>>> Specify: _____
One or two times per week.....	3
Everyday.....	4
Other (Specify.....)	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q7. Which day of the week do you listen to radio most often? Record SA

Monday.....	1
Tuesday.....	2
Wednesday.....	3
Thursday.....	4
Friday.....	5
Saturday.....	6
Sunday.....	7
No particular day.....	8

Q8a. Which Radio Station do you listen most often? **Record SA**

Q8b. Which other radio stations do you listen occasionally? **Record MA**

	Q8a Most Often	Q8b Occasionally
National Radi0 (AM 918).....	1.....	1
FM 88 Sweet FM.....	2.....	2
FM 90.5 Ta Phrom.....	3.....	3
FM 95 Bayon Radio.....	4.....	4
FM 97.5 Love Radio.....	5.....	5
FM 98 Khemarak Phomin Radio.....	6.....	6
FM 102 WMC Radio.....	7.....	7
FM 102.5 Tonle Radio.....	8.....	8
FM 103 Municipal Radio.....	9.....	9
FM 105 Sambok Khmum Radio.....	10.....	10
FM 106.5 Sarika.....	11.....	11
FM 107 Khmer Radio.....	12.....	12
FM 107.5 ABC Kampuchea.....	13.....	13
Voice of America (VOA).....	14.....	14
Radio Free Asia (RFA).....	15.....	15
FM 89 NRG.....	16.....	16
FM 93.5 Mongkul Sovann (BTB).....	17.....	17
FM 91 Radio Khemara (BTB).....	18.....	18
Maingkul Sovan FM 88.75 (Kg.Cham).....	19.....	19
FM 105.5 Mongkul Sovann (SR).....	20.....	20
Other (specify _____).....	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Other (specify _____).....	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Other (specify _____).....	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Other (specify _____).....	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
I do not remember the name of radio.....	98.....	98

Q9. What time of day do you usually listen to radio?

5 - 8 am.....	1
8 am - 12 noon.....	2
12 noon - 5 pm.....	3
5 - 9 pm.....	4
9-11 pm.....	5
Don't know.....	98

Q10a. What type of program do you listen to most often? **Record SA**

Q10b. Which other type of programs do you listen to nowadays? **Record MA**



	Q10a Most Often	Q10b Other
Hot News.....	0.....	0
News (local/international).....	1.....	1
Economics / Business / Finance.....	2.....	2
Politics.....	3.....	3
Radio Series (Novel).....	4.....	4
Song request.....	5.....	5
Sport (news, commentary and live).....	6.....	6
General Music.....	7.....	7
Documentary.....	8.....	8
Education.....	9.....	9
Entertainment.....	10.....	10
Lifestyle (health, religion, culture etc... ).....	11.....	11
Talk back.....	13.....	13
Others (Specify _____) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Other media: Now I would like to talk about other ways to get information**

Q11. Can you read?

- Yes..... 1
- No (includes "A LITTLE BIT")..... 2>>> Go to Q13a
- Don't know / no response..... 98>>> Go to Q13a

Q12. **IF ABLE TO READ:** How many days a week do you read a newspaper?

**DO NOT READ - Record SA**

- Never..... 1
- Occasionally..... 2
- One or two times per week..... 3
- More than 3 times per week..... 4
- Daily..... 5

Q13a. How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country?

Q13b. Is there any other way you get information about what is happening in the country ? (**DO NOT READ OUT RESPONSES**)

	Q13a	Q13b
TV.....	1.....	1
Radio.....	2.....	2
Newspapers.....	3.....	3
Village chief.....	4.....	4
Commune chief.....	5.....	5
Religious leader.....	6.....	6
Friends and family and neighbors.....	7.....	7
Organization.....	8.....	8
Group chief.....	9.....	9
Office.....	10.....	10
Computer/Smart phone/internet.....	11.....	11
Cellphone.....	12.....	12
Other (specify _____) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know / refused.....	98.....	98
No other / just one.....	99.....	99

Q13c. if 13a=11, ask: do you ever inform people who are not connected to internet about news you read online?

- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2>>> skip to Q14

Q13d. If 13c is 'yes', ask: who do you inform? **Record MA**

- Neighbors..... 1
- Parents.....2
- Friends.....3
- Relatives.....4
- Other (specify)\_\_\_\_\_

**1.1 Social media**

Q14. Do you own a mobile phone?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2>>> Go to Q16
- DK.....3>>> Go to Q16

Q15. Can you access the internet/facebook from that phone?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- DK.....98

Q16. Do you have a computer at home that you use to access the internet?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2>>> Go to Q19
- DK.....98>>> Go to Q19

Q17. (if yes to either or both of the previous two questions) Do you ever use your phone or computer to access social media?

- Yes..... 1
- No.....2>>> Go to Q20
- DK.....98>>> Go to Q20

Q18. (if yes) How often?

- One or more times per day..... 1
- One or more times per week..... 2
- Rarely..... 3
- Other (specify)\_\_\_\_\_

**Showcard**

Q19. What apps or programs do you normally use to access the internet (tick all mentioned)?

<b>READ OUT THE FOLLOWING ATTRIBUTES</b>	<b>Daily</b>	<b>Several times per week</b>	<b>A few times per month</b>	<b>Tried it a couple of times</b>	<b>Never</b>
Facebook.....	1	2	3	4	5
Twitter.....	1	2	3	4	5
YouTube.....	1	2	3	4	5
Instagram.....	1	2	3	4	5
Snapchat.....	1	2	3	4	5
WhatsApp.....	1	2	3	4	5
Viber.....	1	2	3	4	5
Line.....	1	2	3	4	5
Tango.....	1	2	3	4	5

2. Elections

Now I would like to talk a little about elections in general, and about the elections last year

**2.1. Election Process**

Q20. Do you happen to know if you are registered to vote?

- Yes, I'm registered.....1
- No, I'm not registered.....2
- Not sure .....98
- No response.....99

Q21. Many people have moved from their home area to find work, but are still registered to vote in their home area. How about you, do you live (sleep and work) where you are registered to vote?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- DK.....98

Q22. Would you prefer to vote in your home area, or where you actually live and work?

- Where I am from.....1
- Where I live and work.....2

DK.....98

Q23. I don't want to know who you voted for. But tell me: Did you vote in the National Assembly elections last year?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- DK.....98

**Showcard**

Q24. Do you think that voting in the National Assembly elections can make a big difference, some difference, little difference, or no difference at all?

- Big difference.....1
- Some difference.....2
- Little difference.....3
- No difference at all.....4
- DK..... 98

Q25. Do you think there are any significant problems in the way elections are conducted in Cambodia?

- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2 >>>Go to Q27
- Don't know ..... 9 >>>Go to Q27

Q26 (If 'problems') What problems do you see in the way elections are conducted in Cambodia?

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**2.2. Election Fairness**

Q27. (SHOW CARD, POINT TO EACH OPTION AS MENTIONED) Some people think the National Assembly elections last year were free and fair, some think they were not free and fair, and some are not sure. How about you? Which of these opinions do you agree with?

- Free and fair..... 1
- Not free and fair.....2
- Not sure / maybe / don't know.....98

Q28. Here are two views about parties giving money in elections. **SHOW CARD WITH STATEMENTS, POINT TO EACH AS READ.**

Some people say, "It's OK to take money from a political party. Poor people need money, and it might be dangerous to refuse to accept money or a gift. Because the vote is secret, you can still vote for the party you like."

Some people say, "If you someone gives you money or a gift to vote for a particular party, the correct action is to vote for that party."

Which of these is closest to your view?

- OK to take money and vote for party you like 1
- If take money, correct action is to vote for party 2
- Don't know 9

### 3. Political Parties and Quality of Representation

#### Showcard

Q29. What difference do you see, if any, between the different political parties in Cambodia today?

