



**គណៈកម្មាធិការដើម្បីការបោះឆ្នោតដោយសេរី និងយុត្តិធម៌នៅកម្ពុជា (គ.ប.ស.យ)**  
**Committee For Free And Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL)**

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**FINAL REPORT ON MEDIA MONITORING**

**DURING THE**

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

**JULY 27, 2008**

**PERIOD: JUNE 1 TO JULY 31, 2008**

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## **FOREWORD**

Information related to political parties and to candidates standing for election is essential for the electorate to be able to make a decision on whom to choose as representatives at both commune and national level. Choice of persons or parties depends heavily on information available on said persons or parties. In this respect, the media, one of the best channels for dissemination of information, has a crucial role in terms of influencing election results.

In recognition of the importance of the media as an election tool, the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) has undertaken media monitoring during every election since 2002, including the first mandate commune council elections (2002), the 2003 general elections, the second mandate commune council elections (2007) and this fourth mandate National Assembly (NA) elections.

The 2008 NA Election Media Monitoring Report has been compiled using monitoring and analysis of programs appearing on some of the most popular broadcasting media, including state-owned electronic media channels. The team looked at coverage in both quantitative and qualitative terms (the latter regarding tone of coverage towards any given actor) as dedicated by the media to political actors in the run-up to the 2008 national elections.

The working group on this report was made up of the following members: Monitoring Coordinator Mr. MAR Sophal, Media Monitoring Report Writer Mr. SOK Pitour and Database Officer Mr. KORN Savang, plus volunteers who included Miss LY Malin, Ms. LACH Srey March, Miss UY Keav, Mr. ING Chhe, Mr. KIM Sroy Sovisal, Mr. LORM Chenda and Mr. CHHENG Pheakdey.

KOUL Panha

Executive Director

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS: POLITICAL ACTORS

CPP	Cambodian People's Party
FUN	FUNCINPEC
FUNCINPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif or National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
HDDMP	Hang Dara Democratic Movement Party
HRP	Human Rights Party
KAP	Khmer Anti-Poverty Party
KDP	Khmer Democratic Party
KRP	Khmer Republic
LDP	League for Democracy Party
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	National Assembly
PM	Prime Minister
NRP	NORODOM Ranariddh Party
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SJP	Society of Justice Party
SRP	Sam Rainsy Party
Senate	Senate

The following are considered to be political actors:

- **Political parties:** Including political parties, any party officials, representatives or candidates, and whoever is presented on air as belonging to a party or speaking on behalf of a party.
- **NA:** NA and members of the NA.
- **Senate:** Senate and members of Senate.
- **PM:** Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Decho HUN Sen, in his capacity as PM only.
- **RGC:** RGC and members. Also considered are: ministries and officials, RGC institutions and members and regional and local authorities, excluding commune councils and members.

## OTHER ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CCIM	Cambodian Center for Independent Media
CHRAC	Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee
COMFREL	Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia
CRC	Cambodian Red Cross
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CTN	Cambodian Television Network
EMO	Election-monitoring Organization
LEMNA	Law on the Election of Members of the National Assembly
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoInfo	Ministry of Information
NA	National Assembly
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Election Committee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NICFEC	Neutral and Impartial Committee on Free and Fair Elections
RCAF	Royal Cambodian Armed Forces
RFA	Radio Free Asia
RFI	Radio France International
TVK	National Television of Kampuchea
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VOA	Voice of America
VoD	Voice of Democracy
WMC	Women's Media Center

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## INTRODUCTION

The media play a very important role in the election process, informing the electorate on election events and political parties and offering education. Additionally, the media can influence the results of elections. The National Election Committee (NEC) sees the media as one of the tools in ensuring free, fair and just elections, having set guidelines to ensure media neutrality in disseminating information related to elections.

Monitoring the media offers accurate, precise, reliable and indisputable data on what has actually been broadcast or published. In addition to assessing the extent to which an electoral process is being supported by the equal access of parties to the media and balanced reporting, media monitoring enables election-monitoring organizations (EMOs) to note the compliance of respective channels with election and media-related laws and to react on time to violations, if any.

Hence, the Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) Media Monitoring Team undertook a thorough analysis of programs selected from across the most popular electronic media (including the state-owned television channel and 2 state-owned radio channels) in order to look at the access they provided to political parties/actors during the 2008 National Assembly (NA) election process. In addition to monitoring media organizations/companies, the contents and tone of the TVK/UNDP (National Television of Kampuchea/United Nations Development Program) Equity News Program and the NEC's Equal Access Program were analyzed separately: these special programs were designed to cover the elections and political parties, with support from a neutral institution.

The Media Monitoring Team comprised 10 Cambodian monitors and used a methodology<sup>1</sup> based on internationally recognized standards, which have been employed successfully in many countries. Observers watched for political messages broadcast during the monitoring period, regardless of the type of program in which they were inserted, including newscasts and commercials.

The methodology was given a quantitative base, in that it measured time in seconds dedicated to activities of political actors involved in the elections. It also considered quality of time (tone) dedicated to political subjects. The tone could be neutral, that is reporting of fact without any opinion from the reporter and/or the source of the story/information; negative, that is reporting that includes, for example, criticism or degrading words/phrases from the reporter and/or source of story/information towards any political actor; or positive, that is reporting with, for example, praise or flattering words/phrases. Each kind of tone was measured in seconds (this could be a very short phrase or a long sentence).

When monitoring television and radio shows, monitors were asked to fill in forms and report on specific points (quantity of time dedicated to political actors, tone of reports dealing with political actors, direct speech opportunities given to politicians, violations of national laws including the election code, clear support or undermining from the media towards one or several parties, instances of insults, appeals to vote, etc.) Political actors were given a count in seconds whenever a related picture or logo or name or coverage was seen or heard.

COMFREL analyzed and monitored 2 television and 7 radio channels 6 hours a day at prime time (from 17:00 to 23:00). These channels included: TVK, Cambodian Television Network (CTN), National Radio of Kampuchea AM 918 KHz, National Radio of Kampuchea FM 96 MHz, Radio FM 102 MHz, Radio FM 105 MHz, Radio Free Asia (RFA), Radio Voice of America (VOA) and Radio France International (RFI).

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed methodology, please see Annex II.

Information to be monitored included: political parties contesting in the elections; the NA and members of parliament (MPs); the Senate and senators; the Prime Minister (PM); the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC); election education information; women in politics; women running as electoral candidates; disabled people in politics; minorities in politics; and youth in politics.

COMFREL held its media monitoring activities from June 1 to July 31, 2008 (except TVK, which was monitored and analyzed from May, 2007 until September, 2008). COMFREL also monitored other media, but in this case only for violations of election guidelines. The media included FM 90.5 MHz, FM 93.5 MHz and FM 95 MHz.

Findings for the state media are divided into 3 periods: the period prior to the election campaign period, the campaign period and cooling day/the immediate post-election period. This is because of the introduction of two independently sponsored programs – Equity News and the NEC’s Equal Access Program – which covered and gave voice on state channels to all political parties running for the NA elections. Findings for other media are not divided in relation to time periods, as no such program was broadcast.



## **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

### **STATE ELECTRONIC MEDIA**

COMFREL observed that the RGC, PM and Cambodian People's Party (CPP) enjoyed most coverage with a favorable tone on state-electronic media from when the election process started. The findings on TVK alone from May 2007 to June 2008 show that TVK dedicated the vast majority of its political time to the activities and performance of the RGC, the PM and the CPP, that is, 85% (equal to 17,092 appearances) of the total time allocated to all political actors. Most of the coverage of the RGC (CPP leaders) was positive, focusing on the construction and development of the country under the leadership of the 3 Samdech (Samdech Chea Sim, Samdech HUN Sen and Samdech Heng Samrin). The coverage of the CPP included party meetings, acceptance of new members, party members giving gifts to local people, etc. At the same time, coverage of the opposition Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) was heard only with a negative, for example the defection of SRP members to the CPP and the PM's criticism of the SRP.

#### **Pre-election campaign period (June 1-25, 2008)**

Political time – the time during which any political actor is heard or shown or mentioned – on the 3 state-run media was observed for 74 hours, 24 minutes and 25 seconds.

The 3 state broadcasting media (TVK, FM 96 MHz, AM 918 KHz) during the pre-election campaign period focused on the favorable performance, activities, achievements and political platform of the RGC, PM, CPP and CPP MPs and senators, all of which combined made up 97% (equal to 71 hours, 57 minutes and 42 seconds) of all political time, leaving around 3% (equal to 2 hours, 26 minutes and 43 seconds) for the other 10 political parties contesting in the elections. In addition, coverage of these 10 political parties, the SRP in particular, was dominated by negative information.

Moreover, the 2 state-run radio channels, FM 96 MHz and AM 918 KHz, produced and regularly broadcast the programs “Our Country” and “Views from Newspapers” mainly to defend the RGC, PM and CPP from any criticism and to criticize other political parties – mainly the SRP.

The RGC and PM were the main actors on the state-run broadcasting channels, which showed their achievements, performances, activities at both national and local level and comments that were of advantage to them and the CPP. 50% (equal to 37 hours, 9 minutes and 39 seconds) of the political time on state-run media were dedicated to coverage of the RGC. Positive words/phrases regarding the RGC were heard during 7% (equal to 2 hours, 42 minutes and 16 seconds) of the RGC's coverage; negative words/phrases, usually raised by the PM, were heard in much less than 1% of the time (equal to 7 minutes and 4 seconds).

The PM alone took up 34% (equal to 25 hours, 11 minutes and 30 seconds) of political time. The information tone towards the PM was mostly positive or neutral. Positive words/phrases for the PM were heard in 12% (equal to 3 hours, 7 minutes and 46 seconds) of the PM's coverage. Negative information was heard briefly, in 2 minutes and 3 seconds.

Coverage of the RGC, including the PM, on TVK usually dealt with meetings, workshops or inauguration ceremonies; field visits to meet local people to give gifts, etc.; or the strengthening of the CPP network, including new party member acceptance ceremonies or a focus on construction and the development of the country under the leadership of the 3 Samdech.

Despite being an NA election, coverage of the NA was limited on state-run media. Only 6% (equal to 4 hours, 35 minutes and 14 seconds) of political time was allotted to the NA. In addition, performance of MPs contesting in the elections was not observed: coverage of the NA dealt mostly with meetings

between MPs and foreign delegations or MP constituency visits (mostly from the CPP), etc. NA coverage was dominated by a neutral and/or positive tone. 90% (equal to 4 hours, 6 minutes and 28 seconds) of the coverage was neutral in tone, and positive words/phrases for the NA were heard in 10% of time (equal to 28 minutes and 27 seconds). A negative tone was heard for only 19 seconds.

The Senate was allocated 2% (equal to 1 hour, 20 minutes and 1 second), with only neutral and positive information toward them. The content of the Senate coverage was similar to that of the NA.

As far as political parties were<sup>2</sup> concerned, the 11 political parties contesting in the election were mentioned on state-run channels during the pre-election campaign period for only 6 hours, 8 minutes and 1 second, or 8% of the time dedicated to all political actors.

Observation of state-run media within the monitoring period showed that, in terms of coverage of political parties, the 3 state-run channels came out heavily in favor of the CPP, which was allocated (or heard about in) 60% (equal to 3 hours, 41 minutes and 18 seconds) of time dedicated to all political actors. Additionally, the information tone toward the CPP was mainly positive and neutral. 18% (equal to 38 minutes and 52 seconds) of the CPP's coverage was positive information while negative words/phrases towards the CPP were heard in 1% (equal to 3 minutes and 8 seconds). Coverage of the CPP included acceptance of new members, CPP performance and achievements, defense of the CPP from any criticism, etc.

The SRP, the main rival of the CPP in these elections, was also a target of the state-run media, receiving 26% (equal to 1 hour, 35 minutes and 37 seconds). However, the information tone towards the SRP was completely different from that towards the CPP. Coverage of the SRP was mostly criticisms by the RGC, including the PM and CPP officials, or from newspapers, or opinions of news anchors on the SRP. The 2 state radio channels usually refuted any SRP criticism of CPP-affiliated actors. As a result, 37% (equal to 35 minutes and 14 seconds) of the SRP's coverage was negative in tone. Positive words/phrases for the SRP were observed for only 14 seconds.

FUNCINPEC, the coalition partner of the CPP, was allotted 6% (equal to 23 minutes and 3 seconds) of the time dedicated to political parties. The coverage of FUNCINPEC was mainly neutral in tone: 95% (equal to 21 minutes and 55 seconds) of all FUNCINPEC coverage.

The NORODOM Ranariddh Party (NRP), another opposition party, was heard about on the 3 state-run channels for 3% (equal to 12 minutes and 13 seconds) of all political parties' coverage. The coverage of the NRP was mostly neutral and negative in tone, but with some positive information: 67% (or 8 minutes and 14 seconds), 27% (or 3 minutes and 16 seconds) and 6% (46 seconds), respectively.

The newly-established Human Rights Party (HRP) was heard about for 2% (equal to 7 minutes and 44 seconds) of the time dedicated to all political parties. The coverage was only neutral and negative in tone. 21% (equal to 1 minute and 33 seconds) of the HRP's coverage was negative.

The 3 state-run channels gave less much attention to the other 6 political parties, which were allocated less than 0.50% (or less than 2 minutes), all neutral in tone.

### **Election campaign and cooling day/immediate post-election period (June 26-July 31, 2008)<sup>3</sup>**

Within this monitoring period, all political actors combined were heard for 219 hours, 7 minutes and 36 seconds, most of which was given to the NEC, which allocated equal time on the 3 state-run channels

<sup>2</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A1 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political party during the pre-election campaign period on state channels (June 1-25, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A2 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor from June 26-July 31, 2008 on state channels.

to all political parties contesting in the elections. In addition, programs that were biased towards the CPP were suspended.

General observation found that, thanks to the NEC's Equal Access Program on state channels and the TVK-UNDP Equity News Program on TVK, coverage of political actors was completely different from that during the pre-election campaign period.

The NEC's Equal Access Program and the TVK-UNDP Equity News Program gave a chance to political parties, the non-ruling parties in particular, to criticize and highlight the negative performance and of the social issues arising under the CPP RGC leadership. Serious criticisms and pictures disadvantageous to the CPP, RGC and PM were sometime seen on state-run media. The CPP, on the other hand, used its time to highlight the country's development, national stability and peace, all achieved under the leadership of the CPP and PM.