- No differences.....1
- The differences but can't specify..... 2
- Numbers / power / members / members in Assembly..... 3
- Responsiveness to citizens.....4
- Corruption.....5
- Commitment to development..... 6
- Ideology.....7
- Issues they stress..... 8
- Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know if there are differences.....98

#### Showcard

Q30. I don't want to know which party you like, but thinking about that party, suppose someone said: "they care about people like you." Would you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?

- Agree strongly..... 1
- Agree somewhat.....2
- Disagree somewhat.....3
- Disagree strongly.....4
- Don't know..... 98

Q31. Many people are not sure of the names of their province's representatives in the National Assembly. Can you name one of yours?

#### INTERVIEWER: RECORD RESPONSE VERBATIM

#### SUPERVISOR: CHECK AGAINST PROVINCIAL LIST, CODE CORRECT OR INCORRECT

- Name: \_\_\_\_\_
- Correct.....1
  - Incorrect.....2
  - Couldn't name / don't know.....98

Q32. If you think about the persons elected to National Assembly, suppose someone said: "My MP addresses the major problems of my constituency in The National Assembly". Would you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?

- Agree strongly..... 1
- Agree somewhat.....2
- Disagree somewhat.....3
- Disagree strongly.....4
- Don't know/no comment.....98

Q33. As far as you know, have any of the candidates elected to the National Assembly who represent your province visited your area since the last National Assembly election in 2013?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Not sure/ don't know..... 98

Q34. Different people have different ideas about what the people in the National Assembly do. What do you think they do? **[PROBE IF NECESSARY]**

**DO NOT READ ALOUD -- CODE ALL MENTIONED, MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

- Elect the Prime Minister ..... 1
- Bring roads, schools, pumps, and development..... 2
- Make laws.....3
- Help people solve problems..... 4
- Ask questions of Ministers..... 5
- Other (Specify): .....
- Don't know of any role (**DO NOT READ**)..... 98

**4. DEMOCRATIC VALUES**

Now I'd like to ask about something else. A lot of people in Cambodia today are talking about democracy.

Q35a. If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?

**INTERVIEWER: RECORD RESPONSE VERBATIM, DO NOT CODE**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Showcard**

Q35b. If respondent say "Don't Know what democracy is" then show **Showcard** and ask respondent to choose the answer which he/she think is close to his/her opinion.

- People have their voice heard..... 1
- Freedom / right to speak / to express opinions / ideas..... 2
- Freedom to vote / choose their representative in National
- Assembly / choose leader..... 3
- People have power to do what they want / People have rights..... 4
- Voice of majority .....5
- Pluralism / multi-parties / lead with hierarchy system.....6
- Others.....

**4.1 Political Efficacy**

**Showcard**

Q36. How much influence do you think someone like you can have over national government decisions?

- A lot.....1
- Some.....2
- Very little.....3
- None at all.....4
- Don't know / refused.....98

Q37. How much influence do you think someone like you can have over commune government decisions?

- A lot.....1
- Some.....2
- Very little.....3

None at all.....	4
Don't know / refused.....	98

**4.2 Interest in Politics**

**Showcard**

Q38. How interested are you in politics?

Very interested.....	1
Somewhat interested.....	2
Not very interested.....	3
Not interested at all.....	4
Don't know.....	98

**Showcard**

Q39. How often do you discuss politics with friends?

Almost all the time.....	1	
Often.....	2	
Not very often.....	3	Almost
never / Never.....	4	Don't
know.....	98	

Q40 . Have you ever worked as a volunteer for any political party or candidates, helping in their campaign or as a party agent in an election campaign in 2013 or 1993 or 1998?

Yes.....	1
No.....	2
Don't know / no response .....	98

Q41. Could you ever imagine yourself running for commune council or some other public office in an election?

Yes .....	1
No.....	2
Don't know .....	98

**4.3 Civic Participation**

Q42. Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it. **Record MA**

Death association.....	1
Kitchen supplies / Pot association.....	2
Students' parents association.....	3
Water supply association .....	4
Farmer association.....	5
Elderly association.....	6
Women association.....	7
Youth association.....	8
Construction association.....	9
Teacher association.....	10
Student association.....	11
Non-religious charity group.....	12
Trade association.....	13
Writer / Journalist association.....	14
Others.....	



None .....99

Q43. (SHOW CARD) Are there any groups on the list I read that you would like to join? **Record MA**

- Death association.....1
- Kitchen supplies / Pot association.....2
- Students’ parents association.....3
- Water supply association.....4
- Farmer association.....5
- Elderly association.....6
- Women association.....7
- Youth association .....8
- Construction association.....9
- Teacher association.....10
- Student association.....11
- Non-religious charity group.....12
- Trade association.....13
- Writer / Journalist association.....14
- Others\_\_\_\_\_

Q44. Have you ever helped make a decision at a meeting of an association or group you belong to?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Don’t know.....98

Q45. Have you ever taken part in a demonstration on any issue?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2 Skip to Q47
- DK.....9 Skip to Q47

Q46. If yes, can you tell me what the issue was?

- Political..... 1
- Environment..... 2
- Education..... 3
- Health.....4
- Democracy.....5
- Other ( specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Q47. I’m interested in how you learned about the demonstration and kept up with events. Can you look at this list and tell me which media you used most often?

- Cell phone (voice)..... 1
- Cell phone (text or SMS).....2
- Smartphone (3G or internet).....3
- Computer/internet.....4
- TV.....5
- Radio.....6
- Newspapers .....7
- Neighbors/friends/family.....8



Party leaders/activists.....	9	
Facebook.....	10	
Others (specify)_____		<input type="checkbox"/>

**4.4 Persistence of Traditional Social Structures**

Q48. On some occasions, democracy doesn't. When that happens there are people that say we need a strong leader who doesn't have to be elected through voting. Others say that even if things don't function, democracy is always the best. What do you think?

We need a strong leader that doesn't have to be elected.....	1
Democracy is always the best way.....	2
Don't know.....	98

Q49. SHOW CARD, POINT TO EACH ALTERNATIVE AS READ: Here are some different ways people think about the government. The first is that the people and government should be equals, and government should listen to the criticisms voiced by people. The second is that government should be like a father and the people like a child he must look after. The third is that the government is like a boss and the people like a worker who must obey. Which of these is closest to your view of what the government should be?

Government and people are equals.....	1
Government is the father, the people are a child.....	2
Government is the boss, the people are a worker.....	3
Don't know / not sure.....	98

**Showcard**

Q50. I will now read you a statement. Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. (Read statement) *“Because it's hard to know the candidates, or which candidate will be best for our area, it makes sense to follow the recommendations of local leaders when deciding who to vote for.”*

Agree strongly.....	1
Agree somewhat.....	2
Disagree somewhat.....	3
Disagree strongly.....	4
Don't know.....	9

**4.5 Political Tolerance**

Q51. Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area?

Yes.....	1
No.....	2
Don't know.....	98

Q52. Suppose a friend of yours supported a party that most people did not like. Would you accept that, or would it end your friendship?

Would accept it.....	1
Would end friendship.....	2

Don't know / Not sure.....98

Q53. Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live?

Yes..... 1  
 No..... 2  
 Don't know.....98

**4.6 Trust**

Q54. Generally speaking, do you think that most people can be trusted?

Yes..... 1  
 No..... 2  
 Don't know..... 98

**Showcard**

Q55. Now, speaking in general terms of the people from here, what do you think about people in this neighborhood are generally:

very trustworthy..... 1  
 somewhat trustworthy..... 2  
 not very trustworthy ..... 3  
 untrustworthy ..... 4  
 Don't know/no response..... 98

**4.7 Trust in Institutions**

I will read you a list of institutions. For each institution please rate its integrity according to this scale (show card with responses and read responses). (Read institutions and circle response).