The RGC still led in terms of time allocation, but this time negative information was also often heard. The RGC was heard about for 20% (equal to 43 hours, 45 minutes and 50 seconds) of political time within this monitoring period. Negative words/phrases towards the RGC were observed for 7% (equal to 3 hours, 5 minutes and 13 seconds); positive information was heard for only 36 minutes and 32 seconds.

The PM was allotted 5% (equal to 9 hours, 52 minutes and 22 seconds). Negative information was at 4% (equal to 22 minutes and 45 seconds) of his coverage. The CPP also used its allocated time to praise the PM, so positive information took up 10% (equal to 57 minutes and 28 seconds) of his coverage.

The NA and Senate were not the focus of state-run media, being heard about in only 35 minutes and 7 seconds (much less than 1%).

All political parties could access the 3 state-run media through the NEC's Equal Access Program. All political parties received between 4% and 8% of the time dedicated to all political actors.

This time, the SRP was the leader in term of time allocation, receiving 8% (equal to 17 hours, 21 minutes and 8 seconds). Almost 100% of the SRP's coverage was neutral in tone. Negative and positive words/phrases towards the SRP were heard for 2 minutes, 4 seconds and 1 minute, 38 seconds, respectively.

The CPP was also allocated 8% (equal to 17 hours, 6 minutes and 16 seconds). If compared with the other political parties, the CPP received the most negative information (5 minutes and 13 seconds of coverage of the CPP). However, the CPP also received the most positive coverage (1%, or 9 minutes and 34 seconds).

The NRP was also allocated approximately 8% (equal to 16 hours, 51 minutes and 9 seconds). Almost 100% of the NRP's coverage was neutral in tone; positive and negative information towards the NRP was heard for 9 seconds and 24 seconds, respectively.

The HRP, FUNCINPEC, the Hang Dara Democratic Movement Party (HDDMP), the Khmer Anti-Poverty Party (KAP), the Khmer Democratic Party (KDP), the League for Democracy Party (LDP) and the Social Justice Party (SJP) were heard about for between 6% (around 13 hours) and 7% (around 16 hours) of all coverage, which was mostly neutral in tone.

The Khmer Republican Party (KRP) was heard for only 4% of all time (equal to 7 hours, 54 minutes and 46 seconds), with only neutral information. The reason for this was that the KRP did not produce its own election campaign spot for the NEC to broadcast on state media.

It is worth noting that the tone used towards non-ruling political parties was mostly neutral, but these political parties often used their allotted time to criticize the CPP, PM and RGC.

The 2 state radio channels – besides broadcasting the NEC’s Equal Access Program – did not produce any radio program related to political parties and elections. TVK cooperated with UNDP to produce Equity News, which provided time to political parties on an equal basis; TVK also cooperated with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to broadcast the NDI’s Candidate Debate forum.

However, in sum, had it not been for the NEC’s Equal Access Program on the 3 state channels and TVK-UNDP’s Equity News Program, political actors would have found it very difficult to receive coverage during the election campaign period, with the exception of the RGC and PM. If we disregard Equal Access, Equity News and the NDI’s Candidate Debate, all political parties combined on the 3 state channels within the election campaign period were heard about for only 43 minutes and 37 seconds. Meanwhile, the RGC received 36 hours, 15 minutes and 5 seconds of coverage, and the PM 8 hours, 8 minutes and 17 seconds.

During cooling day, no political party was heard about on the 3 state channels; however, after voting, reports on elections and temporary results were broadcast on state media, particularly on TVK.

### **PRIVATE ELECTRONIC MEDIA (CTN, FM 102 MHZ, FM 105 MHZ, RFA, VOA, RFI)**

#### **CTN**

Within the two-month monitoring period, CTN dedicated 21 hours, 16 minutes and 23 seconds to covering or mentioning all political actors.

The content of CTN’s coverage of political actors was not much different from that of the state media during the pre-election campaign period; during the election campaign period it was more biased because its pro-CPP programming was not suspended. It campaigned strongly for the CPP in both its news programs and other programs. In addition, it produced programs to disseminate on and praise the performance, activities and achievements of the CPP, CPP MPs and CPP-led RGC as well as the PM, who combined were allocated 94% (equal to 19 hours, 57 minutes and 24 seconds) of all political time.

The RGC led in terms of time allocated, receiving 41% (equal to 8 hours, 37 minutes and 29 seconds) of the time dedicated to all political actors. Coverage of the RGC was only neutral and positive in tone (negative information was heard for only 7 seconds).

The PM alone was heard about for 29% of all time allotted to all political actors (equal to 6 hours, 5 minutes and 28 seconds). Most of the coverage was positive or neutral in tone. 15% (equal to 55 minutes and 3 seconds) of his coverage was positive; negative words/phrases were heard for much less than 1% of the time (only 58 seconds).

Time dedicated to the NA and Senate was only 2% (equal to 22 minutes and 15 seconds), with only neutral and positive information; only 9 seconds of the coverage was negative in tone.

Compared with other political parties,<sup>4</sup> the CPP was the political actor receiving the biggest time allocation, of 23% (equal to 4 hours, 52 minutes and 12 seconds). Positive words/phrases towards the CPP were heard for 14% (equal to 40 minutes and 48 seconds) of the CPP’s coverage; negative information was heard for only 39 seconds.

<sup>4</sup> Please see annex I: Chart A3 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political party on CTN from June 01-July 31, 2008.

The SRP was allocated more time compared with the other 9 political parties, or 4% (equal to 51 minutes and 48 seconds) of political time on CTN. However, coverage mainly involved criticizing and insulting the leaders of the party. 41% (equal to 21 minutes and 21 seconds) of the SRP's coverage was negative. There was no positive information.

The other 9 political parties combined were allocated 2% (equal to 27 minutes and 11 seconds). None of these political parties received positive coverage.

### **Radio FM 102 MHz<sup>5</sup>**

Radio FM 102 MHz is an independent radio station run by the Women's Media Center (WMC). FM 102 MHz focuses mainly on social issues, less on political and election matters.

Radio FM 102 MHz, within the monitoring period, provided less time (only 11 hours, 54 minutes) to all political actors. In addition, the coverage was mostly neutral in tone.

FM 102 MHz's broadcasting on political actors aimed to disseminate information rather than dig into sensitive issues that reveal negative aspects of any actors.

The RGC, including the PM, was the main actor on FM 102 MHz, receiving 78% (equal to 9 hours, 18 minutes and 46 seconds). 99% (equal to 9 hours, 12 minutes and 10 seconds) of the RGC's coverage was neutral in tone. The rest was shared between negative and positive information.

The NA and Senate combined were heard about for 1% (equal to 9 minutes and 7 seconds), with only neutral information.

Compared with other political parties, the SRP was dedicated the most time (6%, equal to 43 minutes and 25 seconds of all political time). Coverage was only neutral in tone.

The NRP was allocated 4% (equal to 26 minutes and 37 seconds). Coverage was only neutral in tone.

The CPP was heard for approximately 4% (equal to 24 minutes and 16 seconds). 90% of the CPP's coverage was neutral in tone and the rest was shared between positive and negative coverage.

The other 9 political parties combined were allocated 7% (equal to 51 minutes and 49 seconds). The coverage of these political parties was only neutral in tone.

No other special program giving time to political parties was heard on FM 102 MHz.

### **Radio FM 105 MHz**

Radio FM 105 MHz is a private and independent radio station which rents out its air time to political parties, civil society – for example Voice of Democracy (VoD) Radio Program – and other foreign-based radio stations, including RFA and VOA which broadcast on Radio FM 105 MHz from 20:30 to 22:30 (see below). COMFREL monitored FM 105 MHz only from 17:00 to 20:30 and 22:30 to 23:00.

Without VoD and the NDI's forum, FM 105 MHz would play no role in providing political information or voter education.

VoD provided more professional coverage of political actors, giving most of the sources the chance to defend or comment on their story. All political actors received coverage whose tone was a mix of

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<sup>5</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A4 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor on FM 102 MHz within this monitoring period.

positive, negative and neutral, unlike on other local media. VoD aimed to give more voice to opposition parties, the SRP, NRP and HRP, which usually spoke of concerns regarding election irregularities or other sensitive issues.

Within this monitoring period, all political actors combined were heard for 52 hours, 3 minutes and 40 seconds.

The RGC, including the PM, was allotted 23% (equal to 11 hours, 44 minutes and 2 seconds) of the time dedicated to all political parties. Negative information was often heard (9%, equal to 1 hour, 3 minutes and 14 seconds); positive words or phrases were heard for 3% (equal to 22 minutes and 18 seconds).

The NA and Senate also received more coverage: 11% (equal to 5 hours, 55 minutes and 18 seconds). 97% of NA and Senate coverage was neutral in tone and negative words/phrases towards the NA were heard for only 35 seconds.

The SRP was allocated approximately 13% (equal to 6 hours, 32 minutes and 11 seconds) of time dedicated to all political actors. Coverage of the SRP was mostly neutral in tone. Negative words/phrases towards the SRP were heard for approximately 2% (equal to 6 minutes and 30 seconds) and positive information for around 1% (equal to 5 minutes and 27 seconds).

The CPP was dedicated 10% (equal to 5 hours, 20 minutes and 24 seconds). Negative information was often heard: 8% (equal to 24 minutes and 29 seconds) of the CPP's coverage was negative in tone. Positive information was observed for 3% (equal to 10 minutes and 11 seconds).

The NRP, HRP and FUNCINPEC were allocated between 7% (around 3 hours and 36 minutes) and 9% (around 4 hours and 36 seconds). Coverage of these political parties was mainly neutral in tone, with little negative and positive information broadcast.

The other political parties were allocated between 2% (around 1 hour and 7 minutes) and 5% (around 2 hours and 37 minutes). Only neutral information was heard about these political parties.

### **International radio channels (RFA, VOA and RFI)<sup>6</sup>**

The three international channels provided more professional coverage of political actors, giving most of the sources the chance to defend or comment on their story. All political actors received coverage whose tone was a mix of positive, negative and neutral.

However, the findings show that RFA provided more negative information on CPP-affiliated actors, whereas VOA and RFI seemed to focus mostly on neutral information. Different kinds of story, ranging from social issues to political issues, which were both advantageous and disadvantageous to political actors, were heard on these channels.

Within the monitoring period, all political actors combined were heard about for 61 hours, 35 minutes and 10 seconds on the three international channels.

The RGC, including the PM, led in terms of time allocation, receiving 35% (equal to 21 hours, 34 minutes and 33 seconds). 10% (equal to 1 hour, 56 minutes and 54 seconds) of the coverage was negative in tone whereas positive words/phrases were heard for only 1% (12 minutes and 21 seconds).

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<sup>6</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A6 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor on the three international radio channels within this monitoring period.

The NA and Senate combined were heard for 3% of all time (equal to 1 hour, 50 minutes and 7 seconds). Coverage was mostly neutral in tone (98%, equal to 1 hour, 47 minutes and 51 seconds). The remaining 2% was shared between positive and negative information.

The SRP led in terms of time allocated to political parties, receiving 17% (equal to 10 hours, 15 minutes and 39 seconds). Coverage was mainly neutral in tone, with some negative and little positive information. 3% (equal to 16 minutes and 17 seconds) was negative in tone; positive words/phrases were heard for only 54 seconds.

The CPP was allotted 10% (equal to 6 hours, 27 minutes and 29 seconds) of time dedicated to all political actors. Coverage was mostly neutral and negative in tone. 10% (equal to 39 minutes and 52 seconds) was negative in tone and positive words or phrases were at 3% (equal to 13 minutes and 30 seconds).

The FUNCINPEC, HRP and NRP were allocated between 6% (around 3 hours and 33 minutes) and 7% (equal to 4 hours and 12 minutes). Coverage was mostly neutral in tone, with little negative and positive.

The other 6 political parties were heard for between 2% (around 1 hour and 14 minutes) and 3% (around 1 hour and 43 minutes). Almost 100% of the coverage of these political parties was neutral in tone.

## **ALL CHANNELS<sup>7</sup>**

Result from all monitored electronic media found that the RGC, including the PM, received the most coverage in all cases, taking up around 39% (equal to 173 hours, 19 minutes and 39 seconds). The NA and Senate combined were allocated around 3% (equal to 14 hours, 47 minutes and 9 seconds).

Political parties received between 3% (equal to 11 hours and 2 minutes) and around 9% (equal to 37 hours, 51 minutes and 55 seconds).

In terms of political parties' coverage, all the channels focused on only 5 political parties: CPP, SRP, FUNCINPEC, HRP and NRP, which were allocated between 7% and 9%. The other political parties were mostly heard about only on the NEC's Equal Access Program.

The CPP led in terms of both time allocation and positive information. Around 9% (equal to 37 hours, 51 minutes and 55 seconds) of political time was dedicated to the CPP. Positive information towards the CPP, mostly on state-run media and CTN, was at 5% (equal to 1 hour, 53 minutes and 46 seconds) of its coverage. Negative words/phrases towards the CPP, mostly on FM 105 MHz and RFA, made up 3% (equal to 1 hour, 14 minutes and 59 seconds.)

The SRP was allotted the second biggest amount of coverage, at around 8% (equal to 37 hours, 19 minutes and 48 seconds) of political time. Unlike the CPP, which enjoyed support from the local media, the SRP's coverage was mainly neutral and negative in tone. 4% (equal to 1 hour, 21 minutes and 26 seconds) of its coverage was negative in tone; this kind of information was heard mostly on the three-state channels and CTN. Positive words/phrases towards the SRP made up much less than 1% (8 minutes and 13 seconds) of the SRP's coverage.

The NRP, HRP and FUNCINPEC were allocated approximately 6% (around 25 hours) each. At least 99% of the coverage of these three political actors was neutral in tone. The other political parties were

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<sup>7</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A7 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor on all monitored broadcasting media from June 1-July 31, 2008.

allocated between about 3% (equal to 11 hours) and 4% (equal to 17 hours and 24 minutes). 100% of the coverage of these political parties was neutral in tone.