**Showcard**

		Very high integrity	High integrity	Neither high nor low integrity	Low integrity	Very low integrity	No response
Q56	National Assembly	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q57	Political parties	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q58	Ministry of Interior	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q59	Sangk	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q60	Army	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q61	Police	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q62	Courts	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q63	NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q64	Media/journalists	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q65	Elec. Comm.	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q66	Intl. Community	1	2	3	4	5	9

#### 4.8 Local Government

Q67. Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about the local commune government. Tell me, whose decisions affect your life more: the national government in Phnom Penh, or the communal government in this town or village?

National government.....	1
Local government.....	2
Both equally.....	3
Don't know.....	98

#### 5. Gender Issues

Now I'd like to ask about something else.

Q68. Do you think that commune council members should be mostly men, or do you think that women should be just as active as men in commune councils?

Mostly for men.....	1
Women just as active.....	2 <i>Skip to Q70</i>
Don't know .....	98 <i>Skip to Q70</i>

**Q69. IF MOSTLY FOR MEN ON Q.68:** Why do you say that?

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Q70. Do you think a woman should make her own choice for voting, or do you think men should advise her on her choice?

Make her own choice..... 1  
Men should advise her..... 2  
Don't know..... 98

Q71. Would you prefer to be represented by a man or a woman in the National Assembly?

A man.....1  
A woman.....2  
Makes no difference (DO NOT READ OUT).....3  
MUST BE (VOLUNTEERED) .....4  
Don't know / no response.....98

Composition of the NEC and electoral bodies

*The Law on the Election of Members to the National Assembly provides for a National Election Committee or NEC that is responsible for planning, organizing and managing the election in the whole country. The Law says the NEC shall be an independent and neutral body in carrying out its duties. The Law currently provides that the NEC is appointed by the government.*

Q72. Have you heard of the National Election Committee before?

Yes.....1  
No.....2 **skip to Q74**  
Don't know ..... 98 **skip to Q74**

Q73. (If 'heard') How satisfied are you with the work of the National Election Committee?

Very satisfied.....1  
Fairly satisfied .....2  
Somewhat dissatisfied .....3  
Very dissatisfied.....4  
Don't know..... 98

Q74. Do you think the decisions of the NEC are free from influence of political parties?

Yes..... 1  
No..... 2  
Don't know .....98

Q75. Currently election commissioners should be neutral individuals with no party affiliation, but some people say it's hard to find neutral people and that it would be better to have a balanced commission with representatives from each party. Which is closer to your view?

Keep current system..... 1  
Have a "balanced" commission..... 2

Q76. In some countries the election commission is completely independent of government and has a separate budget for elections, while in others (like Cambodia) to save money the commission works through existing government ministries like the Ministry of Interior. Which model do you prefer?

- Independent commission, regardless of cost..... 1
- Current system, it's less expensive..... 2

**Equitable access to the media**

*Article 16 of the Law on National Assembly Election states the NEC shall take measures and providing coordination to ensure the use of the public media based on equal principle.*

Q77. Do you feel you have enough information about all political parties to make an informed decision on Election Day?

- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2
- Don't know ..... 98

Q78. Is it easier for you to get information from one political party than another political party?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Don't know ..... 98

**Reform Issues**

Q79. The current government won the last election, but some parties dispute the result and demand election reform. Some people say elections should be held as soon as possible, while others think it will be important to enact necessary reforms before elections are held, or to wait until the current government's term expires. Which is closer to your view?

- As soon as possible..... 1
- Wait until reforms are passed..... 2
- Wait until current term expires..... 3
- Don't know..... 98

**Election System and Decentralization**

Now I would like to talk about representation.

Q80. Some people have proposed dropping the party list system completely, and electing all MPs directly as individuals. How about you? Do you prefer to vote for a political party, or would you prefer to vote for an individual?

- Party.....1
- Individual..... 2
- Don't know..... 98

Q81. Some people say that one way to reduce tension between political parties and improve governance and accountability would be to devolve some powers from the central government to local governments, and to directly elect governors and other local officials. Other people believe that government will be more effective and efficient if centrally controlled. Which is closer to your view?

- Better to decentralize.....1
- Current system is more effective.....2
- Don't know..... 98

Q82. I will read a list of government positions. As I read each one, tell me if you think that the person in that position should be directly elected by voters or appointed by the government

#	Position	Elected	Appointed	DK/NR
83	Provincial governors	1	2	98
84	Mayors of cities and towns	1	2	98
85	District Governors	1	2	98
86	Commune Chiefs	1	2	98
87	Village Chiefs	1	2	98
88	Provincial Police Chief	1	2	98
89	District Police Chief	1	2	98

#### 10. Financing of political parties

Q90. To what degree do you think money influences the outcome of elections in Cambodia?

- Strongly influence.....1
- Somewhat influence.....2
- Somewhat not influence .....3
- Strongly not influence.....4
- Don't know/no comment..... 98

Q91. Do you feel that foreign campaign contributions (money) to political parties influences election outcomes in Cambodia?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2 **Skip to Q93**
- Don't know .....98 **Skip to Q93**

Q92. (If so) From which foreign country(s) do the contributions come?

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#### Neutrality of civil society organizations

Q93. Do civil society organizations actively support political parties in your locality?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Don't know ..... 98

Q94. Can people associate freely in your locality?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Don't know ..... 98

#### Review of election monitoring groups

Q95. Have you ever heard of civil society organizations that monitor the elections?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2 **skip to Q96**
- Don't know ..... 98 **skip to Q96**

Q95a. (If 'Yes') Do you think such election monitoring groups/organizations work 'independently' or 'not independently' (in other words do they side with one political party over another political party)?

- Independently ..... 1
- Not independently ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 98

Revision of electoral calendar

Q96. Do you think one month for the election campaign period is sufficient?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2
- Don't know ..... 98

Mood

Q97. Generally speaking, do you think things in Cambodia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

- Right direction ..... 1
- Wrong direction ..... 2
- Don't know ..... 98

Q98. (DO NOT READ RESPONSES ALOUD) Why do you say that?

**POSITIVE**

- Economic growth / getting better / development..... 1
- Peace / war over / normalcy / free travel ..... 2
- Democracy / political liberalization / many parties / freedom..... 3
- Building infrastructure / building roads / more schools /  
new wells / irrigation / new hospitals..... 4
- Education / health care / social services.....5
- Better than under Pol Pot.....6
- Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party.....7
- A lot of investment / foreign investment..... 8
- Progress / General (positive).....9
- Others (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**NEGATIVE**

- Economy getting worse..... 1
- Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing /  
Homelessness / begging / child laborers..... 2
- Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure..... 3
- Deforestation..... 4
- Corruption..... 5
- Repression / fear / lack of freedom..... 6
- Crime ..... 7
- HIV/AIDS..... 8
- Floods / droughts / water problems..... 9
- Conflict / violence / disputes / disorders ..... 10
- Problems with Thais..... 11
- Crisis / general negative..... 12
- Other, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know ..... 98
- No second response ..... 99

Q99. In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Cambodia? **(DO NOT READ RESPONSES ALOUD)**

Economy (general).....	1
Education / schools.....	2
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing / homelessness / begging / child laborers.....	3
Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure.....	4
Deforestation.....	5
Corruption.....	6
Repression / fear / lack of freedom.....	7
Crime .....	8
Floods / droughts / water problems.....	9
Troubles with Thai .....	10
Conflict / violence / disputes / disorders .....	11
Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party.....	12
Opposition / political disputes / political rivalries / jealousy.....	13
Health care.....	14
Housing shortages.....	15
Problem of immigration/ Border problems.....	16
HIV/AIDS .....	17
Crisis / general negative .....	18
Other, specify: _____	
Don't know / No problem           98	
No second response           99	



Q100. Now let's talk about the commune where you live. Generally speaking, do you think things in your commune today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

Right direction .....	1 ask only POSITIVE part of Q101
Wrong direction .....	2 ask only NEGATIVE part of Q101
Don't know .....	98

Q101. **(DO NOT READ RESPONSES ALOUD)** Why do you say that?