### **Direct speech opportunities<sup>8</sup>**

All political actors were given a chance to speak on air. The RGC was on every channel for 34 hours, 47 minutes and 23 seconds; followed by the PM (16 hours, 44 minutes and 59 seconds). The NA and Senate combined were able to access 7 hours, 53 minutes and 21 seconds. Political parties were given chances to speak on air for between 5 hours and 11 hours.

### **Voter education information<sup>9</sup>**

Voter education information/spots were heard for 25 hours, 38 minutes and 36 seconds. By dedicating most of their time to the NEC's programs, the state-run media played a very important role in voter education. Within the two-month monitoring period, voter education information on the 3 state channels was heard for 22 hours, 13 minutes and 18 seconds.

Voter education included spots on the voter information notice, the value of voting, vote secrecy, etc. Song spots encouraging people to vote and basic information on elections were also broadcast.

Some private radio stations offered other programs. For example, FM 105 MHz's VoD produced a prize-giving electoral question and answer program. RFA and VOA both produced electoral programs.

CTN and Radio FM 102 MHz, on the other hand, allocated the least time to voter education programs (15 minutes and 10 seconds and 13 seconds, respectively).

### **Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Such coverage was observed on only a few media: the 3 state channels, CTN and RFA.

An example was FM 96 MHz's Meat Tu Phum Yeung Program, on June 23, 2008, which broadcast HUN Sen's Advisor CHHUM Kosal warning voters that *"I would like to tell all compatriots that what I am going to say is not to intimidate you all; but please think carefully before you vote as it may bring back the Khmer Rouge regime; what I say is true. NORODOM Ranariddh said the PM [HUN Sen] overthrew him in the 1997 coup. But in fact it was him who carried out the coup against the PM. Ranariddh brought Khmer Rouge soldiers into Phnom Penh ... Meanwhile, Sam Rainsy says that if the SRP wins the election, all people will be guaranteed work. This is the same as the Khmer Rouge's constitution."*

Most non-ruling parties used the Equal Access Program to tell voters that they would lose their land or see increased illegal immigration if they voted for the wrong political party (i.e. the CPP).

### **Appeal to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were observed on the 3 state channels, CTN, RFA, VOA and RFI. The 3 state channels gave time to all political parties to use to appeal to voters for votes.

Such appeals on CTN were heard only for the CPP, which enjoyed this kind of coverage both before and during the election campaign period. RFA broadcast such appeals for 5 political parties only: the CPP, FUNCINPEC, NRP, SJP and SRP. Such appeals on VOA were heard for only the HRP, SRP, NRP, CPP and FUNCINPEC. RFI also broadcast such appeals.

<sup>8</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A8 for direct speech opportunities, in seconds, dedicated to each political actor across all channels.

<sup>9</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A9 for duration of voter education, in seconds, on each channel.



### **Appeals not to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were heard only on the 3 state-run channels, CTN, RFA and VOA, and only the CPP, SRP and HRP were the target of such appeals.

Non-ruling political parties often used their time on the NEC's Equal Access Program to appeal to voters not to vote for the CPP. CTN also appealed to voters not to vote for the SRP.

### **Women in politics, including female candidates<sup>10</sup>**

Women in politics received 6 hours, 45 minutes and 43 seconds of coverage.

### **Youth in politics<sup>11</sup>**

The media did not pay attention to covering youth in politics. In total, youth in politics received only 46 minutes and 48 seconds of coverage, and nothing on VOA, RFI and FM 96 MHz.

### **Indigenous/disabled persons in politics**

These two marginalized groups were not given media attention with regard to their participation in politics. In total, coverage was 11 minutes and 51 seconds.

### **MEDIA MONITORED ONLY FOR VIOLATIONS**

Within the monitoring period, COMFREL performed occasional monitoring of FUNCINPEC-affiliated FM 90.5 MHz; SRP-linked FM 93.5 MHz; and CPP-affiliated FM 95 MHz.

FM 95 MHz Bayon radio station produced its daily radio program "Khmer Culture", which is aired live by at least 6 other radio stations<sup>12</sup> and often used language inciting and provoking discrimination against other political parties, particularly the SRP, HRP and NRP (referring to their leaders as incompetent, devious, intent on ruining the nation, etc.) Such coverage was heard before and during the election campaign period.

Such language was also broadcast by media outlets that rented air time to other political parties.<sup>13</sup> Maha Norkor FM 93.5 MHz, for instance, frequently broadcast the SRP program "Candle Light", which used words to insult CPP leaders (e.g. referring to them as "thieves who steal and sell the nation", etc.) However, this radio channel publicly announced its policy to rent out air time to all political parties.

In the meantime, Ta Prom FM 90.5 MHz radio, which is affiliated to FUNCINPEC and did not make a public announcement to prove that it rented air time out to all political parties, produced programs that served only FUNCINPEC.

<sup>10</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A10 for the duration of coverage of women in politics, in seconds, on each channel.

<sup>11</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A11 for the duration of coverage of youth in politics, in seconds, on each channel.

<sup>12</sup> FM 88 MHz, FM 97 MHz, FM 98 MHz, FM 99 MHz and FM 103 MHz.

<sup>13</sup> According to NEC Notification No. 06.096.08 NEC.SG.PIB, dated June 24, 2008, media outlets that have rented air time to political parties include FM 105 MHz, FM 104 MHz and FM 93.5 MHz.

## CONCLUSION

Political parties' access to the media is increasing from election year to election year in terms of time allocation, but remains limited for non-ruling parties.

The NEC's Equal Access Program gave each political party contesting in the election 10 minutes to disseminate its political platform on state-run electronic media.

Some private and independent media also rented out their air time to political parties.

However, COMFREL observed that press freedom, especially for local broadcasting media, is still threatened when considering giving more voice to non-ruling political parties. A Kratie local radio station, Angkor Ratha FM 105.25 MHz, was ordered to shut down by the Ministry of Information (MoInfo) before the election campaign period as the station owner rented out air time to political parties and civil society organizations (CSOs). MoInfo claimed that the rent of air time to other parties was in violation of the station's contract. The radio has not been allowed to re-open so far, despite the efforts of the station owner, CSOs and some MPs. The editor-in-chief of opposition-affiliated newspaper Moneaksekar Khmer was detained on charges of defamation and publishing false information. A Moneaksekar Khmer reporter and his son were killed during the election campaign period.

In addition, during the cooling-off period (July 26, 2008), the NEC in collaboration with MoInfo took tough action against private radio station Maha Norkor FM 93.5 MHz, which rented out air time to political parties and CSOs. The NEC and MoInfo claimed that the radio station had violated the NEC's regulation, which forbids the media from broadcasting on any political party or candidate in the cooling-off period. The radio station was closed by MoInfo forces at around 23:00 on July 26, 2008.

The NEC seemed not to implement its duties with regard to making the media respect its media guidelines to ensure free and fair elections. Despite knowing about some media violations of its guideline regarding time allocated to political parties and use of insulting words towards political actors during the election campaign period, the NEC did not take any legal action besides asking such media outlets to follow its guideline, which they ignored.

The 3 state media and CTN were affiliated with the CPP during the pre-election campaign period, producing programs in favor of the CPP. However, the state channels respected the NEC's media guideline during the election campaign period, whereas CTN continued to violate the NEC's guideline and demand for neutrality.

It should be noted that, with regard to political party coverage, the **CPP was ahead in terms of access to broadcast media**. In other words, activities of the CPP were covered by all TV channels and many radio channels; at least 34 broadcast channels were affiliated with the CPP, according to PM Hun Sen.<sup>14</sup> Other political parties could not access the television in this way.

The 3 international radio channels and FM 105 MHz played a vital role in providing more coverage for non-ruling political parties and giving mixed tone coverage to all political actors. FM 102 MHz played a limited role in the elections.

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<sup>14</sup> HUN Sen's speech at the Opening Ceremony of Latex Harvesting and Inauguration of the Dharma School of Kirivanaram Pagoda at Kampong Cham province on 21 May 2008.

## FULL REPORTS

Note: for state media, COMFREL has divided its finding into two stages: the pre-election campaign period and the election campaign period, which includes the immediate post-election period. The reason for this division of findings into two stages owes to general observation of the state media, which found that coverage was completely different between the former and latter periods, in terms of both content and tone. Findings on private media are not separated in this way, as there was not much difference between the two periods.

### I. STATE ELECTRONIC MEDIA OF CAMBODIA

#### 1. TVK FINDINGS

##### 1.1. Summary of findings and conclusion

Most of the political programs produced by TVK were used to disseminate on the performance and activities of the RGC, PM and CPP, using a positive tone. During the pre-election campaign period, TVK was absolutely closed to non-ruling political parties. In addition, TVK showed a lack of journalistic professionalism in terms of reporting news/information that attacked people. For example, TVK produced a program aired on April 4 and 5, 2008 criticizing the SRP's intention to hold a protest about the increased price of goods. The program interviewed people attacking the SRP, but the program did not give a chance to the SRP to defend itself.

During the election campaign period, without the specialized programs of the NEC and UNDP, TVK's coverage would likely not have been different from during the pre-election period.

##### 1.2. Findings of TVK monitoring from May 2007-May 2008

*From May 2007 to May 2008, COMFREL undertook a thorough analysis of programs on one state-run television channel (TVK) between 12:00 and 16:00 and 18:00 and 20:00 to analyze coverage of political party activities and of progress towards the upcoming 2008 national elections. COMFREL recorded the number of appearances of political actors on state-run TVK (and whether the tone was positive or negative or neutral).*

The methodology used within this monitoring period (May 2007-May 2008) was different from that used from June 1 to July 31, 2008. Please see Annex II for the methodology used from June 1 to July 31, 2008.

TVK political coverage included the following types of items (using March 14, 2008 as an example):

- Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN Sen grants an audience with the Japanese Research Group;
- H.E. Mrs. BUN Rany HUN Sen, President of the Cambodian Red Cross (CRC), allows H.E. Mr. LY Yung Pat, member of the Senate, and his family to meet and give gifts to the CRC;
- H.E. Mr. Tea Banh, Minister of National Defense, attends the closing ceremony of a workshop on a convention against chemical weapons at Sunway Hotel, Phnom Penh;
- H.E. Mr. LIM Kean Hor, Minister of Water Resources and Meteorology, oversees the construction of an irrigation system in Pursat province;
- The activities in Berlin, Germany of the Cambodian delegation of the Ministry of Tourism, led by H.E. Mr. SO Mara;
- H.E. Mr. Cheam Yeab, Chairman of the NA Commission on Economics, Finance, Banking and Auditing, meets with World Bank representatives in Cambodia;

Other special coverage of only the CPP during the monitoring period included:

- The 56th anniversary of the CPP held at CPP headquarters in Phnom Penh on June 28, 2007;
- A ceremony to mark victory over the “Pol Pot genocide regime” at CPP headquarters in Phnom Penh on January 7, 2008;
- The closing ceremony of the CPP’s National Extraordinary Congress from January 12-13, 2008.

The above-mentioned items are common examples of TVK’s political coverage, which was usually used to disseminate information on the RGC, the PM and sometimes the CPP’s performance, activities, achievements and political platform.

Within this monitoring period, COMFREL observed that in general the main political actors covered on TVK were the RGC and the PM, who were given the vast majority (85%, equal to 17,092 appearances) of all time allocated to all political actors.

Coverage of the RGC, including the PM, on TVK was of the activities, performance and achievements of the RGC and the PM, including meetings, workshops, inaugurations or ground-breaking ceremonies, field visits to meet local people to give gifts, etc. or strengthening of the CPP network, including new party member acceptance ceremonies. Most of the coverage of the RGC (CPP leaders) was positive, focusing on construction and the development of the country under the leadership of the 3 Samdech.

News related to the NA and Senate took up 12% of coverage (2490 appearances). Coverage mostly dealt with NA plenary sessions, meetings between MPs and foreign delegations, constituency visits of MPs (mostly from the CPP), etc., leaving around 3% for all elected political parties.

Observation of TVK within the monitoring period showed that, in terms of coverage of political parties, TVK came out heavily in favor of the CPP, which was allocated (or heard about in) 84% of cases of political party coverage (520 times). The coverage included that of party meetings, acceptance of new members, party members, giving gifts to local people, etc. For example, TVK broadcast programs on the 56<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPP on June 28, 2007, and the 29<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over the Pol Pot regime on January 7, 2008. At the latter, CPP President CHEA Sim mentioned party efforts and achievements in developing and building the country and party policy: *“In the past 29 years, the spirit of 7 Makara (January) has deepened in every Cambodian person’s conscience, which has been transformed into a mass movement to successfully rebuild the country and prevent genocide from happening again ... Under a win-win policy, Cambodia has obtained complete peace. The CPP brought justice to the Cambodian people suffering from the Pol Pot regime by sentencing the leaders of this regime in the Khmer Revolutionary Court in August 1979 ... The CPP is the key player in settling any post-election political deadlock ... The CPP has made a consensual decision to appoint PM HUN Sen as the candidate for the premier position in the upcoming elections.”*

Other kinds of coverage of the CPP included use of the CPP logo and banners praising the CPP, with words such as *“the CPP protects social equity and justice”*. Government officials, including the PM when on duty, also took the time to mention the CPP; this was also broadcast by TVK.

**FUNCINPEC** was **mentioned** in 10% of cases (64 times). Part of this coverage of FUNCINPEC showed a meeting between the party’s leaders and the Chinese and Vietnamese communist parties. Sometimes, the name of FUNCINPEC was mentioned by the PM and FUNCINPEC government officials.

The opposition **SRP** was **mentioned in 6% of cases** (35 times), most of which was negative in tone, for example regarding the defection of SRP members to the CPP and the PM’s criticism of the SRP. TVK also produced a program aired on April 4 and 5, 2008 criticizing the SRP for aiming to hold a protest against the increase in the price of goods. The program interviewed market sellers, asking leading questions to the sellers to make them criticize the SRP’s proposed demonstration. “[The reason why Sam Rainsy wants to hold a demonstration is that] *this is his final round; he is almost dying; the farmers do not support him so he wants to attract some people such as garment workers, civil servants and university students to get a*

few parliamentarian seats in the NA. He has abandoned the farmers’ said Minister of Information Khieu Kanhariddh on April 5, 2008 on TVK’s program responding to the SRP demonstration. TVK did not ask for any feedback from the SRP regarding this criticism.

The NRP was heard about 2 times only, related to the position of the parties on the request to remove immunity from the retired king. No other political parties were heard about on TVK.

### 1.2.1. TVK-UNDP Equity Weekly Program<sup>15</sup>

COMFREL observed within this monitoring period that this program focused mainly on social, economic and environmental issues and on matters surrounding the livelihoods of ordinary people; **political issues, especially coverage of political party or views, were given less coverage.** Most information dealt with the positive aspects of government development activities, but there were few shows mentioning the negative impacts of the developments, for example of the land disputes at Dey Krahorm and Village 78 in Tonle Basak commune, Chamkarmorn district, Phnom Penh.

The program broadcast a few shows on electoral issues, such as voter registration and revision, and also interviewed NEC officials regarding the election process. It dedicated only a small amount of time to covering political views and parties.

Among all political actors, the NA was allocated 67% of coverage, equal to 63 appearances. SRP MPs received the most coverage: 26 appearances, followed by the CPP’s 23 appearances and FUNCINPEC’s 14 appearances. Coverage of MPs usually was in the form of interviews on adopted laws. The RGC, including the PM, made 17 appearances (18%).

Equity Weekly Program gave less time to political parties: 15%, equal to 14 appearances. Within the monitoring period, only five political parties received coverage. The CPP and SRP were given coverage on the program 4 times each, FUNCINPEC 3 times, the NRP 2 times and the HRP 1 time. For example, on the show on the cancellation of voter names from the voter list, the show interviewed representatives from the first four said parties.

Youth in politics was also covered on the program, which gave time to political parties to share their view on the importance of youth in politics.

In conclusion, within the monitoring period, Equity Weekly Program still focused mostly on social topics, such as people’s livelihoods and development.

## 1.3. Findings of TVK monitoring from June 1-25, 2008

### 1.3.1. Findings across all programs

COMFREL observed that, as the election campaign approached, TVK’s coverage remained the same as before. Events covered were usually of the type listed below:

- Speech of Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN Sen on illegal checkpoints.
- Official inauguration ceremony of Takeo’s Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN Sen Ang Ta Som High School under the honorable presidency of Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo HUN Sen.
- H.E. Mr. KEP Chuktema, Phnom Penh Municipality Governor, inaugurating achievements at Techo HUN Sen Trapang Riang Primary School.

<sup>15</sup> This program was supported by UNDP in conjunction with MoInfo. The program has been broadcast on TVK since May 20, 2007. Its aims are to promote civic understanding and participation in political issues.

- Interview with H.E. Mr. Khieu Kanhariddh, Minister of Information, on the current political situation in Cambodia
- Samdech Akka Moha Thormak Porthisal CHEA Sim inaugurating achievements in Battambang province.
- H.E. Mr. NGUON Nhel inaugurating achievements for Thnam Pagoda located in Baray district, Kampong Thom province;
- Inauguration ceremony of drainage system and village road and remarks of H.E. Mr. CHAN Sarun, Chairman of the CPP Takeo's Tram Kork district working group, to 650 CPP members.

Findings within this monitoring period across all programs showed that 85%, equal to 48 hours, 24 minutes and 6 seconds, of TVK's political coverage was about the work, performance, activities and field visits of the RGC and PM to meet and give gifts to local people. The contents of TVK's political coverage were similar to those in the previous findings.

The RGC received 50%, equal to 28 hours, 39 minutes and 42 seconds. Most of the coverage about the RGC was neutral in tone (93%, equal to 26 hours, 36 minutes and 9 seconds of time dedicated to RGC). Positive coverage was heard in 7%, equal to 1 hour, 57 minutes and 23 seconds. Negative coverage for the RGC was heard in 11 minutes and 10 seconds (for details, please see Chart 1).

The PM alone was allotted 35%, equal to 19 hours, 45 minutes and 25 seconds. Of political actors, the PM received the longest duration of positive coverage, 13%, equal to 2 hours, 31 minutes and 13 seconds, of the PM's total coverage. Most of the PM's positive coverage was in broadcasts by RGC officials, who usually talked about the PM's development work. Negative information on the PM was heard for only 1 minute and 22 seconds. Neutral coverage was at 87%, equal to 17 hours, 12 minutes and 50 seconds.

The NA and Senate combined received 10%, equal to 5 hours, 37 minutes and 47 seconds of total political air time. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone: 86%, equal to 4 hours, 48 minutes and 48 seconds of total time dedicated to the NA and Senate. Positive coverage was at 14%, equal to 48 minutes and 40 seconds, whereas negative information was heard for only 19 seconds.

TVK, within this monitoring period, dedicated very little time – around 5%, equal to 3 hours, 12 minutes and 39 seconds – to political parties running for election. Of the time dedicated to political parties, TVK dedicated the most coverage to the CPP: 74%, equal to 2 hours, 23 minutes and 24 seconds. The coverage of the CPP was mostly neutral in tone (86%, equal to 2 hours, 3 minutes and 22 seconds). However, the CPP received the most positive information coverage: 14%, equal to 19 minutes and 44 seconds of the CPP's total coverage. Negative coverage was at only 18 seconds.

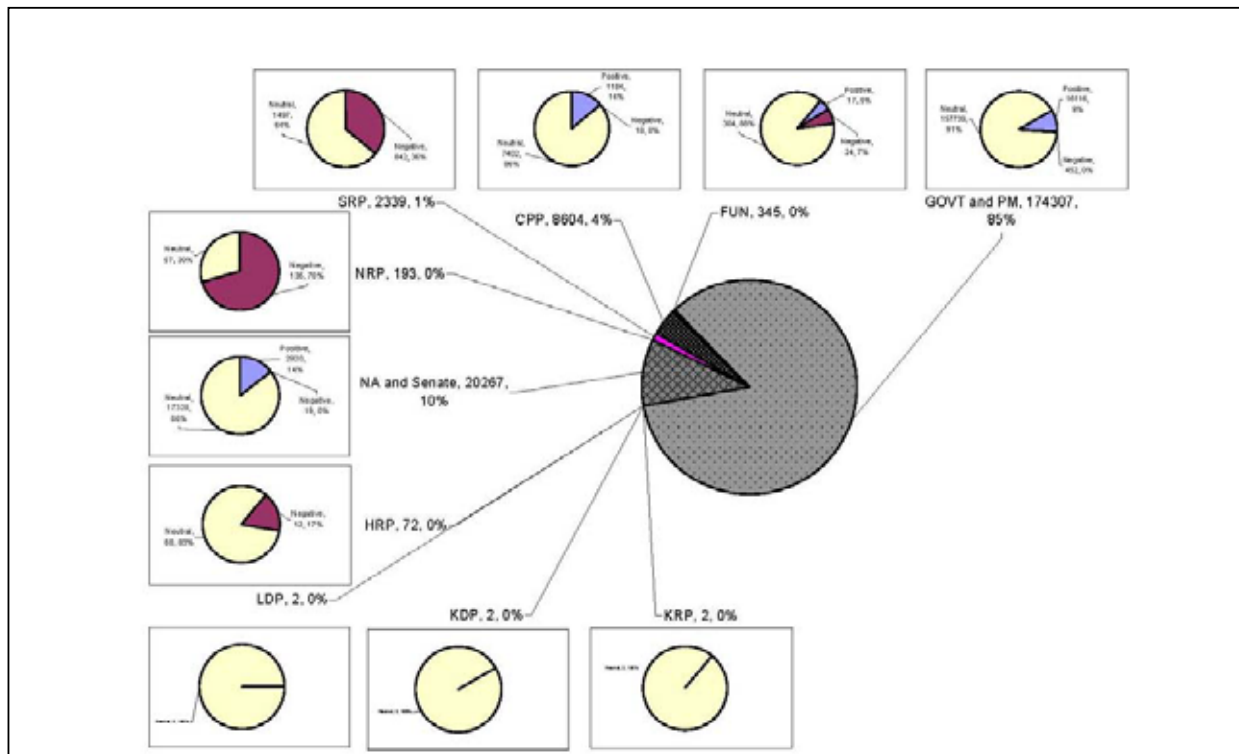
The SRP received the second most coverage: 20%, equal to 38 minutes and 59 seconds, although there was no positive coverage. 36%, equal to 14 minutes and 2 seconds, was negative in tone and 64%, equal to 24 minutes and 57 seconds, was neutral. Coverage of the SRP consisted of criticism raised mainly by the PM and the SRP's defectors to the CPP.

FUNCINPEC was allotted 3%, equal to 5 minutes and 34 seconds, most of which was neutral in tone. Positive coverage for FUNCINPEC was at 17 seconds and negative at 24 seconds. An example was coverage of FUNCINPEC's President, KEO Puth Reasmey, visiting supporters.

The NRP was dedicated 2%, equal to 3 minutes and 13 seconds, of which 2 minutes and 16 seconds were negative and 57 seconds were neutral. Most of the NRP's coverage was from the PM.

The HRP was heard in about 1% of coverage, equal to 1 minute and 12 seconds, of which 12 seconds were negative and 1 minute was neutral. Another three political parties – KDP, KRP and LDP – had their name mentioned for 2 seconds each on Equity Weekly Program.

**Chart 1: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on TVK (June 1-25, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

The PM was granted the most and longest opportunities on TVK, speaking on air for 10 hours, 58 minutes and 51 seconds, most of which made up of broadcasts of whole speeches when the PM was on duty presiding over ceremonies. This was followed by the RGC (4 hours, 28 minutes and 34 seconds).

The NA was granted the opportunity to air speeches for 2 hours, 29 minutes and 28 seconds. Only MPs from the CPP and SRP spoke on air. CPP MPs spoke for 53 minutes and 50 seconds, whereas SRP MPs spoke for only 58 seconds, on Equity Weekly Program supported by UNDP. The Senate spoke for 2 minutes and 1 second.

TVK did not give a chance within this monitoring period to any political party to speak on air except on Equity Week, on which the SRP spoke for 58 seconds, FUNCINPEC for 33 seconds and the HRP for 12 seconds.

**Voter education**

Although the elections were approaching, TVK covered voter education for only 40 minutes and 16 seconds. This included: broadcast of songs encouraging people to vote and informing voters about the advantages of the voter information notice. Within this monitoring period, voter education spots/songs were not broadcast daily.

**Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Within this monitoring period, COMFREL observed no intimidation or threats or insulting words/phrases being used towards voters or political activists as broadcasted on TVK.

**Political advertisements/promotional spots**

Promotional spots were produced/broadcast on TVK for the PM only, on June 13, 2008: an 8-minute and 49-second song praising the PM as the best person for the Cambodian people and country.

**Appeals to vote for any person/political party** were not heard on TVK within this monitoring period.

**Appeals not to vote for any person/political party** were not heard in TVK within this monitoring period.

**Women in politics**

From June 1-25, 2008, women in politics were covered on TVK for 8 minutes and 55 seconds on the news, during voter education and in other programs. For example, on the news on June 25, 2008, TVK covered the appointment of Ms. TOUC Sarum as Phnom Penh Deputy Governor.

**Youth/indigenous persons/disabled persons in politics**

Youth/indigenous persons/disabled persons in politics were not observed within this monitoring period.

**1.3.2. Findings by program****Equity Weekly Program**

This joint UNDP-TVK weekly TV program was broadcast until June 15, 2008. COMFREL observed that, as the elections neared, Equity Weekly concentrated mainly on the elections, including asking voters to comment on the kind of government they wanted, on security in the elections and on Form 1018.

Within this monitoring period, Equity Weekly dedicated 3 minutes and 5 seconds to political parties: FUNCINPEC received 1 minute and 2 seconds, HRP 45 seconds, SRP 44 seconds, NRP 25 seconds, CPP 3 seconds and KDP, KRP and LDP 2 seconds each.

Only 3 political parties could speak on air: SRP for 58 seconds, FUNCINPEC for 33 seconds and HRP for 12 seconds. For example, in the show broadcast on June 15, 2008, SRP Deputy Secretary-General MU Sochua spoke on the illegal issuance of Form 1018 during the commune council elections.

**News programs**

It should be noted that there are 3 different kinds of news programs on TVK: national news, community news and news from provinces/municipalities.

National news mainly covered the activities of RGC members, such as meetings, presiding over workshops or seminar, etc. Community news broadcast coverage of RGC members visiting communities and giving gifts/money or building infrastructure. Provincial/municipal news covered the activities of RGC officials in their individual province/city.

84%, equal to 20 hours, 17 minutes and 16 seconds, of political time on TVK's news programs covered the activities and performance of RGC members and officials and the PM (20%, equal to 4 hours, 35 minutes and 45 seconds).



Most of the RGC's and PM's coverage was neutral and positive in tone. For the RGC, positive information was at 11%, equal to 1 hour, 44 minutes and 24 seconds, of the total time of 15 hours, 31 minutes and 41 seconds dedicated to the RGC. Negative words for the RGC were heard in only 1 minute and 20 seconds.

Positive information for the PM was heard in 28%, equal to 1 hour, 20 minutes and 45 seconds, of the total time allotted to the PM. Negative words towards the PM were heard in only 48 seconds.

Example coverage of the RGC and PM on the news was as follows:

- Meetings between the PM and foreign delegations;
- Inauguration ceremony of new school buildings in Kon Klong Primary School in Prek Toch commune, Mong Reusey district, Battambang province under the presidency of H.E. Mr. SAR Kheng.
- Roundtable discussion on the effectiveness of law enforcement on domestic violence in the community.
- Senior Minister H.E. Mr. TAO Senghour talking with garment workers in Samong commune, Ang Snoul district, Kandal province.

Legislative bodies – the NA and Senate – were given 20%, equal to 3 hours, 5 minutes and 4 seconds, of total political time. 23%, equal to 42 minutes and 26 seconds, of the NA and Senate coverage was positive, while a negative tone was heard for only 10 seconds. The remaining 77%, equal to 2 hours, 22 minutes and 28 seconds, was neutral in tone. Only MPs from the ruling parties were covered. An example of the NA coverage was the broadcast on June 16, 2008, when CPP MP CHEM Savay talked with schoolteachers, retired government officials and local authorities in Roka Leu district in Kampong Cham province.