**POSITIVE**

Economic growth / getting better / development.....	1
Peace / war over / normalcy / free travel .....	2
Democracy / political liberalization / many parties / freedom.....	3
Building infrastructure / building roads / more schools / new wells / irrigation / new hospitals.....	4
Education / health care / social services.....	5
Better than under Pol Pot.....	6
Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party.....	7
A lot of investment / foreign investment.....	8
Progress / General (positive).....	9
Others (Specify) _____	



**NEGATIVE**

Economy getting worse.....	10
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing / Homelessness / begging / child laborers.....	11
Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure.....	12
Deforestation.....	13
Corruption.....	14



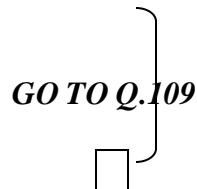
Repression / fear / lack of freedom.....	15	
Crime .....	16	
HIV/AIDS.....	17	
Floods / droughts / water problems.....	18	
Conflict / violence / disputes / disorders .....	19	
Problems with Thais.....	20	
Crisis / general negative.....	21	
Other, SPECIFY: _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know.....	98	
No second response.....	99	
<b>Q102. In your view, what is the biggest problem facing your commune? (DO NOT READ ALOUD)</b>		
Economy (general).....	1	
Education / schools.....	2	
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing / homelessness / begging / child laborers.....	3	
Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure.....	4	
Deforestation.....	5	
Corruption.....	6	
Repression / fear / lack of freedom.....	7	
Crime .....	8	
Floods / droughts / water problems.....	9	
Troubles with Thai .....	10	
Conflict / violence / disputes / disorders .....	11	
Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party.....	12	
Opposition / political disputes / political rivalries / jealousy.....	13	
Health care.....	14	
Housing shortages.....	15	
Problem of immigration/ Border problems.....	16	
HIV/AIDS .....	17	
Crisis / general negative .....	18	
Other, specify: _____		<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know / No problem.....	98	
No second response.....	99	
<b>Q103. How satisfied are you with the job the national government is doing?</b>		
Very satisfied.....	1	
Fairly satisfied.....	2	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	3	
Very dissatisfied.....	4	
Don't know.....	98	
<b>Show card</b>		
<b>Q104. Some people say, "I don't think that the national government cares very much about what people like me think." Do you agree or disagree? Strongly, or somewhat?</b>		
Agree strongly .....	1	
Agree somewhat .....	2	
Disagree somewhat .....	3	
Disagree strongly .....	4	
Don't know.....	98	
<b>Q105. Thinking about your own personal economic situation now compared to two years ago, would you say you are much better off, better off, worse off, much worse off or about the same?</b>		
Much better off.....	1	
Better off .....	2	

Worse off .....	3
Much worse .....	4
About the same.....	5
Don't know.....	98

DEMOGRAPHICS

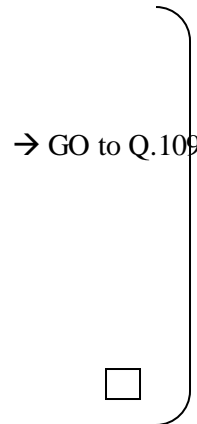
Q106. Are you now working to earn money, a housewife, retired, a student, or looking for work?

Working.....	1
Housewife .....	2
Retired.....	3
Student .....	4
Unemployed .....	5
Other (specify) _____	



Q107. **IF WORKING [CODE 1 IN Q106]:** What is your main occupation?