In TVK's news programs, only two political parties were covered, seen or heard: the CPP and FUNCINPEC. The CPP was dedicated 6%, equal to 55 minutes and 52 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. No negative coverage occurred for the CPP. Positive information for the CPP was at 27%, equal to 15 minutes and 16 seconds; most of this dealt with CPP officials giving gifts or accepting new members. Examples include coverage of an inauguration ceremony of a drainage system and village road and the remarks of H.E. Mr. CHAN Sarun, Chairman of the CPP Takeo's Tram Kork district working group, to 650 CPP members on June 23, 2008.

FUNCINPEC received only 3 minutes and 4 seconds of coverage. Most was neutral in tone. No negative information was heard on TVK's news programming. For example, a broadcast on June 4, 2008 showed FUNCINPEC's president KEO Putreksmey talking with FUNCINPEC party members.

#### ***Direct speech opportunity on news programs***

No political actors were given a chance to speak on air on news programs within this monitoring period.

#### **Other programs**

In other TVK's programs, the PM alone was the most heard/seen, receiving 47%, equal to 16 hours, 17 minutes and 58 seconds. Most of the coverage of the PM was in broadcasts of whole speeches he made when presiding over ceremonies (10 hours, 58 minutes and 51 seconds). Most of the coverage was neutral in tone (94%, equal to 15 hours, 14 minutes and 42 seconds of the total political time dedicated to the PM). Positive coverage was at 6%, equal to 1 hour, 2 minutes and 37 seconds, and negative coverage was at 39 seconds, most raised by the PM himself about criticism towards him.

The RGC received the second highest amount of coverage, accounting for 38%, equal to 13 hours, 20 minutes and 46 seconds, most of which was neutral in tone. Positive coverage was heard in about 2%, equal to 17 minutes and 36 seconds. A negative tone was heard for 4 minutes and 22 seconds. Broadcasts on the RGC in other programs were often about the activities of Cambodian RGC delegations visiting other countries.

The NA and Senate were allotted 8%, equal to 2 hours, 54 minutes and 30 seconds, of which 95%, equal to 2 hours, 45 minutes and 27 seconds, was neutral. Positive coverage was heard in 5%, equal to 8 minutes and 54 seconds, and negative coverage was heard for only 9 seconds. An example of NA coverage was a broadcast on June 2, 2008, when NA President Samdech Akka Moha Ponhea Chakrei HENG Samrin presided over a groundbreaking ceremony at Vatanaream Pagoda in Poy Pet commune, Our Chroy district, Banteay Meanchey province.

Only 5 political parties were covered on other TVK's programs, receiving around 6%, equal to 2 hours, 11 minutes and 22 seconds. 67%, equal to 1 hour, 28 minutes and 13 seconds of political party coverage, was dedicated to the CPP. Most of the coverage for the CPP was neutral in tone. Only the CPP was given positive coverage (6%, equal to 4 minutes and 59 seconds), whereas negative information on the CPP was heard for only 18 seconds. Most of the CPP coverage in other programs was produced by RGC members and the PM.

The SRP was the second most covered on TVK's other programs, but with only negative and neutral tone. Of SRP's total coverage, 29%, equal to 38 minutes and 15 seconds was neutral and 37%, equal to 14 minutes and 2 seconds, was negative in tone. Most of the negative information on the SRP was raised by the PM and RGC members, for example a broadcast on June 25, 2008 regarding a letter written to SRP President Mr. SAM Rainsy, by SRP defector to the CPP Mr. SOK Peng. The letter criticized the SRP for nepotism and corruption: "*If the SRP had the power to control the country, what would our country be like and how miserable would the Cambodian people be?*" quoted the presenter from the letter.

The NRP was allotted 2%, equal to 2 minutes and 48 seconds, of the total time dedicated to all political parties. Most of the coverage for the NRP was negative in tone (81%, equal to 2 minutes and 16 seconds of the time dedicated to the NRP), with some neutral coverage (32 seconds). Most of the coverage for the NRP was heard in the PM's speech.

FUNCINPEC received 1%, equal to 1 minute and 39 seconds, with 24 seconds negative in tone and 1 minute and 5 seconds neutral in tone.

The HRP was heard for only 27 seconds, with 12 seconds negative in tone and 15 neutral in tone.

#### ***Direct speech opportunity on other programs***

Of all political actors, the PM was given the longest amount of time on air (10 hours, 58 minutes and 51 seconds). TVK usually broadcast the entire speech, no matter how long.

The RGC spoke on air for 4 hours, 25 minutes and 54 seconds. TVK sometimes produced/broadcast special programs or documentaries, including interviews with RGC members/officials.

The NA could speak on air for 2 hours, 27 minutes and 32 seconds. For example, in a broadcast on June 2, 2008, NA President Samdech Akka Moha Ponhea Chakrei HENG Samrin spoke for 24 minutes and 57 seconds when he presided over a groundbreaking ceremony at Vatanaream Pagoda.

#### **1.4. Findings of TVK monitoring within election campaign period (June 26-July 25, 2008)**

Within the election campaign period, two new programs produced by independent institutions were introduced on TVK: the TVK-UNDP Equity News and the NEC's Equal Access. The presence of the

two new programs, the NEC's voter education program and the NDI's Candidate Debate changed the political coverage on TVK completely in terms of time allocation and program content, also leaving very limited time for TVK to broadcast its own programs.

#### **1.4.1. Findings across all programs**

Within this one-month period, findings across all programs show that the RGC was given only 21%, equal to 17 hours, 56 minutes and 13 seconds. A negative tone towards the RGC, usually in the NEC's Equal Access, was heard in 5%, equal to 58 minutes and 5 seconds, of total coverage of the RGC. Positive information on the RGC was heard in only 1%, equal to 9 minutes and 32 seconds (please see Chart 2 for data from June 26 to July 31, 2008).

As promised, PM HUN Sen did not carry out any electoral campaigning or attend any public ceremony. However, his previous activities and achievement were used for the CPP electoral campaign. Coverage of the PM was heard in only 6% of coverage, equal to 4 hours, 57 minutes and 42 seconds. The PM received almost the same amount of positive (2%, equal to 5 minutes and 55 seconds) and negative (2%, equal to 6 minutes and 9 seconds) coverage. Coverage of the PM was usually produced by RGC members and the CPP.

The NA and Senate received the least coverage (less than 1%, equal to 22 minutes and 31 seconds).

The political parties within this monitoring period enjoyed the most coverage on TVK, at 72%, equal to 61 hours, 19 minutes and 16 seconds. Coverage was more dynamic and active, especially on Equity News and Equal Access's political party-produced spots. Almost 100% of coverage was neutral in tone, with a little positive and very little negative coverage.

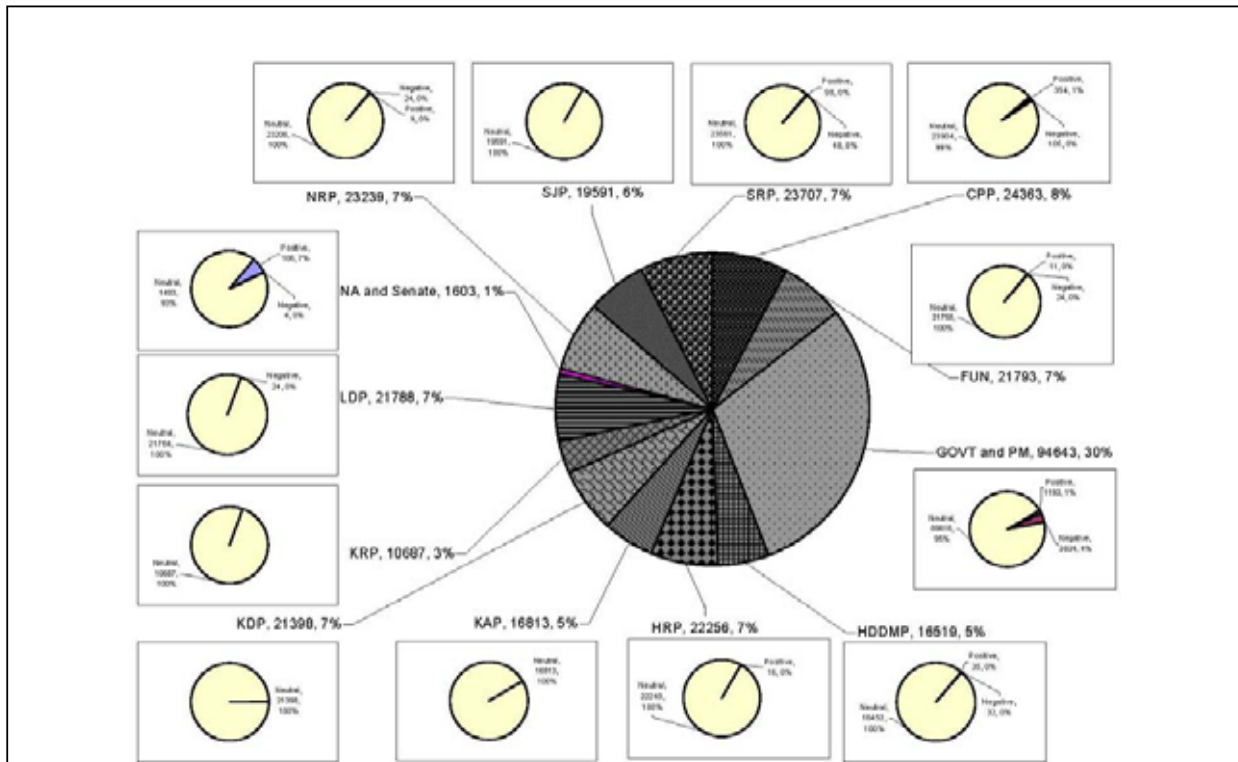
Of political party coverage, the CPP led, receiving 11%, equal to 6 hours, 40 minutes and 48 seconds. 99%, equal to 6 hours, 34 minutes and 19 seconds, was neutral in tone. The CPP was followed by the SRP (approximately 11%, equal to 6 hours, 30 minutes and 44 seconds).

The NRP, HRP, FUNCINPEC, LDP and KDP were allotted around 10% each, or between 6 hours, 25 minutes and 40 seconds and 5 hours, 54 minutes and 54 seconds.

The SJP, KAP and HDDMP received between 7% and 9%, or between 4 hours, 33 minutes and 32 seconds and 5 hours, 25 minutes and 14 seconds.

The KRP received the least coverage: 5%, equal to 2 hours, 56 minutes and 48 seconds. The KRP also received the same time allocation as other political parties did but was not able to produce its own campaign spot to broadcast on TVK.

**Chart 2: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on TVK (June 26-July 31, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

COMFREL observed that across all programs all political parties could speak on air.

The RGC still had much time on TVK to speak on air (4 hours, 49 minutes and 6 seconds). Most of the RGC’s direct speech was about the RGC’s effort to list Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site and the border dispute with Thailand. For example, in a broadcast on July 15, 2008, TVK briefly covered a concert to hail Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site, during which H.E. Mr. SOK An spoke for 35 minutes and 47 seconds.

The NA spoke for only 37 seconds.

Most political parties could speak for between 4 hours and approximately 5 hours, on the NEC’s programs, UNDP-TVK Equity News and NDI Candidate Debate forum. However, the HDDMP spoke for only 20 minutes and 45 seconds. The KRP spoke for the least amount of time (2 hours, 45 minutes and 44 seconds) as it could not produce its own campaign spot to broadcast on TVK.

**Voter education**

By dedicating most of its time to the NEC, TVK devoted 7 hours, 14 minutes and 33 seconds to voter education. This is a sharp increase if compared with the 40 minutes and 16 seconds of June 1-25. Within the monitoring time, TVK broadcast daily voter education programming, including songs and comedy spots as well as spots by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which had the intention of educating voters and disseminating election-related information to the broader electorate.

**Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Within this monitoring period, some political parties used warning words/phrases/statements towards voters to make them think twice before voting for any political party. Most of these instances were raised by non-ruling parties and targeted the incumbent government and the PM. For instance, FUNCINPEC's election campaign spot, broadcast on July 7, 2008, stated that if the people elected the wrong person, Cambodians would become slaves and the land inherited from our parents would be taken away. The HDDMP also warned that traitors were controlling the RGC, who do not think about the borders being invaded by the Vietnamese and Thais. This party stated that, if the Khmer people did not become aware of this issue, they would eventually die out.

**Political advertisements/promotional spots**

Within this monitoring period, no political advertisements/promotional spots were observed.

**Appeals to vote for any person/political party**

TVK gave a chance to all political parties to appeal to voters for votes. Such appeals were mostly heard on the NEC's Equal Access Program, Equity News and the NDI's Candidate Debate forum. For instance, in the NEC's Equal Access Program on June 26, 2008, the CPP appealed to voters to vote for the CPP if they wanted schools, hospitals, roads, irrigation systems, etc. Other political parties also made such appeals after reading out their individual political platforms.

**Appeals not to vote for any person/political party**

Within this monitoring period, only the CPP and the RGC were the subject of such an appeal. For instance, on the Equity News Program of July 2, 2008, the HRP President Mr. KEM Sokha said that, for the sake of our country, the people must change the incumbent party.

**Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics were covered by Equity News, the NEC's Equal Access and the NDI's political Candidate Debate. During the election campaign period, COMFREL observed that women in politics including female candidates contesting in the elections, were heard about for 14 hours, 25 minutes and 1 second. TVK, on July 11 and 12, 2008, broadcast the NDI's two female Candidate Debate forums, in which a female candidate from the SRP could speak for 9 minutes and 27 seconds; one from the NRP for 9 minutes and 14 seconds; one from the CPP for 6 minutes and 46 seconds; and one from the LDP for 6 minutes and 31 seconds. The KDP, KAP, KRP and FUNCINPEC could speak for between 4 minutes and 43 seconds and 5 minutes and 44 seconds.

**Youth in politics**

Within this monitoring period, youth in politics were heard about for only 2 minutes and 27 seconds, on Equity News Program of July 10, 2008, which dealt with COMFREL's training in Kandal province on youth participation in politics. In this short piece of coverage, youth were allowed to voice their concerns to the RGC.

**Indigenous people in politics**

COMFREL observed no coverage of indigenous people in politics during the monitoring period.

## Disabled persons in politics

Disabled persons in politics/elections were heard about for 27 minutes and 18 seconds on Equity News. For example, in the show on July 15, 2008, Equity News offered a chance to disabled persons to voice the difficulties they faced in voting in elections.

### 1.4.2. Findings by program

#### UNDP-TVK Equity News Program

This 20-minute program was supported by UNDP and broadcast daily only on TVK within the election campaign period. The program dedicated air time to political parties based on equity principles, whereby the CPP received 20%, SRP (13%), FUNCINPEC (11%), NRP (9%), KDP (9%), HDDMP (9%), LDP (9%), HRP (8%), KRP (5%), KAP (4%) and SJP (3%).<sup>16</sup>

The equity principle set by UNDP and TVK came under criticism from most of the contesting political parties. For instance, the SRP's MU Sochua stated on RFA that the program was giving more time to the ruling CPP, which could then access most of the media.<sup>17</sup> 2 political parties (the SJP and KAP) filed a complaint with the NEC regarding the Equity News Program, but the NEC rejected the complaint, saying that it did not lie within its jurisdiction.<sup>18</sup> The parties sent the complaint to the Constitutional Council, which also rejected it, saying it did not have any jurisdiction over the case being filed.<sup>19</sup>

The program ran as planned and all parties were covered in the program.

Observation found that the program was more dynamic and provided more balanced coverage than other TVK programming. The program focused mostly on parties' positive aspects, party platforms, campaign activities and the support of voters for specific political parties. Negative tones and criticism of political parties arose only a few times, such as when the Equity Program covered a political party debate on anti-corruption organized by NGOs on July 8, 2008 which CPP failed to attend. On that evening, TVK interviewed some other political parties' representatives, who in general said that the CPP was corrupt so did not want the anti-corruption law to be passed, which is why they did not attend the debate.

The program also allocated a great deal of time to voters commenting on the elections and the particular political party they liked and supported.

Technical problems arose on one episode, according to the Equity News team, when the direct speech of the NRP's representative was not heard – only the picture was shown. However, the program produced additional coverage – added more time for the NRP – to correct the mistake.

Some examples of the Equity News Program topics: are as follows

- NGOs, including the Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee (CHRAC) with COMFREL and the Neutral and Impartial Committee on Free and Fair Elections (NICFEC), meet to discuss violence and intimidation;
- NEC hearing on 5 complaints by the SRP;
- History of the LDP;
- Voter information notice;

<sup>16</sup> For total air time percentages see <http://www.equitycam.tv/>.

<sup>17</sup> Political parties criticized UNDP's Equity News Program. <http://www.rfa.org/khmer/indepth/equity-news-program-criticized-06192008235159.html>, retrieved on June 20, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> According to Mr. BAN Sophal, President of SJP.

<sup>19</sup> Constitutional Council letter 007/02/2008 CC to SJP and KAP dated July 1, 2008.

- Takeo irrigation (with interviews from CPP, FUNCINPEC, LDP and HDDMP);
- CPP, SRP, FUNCINPEC and NRP election campaign in Phnom Penh.

According to COMFREL's media monitoring, TVK closely followed the predetermined percentage to be allotted to political parties as set by UNDP and TVK. During the whole broadcasting period, TVK granted the CPP 19%, 1% less than the promised percentage, of political party coverage; the SRP 14%, 1% more than the set percentage; FUNCINPEC 11% as promised; the NRP 9% as promised; and the HRP 10%, 2% more than the predetermined percentage. Table 1 shows COMFREL's findings of real time allocation to political parties in the UNDP-TVK Equity News Program:

**Table 1: Time allocated to political parties on Equity News Program**

No	Party	Positive tone (seconds)	Negative tone (seconds)	Neutral tone (seconds)	Total (seconds)	COMFREL total findings (%)	UNDP total findings <sup>20</sup> (%)	UNDP planned total (%)
1	CPP	256	98	4305	4659	19	21.00	20
2	SRP	20	0	3259	3279	14	13.80	13
3	FUN	11	0	2702	2713	11	11.11	11
4	HRP	16	0	2468	2484	10	10.43	8
5	LDP	0	0	2478	2478	10	8.19	9
6	NRP	9	0	2275	2284	9	9.13	9
7	HDDMP	35	8	2097	2140	9	8.71	9
8	KDP	0	0	1717	1717	7	7.73	9
9	KAP	0	0	1006	1006	4	3.61	4
10	KRP	0	0	761	761	3	3.89	5
11	SJP	0	0	610	610	3	2.40	3

### ***Direct speech opportunity on Equity News Program***

All political actors, except the Senate, were given time to speak on air on Equity News Program.

The CPP was granted the longest time to speak on air, at 36 minutes and 36 seconds, followed by the SRP (26 minutes and 35 seconds); the NRP (22 minutes and 57 seconds); FUNCINPEC (22 minutes and 46 seconds); the HRP (20 minutes and 56 seconds); the HDDMP (18 minutes and 6 seconds); the LDP (16 minutes and 52 seconds); the KDP (16 minutes and 40 seconds); the KAP (7 minutes and 30 seconds); the KRP (6 minutes and 18 seconds); and the SJP (1 minute and 49 seconds).

The RGC could speak for only 1 minute and 49 seconds and the NA for 37 seconds.

### **NEC's Equal Access Programs**

To ensure the equal access of political parties to state media and according to the Article 74 of the Law on the Election of Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), which requires all media, including state-run press, television and radio, to make their services available to the NEC at no cost for the purpose of publicizing electoral work and conducting voter education, each political party could access the 3 state-run channels through the NEC for 10 minutes daily within the election campaign period, to broadcast their activities or political platform. This program was called Equal Access.

There were two kinds of Equal Access programming: the NEC-produced political party platform broadcasts and the political party-produced spots, broadcast every even and odd day respectively within

<sup>20</sup> Today's air time percentage.

[http://www.equitycam.tv/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=106&Itemid=80](http://www.equitycam.tv/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=106&Itemid=80), retrieved on September 4, 2008.

the election campaign period. Both programs were checked by the NEC before going on air. TVK broadcast the program twice daily: 14:30-16:30 and 20:15-22:15; COMFREL monitored only the latter broadcasting time.

In general, the opposition parties used their time to strongly criticize the CPP-led government, whereas the CPP used its time to defend and disseminate on the CPP government's achievements. Most political parties used all their allotted time of approximately 5 hours, except the HDDMP and KAP, which used approximately 4 hours, and the KRP, which used around 2 hours only. The SJP and SRP exceeded the time allocated to them (by 4 minutes and 9 seconds and 1 minute and 33 seconds, respectively).

Only the RGC including the PM saw negative coverage (68%, equal to 1 hour, 2 minutes and 19 seconds of the RGC's total coverage of 1 hour, 16 minutes and 27 seconds) within these programs.

- The NEC-produced programming showed only interviews by the NEC presenter, who gave the same questions to each political party representative. This program was broadcast every even day within the campaign period. Some political parties, besides answering the presenter's questions, used their allotted time to criticize other political actors, especially the RGC. This criticism, often raised by non-ruling parties, included – but was not limited to – corruption, land grabbing, poverty, unemployment, abuse of power, social injustice and weak law enforcement, impunity, high prices of goods, dictatorship, border issue and illegal immigration. *“Powerful persons are grabbing people's land and some victims who tried to claim their land back have been injured or killed ... If we still keep the incumbent corrupted leaders, more state revenue will go to only those corrupted powerful people; ordinary citizens will lose more and more land ... and the price of goods will continue to go up”*, said the SRP's representative YIM Sovann on the show on June 28, 2008. The CPP, on the other hand, used its time to defend and disseminate on its achievement and political platform, without using harsh words in exchange to criticizing non-ruling political parties.
- The party-produced spots were broadcast every odd day within the election campaign period. Although the spots were checked by the NEC, they were dynamic and critical. The SRP and NRP's spots showed pictures heavily criticizing the incumbent government, for example of local authorities hitting and kicking ordinary people during land conflicts or illegal logging and violence used by the RGC to crack down on the SRP-led demonstration against the election results in 2003. Other non-ruling political parties broadcast whole speeches by their leaders. The CPP presented on its achievements. The CPP-led RGC was the target of criticism by many non-ruling political parties. The CPP, SRP, FUNCINPEC, NRP and HRP broadcast many different spots. Other parties lacked the resources to produce spots for broadcast. The KRP, for example, did not produce a spot; the HDDMP only slightly modified its 2003 election spot..

**Table 2: Time taken by each political party on the NEC's Equal Access Program on TVK**

No	Party	Duration granted (10 minutes X 30 days)	Duration used
1	CPP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 46 minutes and 54 seconds
2	FUN	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 38 minutes and 35 seconds
3	HDDMP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	3 hours, 30 minutes and 7 seconds
4	HRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 59 minutes and 45 seconds
5	KAP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 2 minutes and 59 seconds
6	KDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 44 minutes and 34 seconds
7	KRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	2 hours, 15 minutes and 38 seconds
8	LDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 50 minutes and 13 seconds
9	NRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 48 minutes and 31 seconds
10	SJP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	5 hours, 4 minutes and 9 seconds
11	SRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	5 hours, 1 minutes and 33 seconds



## Political debate

NDI cooperated with TVK to produce and broadcast the NDI-organized Candidate Debate forum during the election campaign period. The show was broadcast in July. The Candidate Debate program was some times broadcast two times a day (13:00 to 14:00 and 22:00 to 23:00) and sometimes one time (either at 13:00 to 14:00 or at 22:00 to 23:00) a day. COMFREL monitored only the latter broadcast (22:00 to 23:00). However, it should be noted that in practice the program did not broadcast at the exact time. Usually, it was broadcast later than 22:00 and ended after 23:00. As COMFREL's monitoring time is limited to between 17:00 and 23:00, COMFREL often could not monitor the whole debate.

Within this period, COMFREL observed there were 9 Candidate Debate forum shows broadcast on TVK for 9 days. The program included candidate introduction, presenter's questions to each candidate and candidate's questions to other candidates. The information tone was almost completely neutral.

The NRP was covered in 5 shows and given the most time, receiving 55 minutes and 11 seconds; followed by the KDP in 5 shows (39 minutes and 55 seconds); FUNCINPEC in 4 shows (33 minutes and 25 seconds); the CPP in 4 shows (31 minutes and 52 seconds); the SRP in 4 shows (29 minutes and 40 seconds); the LDP in 4 shows (27 minutes and 21 seconds); the KRP in 4 shows (27 minutes and 4 seconds); the HDDMP in 4 shows (25 minutes and 27 seconds); the HRP in 3 shows (25 minutes and 6 seconds); the KAP in 3 shows (17 minutes and 2 seconds); and the SJP in 1 show (10 minutes and 27 seconds)

## News programs

Within the monitoring time, 17:00-23:00, TVK dedicated most of its time to the NEC's programs, leaving little time for its own programs. Within this one-month period, political time on the news was only 5 hours, 33 minutes and 52 seconds, as compared with June 1-25, 2008, which saw 22 hours, 3 minutes and 35 seconds. Political actors received only neutral tone coverage, except the RGC, which who received a little news of positive tone.

The program dedicated most of its political time to the RGC and the PM, which combined received 95%, equal to 5 hours, 17 minutes and 14 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors; leaving a very limited time for political parties. Almost 100% of the coverage was neutral in tone, with a little positive coverage, such as on road constructions.

Some common example of coverage of the RGC including the PM in the news programs included:

- Samdech Akka Monha Sena Padei Techo PM HUN Sen granting a hearing to Mr. CHHONG Vi Sung, Director of MH Bio-energy Group;
- H.E. Mr. LIM Sokun, Secretary of State for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, presiding over a workshop at the Royal University of Agriculture;
- H.E. Mr SUN Chanthol overseeing the construction of Takmao Bridge.

The Senate and NA combined received 5% of coverage, or 16 minutes and 6 seconds, for example coverage of a meeting between CPP MP CHEAM Yeap and German parliamentary delegations.

The 11 political parties combined were heard about for 32 seconds, on the occasion of H.E. Mr. IM Sou Sdey, President of the NEC, being granted a hearing to report on the NEC's work to the King.

## *Direct speech opportunity in news programs*

Only the RGC was granted a chance to speak on air in news programs, for 3 minutes and 51 seconds, on the extraordinary meeting of the Cambodia-Thailand border committee.

### **Other programs**

Other programs included any program other than the special programs mentioned above. They included – but were not limited to – entertainment, quiz show, soap operas, concerts, etc.

RGC and PM activities and performance combined received 97%, equal to 15 hours, 47 minutes and 1 seconds, of total political time dedicated to all political actors. Almost 100% was neutral in tone. The NA and Senate were heard about for only 55 seconds. All political parties contesting in the elections were given very little coverage, only 31 minutes and 5 seconds. However, coverage was more balanced. The SRP was given 15%, equal to 4 minutes and 32 seconds, followed by the CPP (14%, equal to 4 minutes and 22 seconds); FUNCINPEC (14%, equal to 4 minutes and 20 seconds); the NRP (12%, equal to 3 minutes and 53 seconds); and the HRP (10%; equal to 3 minutes and 3 seconds). The other political parties received between 5% (equal to 1 minute and 24 seconds) and 9% (equal to 2 minutes and 39 seconds), except the SJP (only 25 seconds). For example, on the “A Corner from TVK” program, the election campaign of 5 political parties – CPP, SRP, HRP, FUNCINPEC and NRP – were covered.

Some common examples of TVK’s coverage of political actors in other programs included:

- Broadcast of RGC announcements;
- Interview with RGC members, for example with H.E. Mr. Khieu Kanhariddh on July 17, 2008;
- Broadcast of PM’s letters;
- Voter education programs;
- Concert to hail Preah Vihear Temple being listed as a World Heritage site;
- The PM overseeing the harvest in Kandal province.

### ***Direct speech opportunity on other programs***

Only the RGC was given a chance to speak on air, for 4 hours, 41 minutes and 5 seconds. For instance, during a meeting between H.E. Mr. HOR Namhong, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, and the Ambassadors of UN Security Council countries, broadcast on July 25, 2008, he spoke for 7 minutes and 10 seconds.