Farmer (own land) .....	1
Tenant farmer.....	2
Farm laborer (other's land).....	3
Laborer, domestic, or unskilled worker.....	4
Informal sales / business / market trader.....	5
Skilled worker/artisan.....	6
Sales or office worker.....	7
Professional or technical.....	8
Small business owner.....	9
Executive or managerial.....	10
Military / Police.....	11
Fishing and catching wild animals.....	12
Herbalist.....	13
Other, specify _____	
Don't know / no response.....	98



Q108. **IF FARMING OR RENTING OWN LAND [CODE 1 OR 2 IN Q2]:** How much land do you farm?

Under 100 square meters / 1 are.....	1
200 - 1000 square meters / 2-10 are.....	2
1001 - 2500 square meters/ 10-25 are.....	3
2501-5000 square meters / 25-50 are.....	4
5001-10 000 square meters / 50-100 are.....	5
More than 10 000 square meters / 100 are.....	6
Don't know / refused to say.....	98

**Q109. (SHOW CARD, READ OUT CATEGORIES)**

If you think about your family income per month which of these categories does it fit into?

Less than 50 USD (<200,000 R).....	1
50 to 100 USD (200,001-400,000R).....	2
101 to 150 USD (400,001-600,000R).....	3
151 to 200 USD (600,001-800,000R) .....	4
201 to 250 USD (800,001-1,000,000R) .....	5
251 to 300 USD (1,000,001-1,200,000R) .....	6
301 to 350 USD (1,200,001-1,400,000R).....	7
351 to 400 USD (1,400,001-1,600,000R) .....	8
401 to 500 USD (1,600,001-2,000,000R).....	9
501 to 800 USD (2,000,001-3,200,000R).....	10
801 to 1,000 USD (3,200,001-4,000,000R).....	11
1,001 to 2,000 USD (4,000,001-8,000,000R).....	12
2,001 to 4,000 USD (8,000,001-16,000,000R)...	13
More than 4,000 USD (>16,000,000R).....	14
Don't Know.....	98
Refused.....	99

Q110. How many days in the past week, if any, did you not have enough to eat?

None (enough to eat every day).....	1
One.....	2
Two.....	3
Three.....	4
Four.....	5
Five.....	6
Six.....	7
Seven.....	8
Don't know/ refused to say.....	98

Q111. What is the highest level of school you completed?

Never went to school.....	1
Literacy training.....	2
Primary School, incomplete.....	3
Primary School, complete.....	4
Lower secondary school.....	5
Higher secondary school.....	6
Technical vocational/training/teacher school.....	7
University .....	8
Don't know / no response.....	98

**INTERVIEWER POST-CODES (DO NOT ASK, FILL IN AFTER INTERVIEW)**

Q112. Respondent gender

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

Q113. Marital Status (take from Kish Grid)

Single.....	1
Married.....	2

Refused to say..... 99

Q114. Ethnicity

Cambodian ..... 1  
Vietnamese..... 2  
Cham.....3  
Chinese.....4  
Laos..... 5  
Others [SPECIFY]\_\_\_\_\_



Q115. Housing type

Formal(formal house made of wood, brick)..... 1  
Informal – shack, backyard shack, etc..... 2  
(Self-built, not formal house).....3

Q116. Area type; (revise for CB)

City over 1 million..... 1  
City of 250,000 - 1 million..... 2  
City of 50,000 - 250,000..... 3  
Urban under 50,000..... 4  
Rural .....5

Q117. Codes: Interview Circumstances

Respondent Alone.....1  
Respondent + Children..... 2  
Respondent + Spouse..... 3  
Respondent + Other Adults..... 4  
Respondent + Local Official..... 5

Q118 Respondent Types :

Main.....1  
Substitution.....2

Q119. Respondent Types :

Sample A.....1  
Sample B.....2

**END OF INTERVIEW**



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