## **1.5. Findings of TVK monitoring after election campaign period (July 26-31, 2008)**

After the election campaign, election programs to give coverage to political parties finished. During cooling off day (July 26, 2008), no political party was covered. Only the RGC and PM were heard about on in TVK, for 22 minutes and 18 seconds. However, during election day (July 27, 2008), TVK covered election procedure in some provinces/cities. In addition, TVK broadcast the election results in some polling stations. As the result, all political parties were covered on TVK on election day. The CPP was heard for 4 minutes and 1 second and the other 10 political parties for between 1 minute and 13 seconds and 1 minute and 40 seconds. TVK still covered election issues. On July 30, 2008, A Corner for TVK featured the negative reaction of the SRP’s President towards the temporary election results.

In conclusion, immediately after the election period (28-31 July, 2008), TVK – although without the special election programs – still covered some election-related issues, including the announcement of the election results and reactions of political parties and ordinary people.

However, it seemed that TVK’s coverage returned to its previous pattern from the pre-election campaign period, by dedicating most of its political time to the RGC and PM and the CPP, with a positive tone.

## **2. FINDINGS OF STATE-RUN NATIONAL RADIO OF KAMPUCHEA FM 96 MHZ**

### **2.1. Summary of findings and conclusion**

During the pre-election campaign period, National Radio of Kampuchea FM 96 MHz, a state-run channel, served not only the RGC but also the ruling CPP. Coverage of political actors on FM 96 MHz showed that the channel was openly affiliated with the CPP and one of the 39 electronic media that the CPP used against opposition political parties.

The relay of the live program “Khmer Culture” from CPP-affiliated Radio Bayon FM 95 MHz during early June 2008 led to the station being seen as a CPP station. Khmer Culture is one of Bayon Radio’s programs used to acclaim and disseminate on the performance, activities and achievements of the CPP and to criticize and insult the opposition parties.

Before June 15, 2008, FM 96 MHz stop broadcasting the program, but its support to the CPP continued, through its own one-hour program called “Meat Tu Phum Yeung”, whose aims were not much different from Bayon’s Khmer Culture: to defend the RGC and CPP from any criticism, to disseminate on and praise the RGC’s and CPP’s performance and achievements and to criticize and sometimes insult opposition parties. COMFREL observed that the words/tones used in this program were less critical and offensive (towards opposition parties) than those in Bayon’s Khmer Culture.

Interestingly, during the election campaign period – when all media were required by law to be neutral and balanced in terms of coverage of political parties – the station suspended broadcast of the pro-CPP “Meat Tu Phum Yeung” program. The channel also followed LEMNA, which allows the NEC to use the state-media for electoral work such as voter education and political party platform dissemination.

Within the election campaign period, FM 96 MHz produced no programs related to political parties contesting in the elections, including the CPP. Nevertheless, it still inserted information benefiting the CPP-ruled RGC, such as coverage of Preah Vihear Temple being listed as a World Heritage site. In general, though, the channel obeyed the NEC’s media guideline for the election campaign period.

Political parties that were not given any chance to let themselves be heard on FM 96 MHz before the campaign period used the NEC’s programming to broadcast on their political party platform and promises. Moreover, the NEC’s Equal Access Program, which was completely different from the FM 96 MHz-produced programming, gave a chance to political parties to criticize political actors or raise any misconduct committed by any political actors. As a result, most non-ruling parties used the NEC’s Equal Access Program not only to propagandize their performance, activities or achievement but also to criticize the CPP-led RGC.

FM 96 MHz still played an important role in educating voters on elections. FM 96 MHz dedicated time to the NEC to air the NEC’s Program on “Understanding Elections in Cambodia” before the election campaign period.

After election day, FM 96 MHz returned to its former self: supporting the ruling CPP and defending the election results.

FM 96 MHz paid less attention to news programming, both before and during the election campaign period. On average within the monitoring time (17:00-23:00), only two or three news items were heard per day. On some days there were no news program broadcasts at all.

In short, without a clear law/regulation to govern its performance, FM 96 MHz supports the ruling CPP. In addition, without the NEC’s Equal Access Program and the NEC’s voter education

programming, state-run radio station FM 96 MHz would have played no role in the elections in Cambodia.

## 2.2. Findings of FM 96 MHz from June 15-25, 2008

COMFREL did not monitor FM 96 MHz from June 1-14, 2008, when the station broadcast a live program called “Khmer Culture” from CPP-affiliated Bayon Radio FM 95 MHz. The program was used to propagandize the CPP and heavily criticize the SRP, NRP, HRP and FUNCINPEC. COMFREL started monitoring FM 96 MHz when it stopped these broadcasts.

### 2.2.1. Findings across all programs

Some common examples of coverage of political actors on FM 96 MHz were as follows:

- Drug issues in the world and Cambodia;
- “Our Country Program”: an interview with H.E. Mr. CHHUM Kosal, Advisor to the PM, over allegations made by the SRP and NRP against the RGC and CPP;
- RGC leader announcing the preparation of the army for participation in the UN;
- Thailand clothes exhibition in Paragon Supermarket;
- Understanding the elections in Cambodia;
- National Radio FM 98.3 MHz in Kampong Thom province, a gift from Samdech Akka Moha Sena Padie Techo HUN Sen and his wife;
- King Monineath NORODOM Sihamony’s birthday celebrations.

Within the monitoring period of June 15-25, 2008 FM 96 MHz dedicated a small amount of air time to cover political actors (only 4 hours, 7 minutes and 28 seconds). Within this time, FM 96 MHz gave priority to covering the positive performance and activities of the RGC, the PM and the CPP. The RGC received 28%, equal to 1 hour, 9 minutes and 52 seconds. The coverage of the RGC was mainly positive (16%, equal to 11 minutes and 24 seconds) and neutral in tone. Negative information towards the RGC was heard for only 15 seconds. Positive information towards the RGC was usually about the development of the country under the current RGC (for details, please see Chart 3).

The PM was allocated 27%, equal to 1 hour and 8 minutes. The tone for the PM was similar to that for the RGC. 14%, equal to 9 minutes and 30 seconds, of the PM’s total coverage was positive and the rest (86%, equal to 58 minutes and 14 seconds) was neutral in tone. Negative information towards the PM was heard for only 16 seconds.

The NA and Senate combined received very little coverage (1 minute and 30 seconds). All coverage of the NA and the Senate was neutral in tone.

FM 96 MHz dedicated its political time to cover more political parties, which combined were allotted 44%, equal to 1 hour, 48 minutes and 6 seconds of the time dedicated to all political actors. The CPP and SRP received the most coverage. It should be noted that most of the coverage was in “Meat Tu Phum Yeung”, which is designed to praise and defend the CPP from any allegations and to criticize other political parties, the SRP in particular.

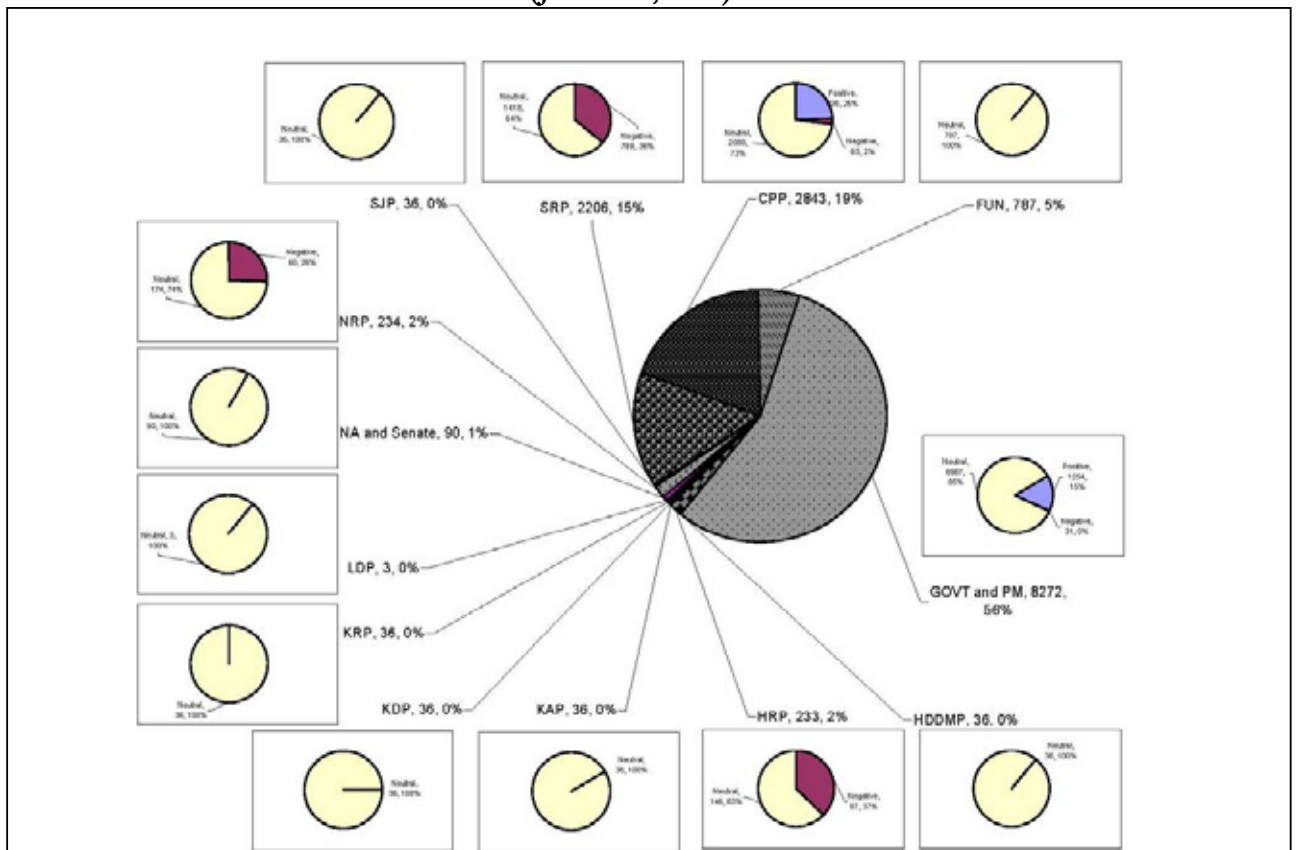
The CPP was heard in 44% of all political party coverage, equal to 47 minutes and 23 seconds, most of which was positive and neutral in tone. 25%, equal to 11 minutes and 38 seconds, was positive information for the CPP. This was mostly covered on Meat Tu Phum Yeung. Neutral information towards the CPP was at 73%, equal to 34 minutes and 40 seconds. Negative information was heard in 2%, equal to 1 minute and 5 seconds. Only the CPP received positive coverage on FM 96 MHz.

The SRP was given the second largest amount of coverage: 34%, equal to 36 minutes 46 seconds, of time dedicated to all political parties. However, only negative and neutral information was heard for the

SRP. Negative coverage towards the SRP was at 36%, equal to 13 minutes and 8 seconds, of its total coverage. Neutral coverage was at 64%, equal to 23 minutes and 38 seconds. An example of negative coverage towards the SRP was an interview with the PM Advisor H.E. Mr. CHHUM Kosal, aired on June 23, 2008. H.E. Mr. CHHUM Kosal criticized the political platform of the SRP as being similar to the Khmer Rouge’s policy of requiring require all people to work.

FUNCINPEC was heard about with neutral tone only (12%, equal to 13 minutes and 7 seconds). There NRP and HRP were given 4% each (approximately 2 minutes). The remaining political parties received less than 37 seconds.

**Chart 3: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on FM 96 MHz (June 1-25, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

Only CPP-affiliated actors were given a chance to speak on air; the RGC spoke for 30 minutes and 22 seconds. For example, in news on Buddhist monks’ roles in developing the country, H.E. Mr. SOK An, Minister of the Council of Ministers, spoke for 1 minute and 3 seconds on the RGC’s role in promoting the education of both Buddhist monks and ordinary people. A representative of the PM spoke for 44 seconds on a Thai clothes exhibition at Paragon Supermarket.

Of political parties, only the CPP was given a chance to speak, for 21 minutes and 57 seconds on Meat Tu Phum Yeung.

**Voter education**

Voter education took up 58 minutes and 37 seconds within this monitoring period. FM 96 MHz also broadcast the NEC’s program on “Understanding the Elections in Cambodia”. On some other

programs, such as song requests and call-in shows, the presenter and callers sometimes talked about the elections.

### **Intimidating/threatening words towards voters**

FM 96 MHz on June 23, 2008 on Meat Tu Phum Yeung broadcast PM Advisor CHHUM Kosal's analysis warning voters that *"I would like to tell all compatriots that what I am going to say is not to intimidate you all; but please think carefully before you vote as it may bring back the Khmer Rouge regime; what I say is true. NORODOM Ranariddh said the PM [HUN Sen] overthrew him in the 1997 coup. But in fact it was him who carried out the coup against the PM. Ranariddh brought Khmer Rouge soldiers into Phnom Penh ... Meanwhile, Sam Rainsy says that if the SRP wins the election, all people will be guaranteed work. This is the same as the Khmer Rouge's constitution."*

### **Political advertisements/promotional spots**

Political advertisements/promotional spots for political actors were not observed within this monitoring period.

### **Appeals to vote for any political actor**

FM 96 MHz broadcast such appeals only for the CPP. For example, in a broadcast on June 24, 2008, SRP defector to the CPP Ms. SOK Vilay appealed to all SRP supporters to defect to the CPP and vote for the CPP. On June 17, 2008, FM 96 MHz broadcast an appeal of SAM Rainsy's former bodyguard who told voters not to believe in SAM Rainsy but to vote for the CPP.

### **Appeals not to vote for any political actor**

Only the SRP was the subject of such an appeal. For instance, on June 19, 2008, an interview was broadcast with Mr. SOM On, whom FM 96 MHz's presenter claimed to be an NGO representative. Mr. SOM On appealed to voters not to believe in the SRP's political platform and promises and not to vote for the SRP.

**Women in politics, including female candidates,** were not heard about within this monitoring period.

**Youth/indigenous people/disabled persons in politics** were not covered within this monitoring period.

## **2.2.2. Findings by program**

### **News programs**

FM 96 MHz did not give much time to news. News program sometimes lasted around 5 minutes and sometimes there was no news at all. Political actors were heard for only 23 minutes and 52 seconds on the news. Only the RGC, the PM and the NA and Senate were covered in the news. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone with a little positive information towards the PM but no negative tone towards any actor. FM 96 MHz gave no political actors a direct speech opportunity.

### **Other programs**

Other programs included every program – except news programs – broadcast between 17:00 and 23:00.

Political actors were allotted more time in other programs, especially in Meat Tu Phum Yeung.

Within this monitoring period, the PM was the main political actor covered, receiving 30%, equal to 1 hour, 5 minutes and 6 seconds, of all time dedicated to all political actors. The coverage was mixed, both positive and neutral, with very little negative information (only 16 seconds). Coverage of the PM usually dealt with his good and intelligent work, achievements and performance. Samdech HUN Sen was often praised as the “Best Person for Cambodia”.

The RGC was heard about in 22% of all coverage, equal to 48 minutes and 58 seconds. The tone of the coverage was similar to that of the PM.

The CPP was allotted 19%, equal to 41 minutes and 46 seconds. 14% of the CPP coverage was positive and about 3%, equal to 1 minute and 5 seconds, was negative. FM 96 MHz usually dealt with the good performance, work and platform of the CPP. In addition, FM 96 MHz defended the CPP from any criticism or allegation. Victory over Pol Pot was used as a vote-winning technique for the CPP.

The SRP was seriously criticized, mainly Mr. SAM Rainsy. Although the SRP received 17% of coverage, equal to 36 minutes and 46 seconds (the second highest after the CPP), this was mainly criticism of the SRP’s performance. No positive information towards the SRP was heard within this monitoring period, only negative and neutral. 36%, equal to 13 minutes and 8 seconds, of the SRP’s total time was negative in tone. For instance, a broadcast on June 17, 2008 said that “*the bad days for SAM Rainsy have been coming; a group of people has lost confidence in SAM Rainsy and is criticizing SAM Rainsy, claiming that he is nepotistic and is cheating the people for votes*”. Such a tone was often heard on the program.

FUNCINPEC, CPP’s coalition partner, took 6%, equal to 13 minutes and 7 seconds, with only neutral tone.

The HRP and NRP – also opposition parties – received only 3 minutes and 53 seconds and were also a target of criticism. Negative information on the HRP was at 1 minute and 27 seconds. For example, a broadcast on June 19, 2008 criticized the HRP’s President KHIM Sokha for being a failure, saying that any political party/organization he joined would vanish.

The other 6 political parties were heard about for less than 37 seconds each, with a neutral tone only.

### **2.3. Findings of FM 96 MHz within election campaign period (June 26-July 25, 2008)**

Within the election campaign period, COMFREL adjusted the monitoring time of FM 96 MHz from 17:00-23:00 to 18:00-24:00, because the NEC’s Equal Access Program is broadcast from 22:00 to 24:00.

As required by law, FM 96 MHz within the election campaign period dedicated its time to the NEC broadcasting its Equal Access Program. No other election-related program was produced by FM 96 MHz within the election campaign period. Meat Tu Phum Yeung was also suspended.

#### **2.3.1. Findings across all programs**

Within the election campaign period, if not for the NEC’s Equal Access Program, political parties would have found it too difficult to access FM 96 MHz. Although all political parties were heard from, most were allotted time only in the NEC’s Equal Access Program (please see Chart 4 for data from June 26 to July 31, 2008).

In terms of percentage, coverage of the RGC and the PM decreased as coverage of political parties went up sharply. Nevertheless, in terms of duration, FM 96 MHz’s coverage of the RGC and PM remained the same. The RGC and PM combined were heard about in 6 hours, 45 minutes and 19

seconds (12% of the time dedicated to all political actors). What changed was the tone towards the RGC and PM, which received negative information at 17%, equal to 1 hour, 8 minutes and 43 seconds, of their total time. This negative information was heard only on the NEC’s Equal Access Program. Positive information was at 3%, equal to 12 minutes and 59 seconds.

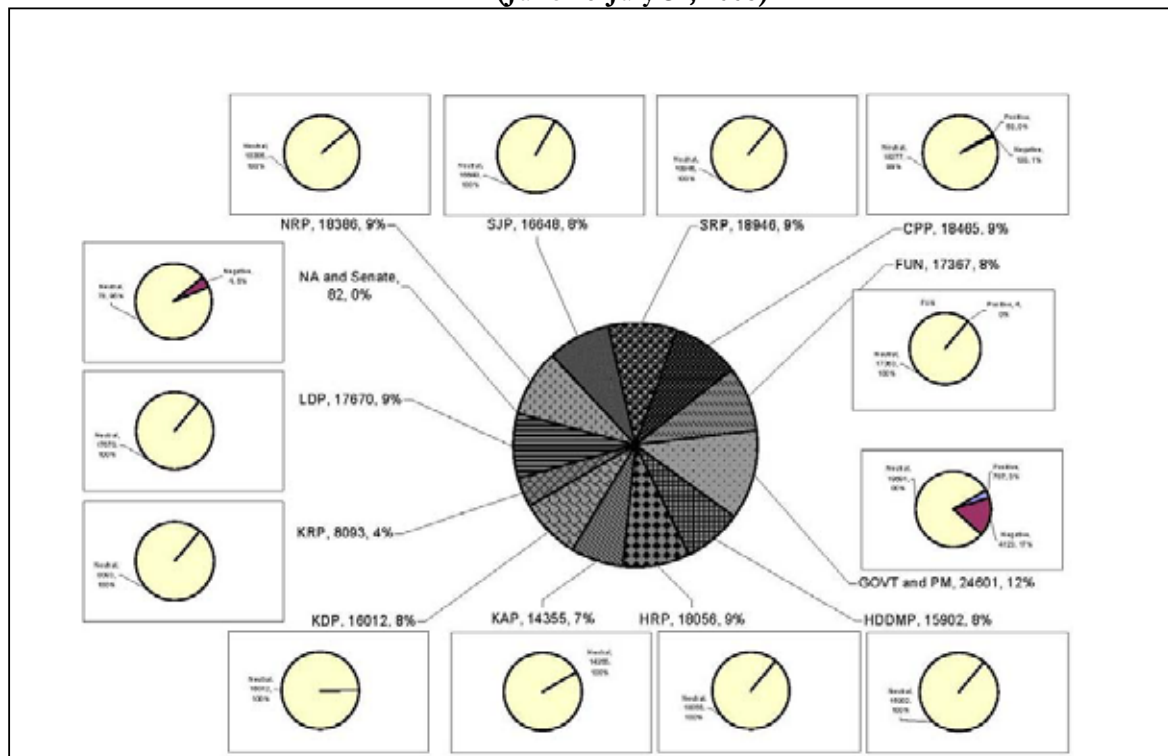
The NA and Senate combined were heard for only 1 minute and 20 seconds, with almost 100% neutral information.

Most political parties were allocated between 7%, equal to 3 hours, 59 minutes and 15 seconds, and 9%, equal to 5 hours, 14 minutes and 9 seconds. However, the KRP received only 2 hours, 14 minutes and 53 seconds of coverage. The KRP again did not produce any of its own spots. Of political party coverage, only the CPP experienced airing of negative information (2 minutes and 10 seconds) on the NEC’s Equal Access Program.

Some examples of coverage of political actors within the election campaign period were as follows:

- Phnom Penh Municipality informing taxi drivers not to increase the price for four days when people traveled to their home to vote;
- Letter from the PM to patriots related to the border dispute between Cambodia and Thailand;
- NEC’s Equal Access Program;
- Voter education spot/song;
- NGOs inviting political parties to debate their own individual political platform.

**Chart 4: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs in FM 96 MHz (June 26-July 31, 2008)**



**Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Most non-ruling parties often intimidated voters by mentioning that they would lose their land and see increased illegal immigration if they voted for the wrong political party. Such appeals/words were heard only on the NEC’s Equal Access Program.



### **Political advertisements/promotional spots for any political actor**

Within this monitoring period, COMFREL observed no political advertisements on FM 96 MHz.

### **Appeals to vote for any person/political party**

All political parties were given a chance to appeal to voters on the NEC Equal Access Program. The ruling party usually appealed to voters based not only on its previous achievements but also on its political platform; non-ruling parties asked voters to vote for them based on their commitment and their individual political platforms as well as to eliminate current social injustice/issue.

### **Appeals not to vote for any person/political party**

The non-ruling political parties – besides appealing to voters to vote for them – also appealed to voters not to re-elect the current government as the RGC has failed to deal with increasing numbers of land disputes, increase in the price of goods, social injustice, impunity, illegal logging, etc.

### **Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics received 5 hours, 45 minutes and 34 seconds, all of which was in the NEC's Equal Access Program. Some political parties sent female candidates to attend the NEC-produced political platform broadcasting. For instance, on July 16, 2008, female representatives from the SRP, FUNCINPEC, NRP and KAP attended.

### **Youth/indigenous people/disable persons in politics**

Within this election campaign period, COMFREL observed no coverage of youth, indigenous people or disabled person participating in politics.

## **2.3.2. Findings by program**

### **NEC's Equal Access Program**

The NEC's Equal Access Programs were also broadcast on FM 96 MHz. The format, structure and contents of the program were the same as for those broadcast on TVK, with 2 kinds of program; the only difference was the lack of picture on the radio.

The opposition parties used their time to strongly criticize the CPP-led government, whereas the CPP used its time to defend and disseminate on the CPP government's achievements. The RGC including the PM saw negative coverage at 75%, equal to 1 hour, 8 minutes and 43 seconds, of the RGC total of 1 hour, 31 minutes and 28 seconds. For more information, see Section 1 of this report.

**Table 3: Time taken by each political party on the NEC's Equal Access Program on FM 96 MHz**

No	Party	Duration granted (10 minutes X 30 days)	Duration used
1	SRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	5 hours, 14 minutes and 9 seconds
2	NRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	5 hours, 4 minutes and 51 seconds
3	CPP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	5 hours, 4 minutes and 23 seconds
4	HRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 59 minutes and 21 seconds
5	LDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 54 minutes and 30 seconds
6	FUN	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 49 minutes and 27 seconds
7	SJP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 37 minutes and 28 seconds
8	KDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 26 minutes and 52 seconds
9	HDDMP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 25 minutes and 2 seconds
10	KAP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	3 hours, 59 minutes and 15 seconds
11	KRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	2 hours, 14 minutes and 53 seconds

### News programs

In the news, only the RGC (including the PM), the CPP, FUNCINPEC and the SRP were heard about. The RGC (and PM) was allotted 98%, equal to 1 hour, 20 minutes and 38 seconds; the CPP and FUNCINPEC received 1%, each (33 seconds and 44 seconds, respectively). Coverage of the RGC and PM was the same as that prior to the election campaign period; coverage was usually about the performance and the activities of RGC members.

On June 26, 2008, which was the first day of the election campaign, FM 96 MHz covered the election campaign activities of only 3 political parties (FUNCINPEC, CPP and SRP).

Some examples of coverage of political actors in news programs were as follows:

- Phnom Penh Municipality built a concrete road;
- People enjoying the fourth bridge to Koh Kong province;
- Cambodian people celebrating Preah Vihear being listed as a World Heritage site;

### Direct speech opportunity in news programs

Only the RGC and the PM were as given a chance to speak on air on FM 96 MHz's news programming. The RGC spoke for 7 minutes and 18 seconds and the PM for 1 minute and 57 seconds.

### Other programs

During the election campaign, FM 96 MHz did not produce any electoral programs. Other programs mentioned only the RGC and PM, who were heard for 4 hours, 6 minutes and 4 seconds.

Only the SRP was heard about other than this, for 12 seconds, when FM 96 MHz quoted an article from Kampuchea Thmey Newspaper on Preah Vihear Temple being listed as a World Heritage site, saying that people were happy but the opposition party was disappointed.

Some examples of coverage of political actors in other programs were as follows:

- Newspaper article: Preah Vihear Temple being listed as a World Heritage site.
- Letter from the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to the PM related to Preah Vihear Temple's listing as a World Heritage site.

#### **2.4. Findings of FM 96 MHz monitoring after election campaign period (July 26-31, 2008)**

When the election campaign finished, coverage of the elections including political parties finished too. During the cooling-off period and election day, all electoral programs including voter education were off air. Only the RGC was covered (2 minutes and 8 seconds). However, after election day, on July 29, 2008, FM 96 MHz produced an interview program allowing speakers to defend the election results.

After election day, FM 96 MHz returned to its normal behavior: supporting the ruling CPP and defending the election results.

### **3. FINDINGS OF STATE-RUN NATIONAL RADIO KAMPUCHEA AM 918 KHZ**

Radio RNK AM 918 KHz is another state-run channel, which broadcasts throughout the country using shortwave (AM) frequency.

#### **3.1. Summary and conclusions**

Radio AM 918 KHz, like other state-run media, considers the RGC, PM and CPP its main benefactors. Programs produced that cover political actors usually favor the RGC, MP and CPP. AM 918 KHz produces a program called “Views from the Newspapers” to support and defend the RGC, PM and CPP from any criticism and disseminate on the performance and activities of these political actors.

Nevertheless, by allotting coverage time to the NEC, AM 918 KHz also opened its space to other political parties.

Within this monitoring period, COMFREL observed two different types of political coverage on AM 918 KHz: coverage prior to the election campaign period and coverage during the election campaign period (when the NEC’s Equal Access Program was introduced).

Observation before the election campaign period –June 1-25, 2008 – found that, besides dedicating most of its political time to the performance and activities of the RGC and PM, AM 918 KHz also defended and promoted the CPP and criticized the SRP. Such unbalanced coverage was usually heard in Views from the Newspapers.

Coverage of political actors within the election campaign period, from June 26-July 25, 2008, was completely different in terms of both time allocation and information tone, with the NEC’s Equal Access Program allowing political parties equal time coverage and the chance to criticize not only other platforms but also the negative activities and performance of the incumbent RGC and PM. Moreover, pro-CPP programs were postponed, although the RGC appeared to be allotted the same coverage as before the election campaign period.

Within COMFREL’s monitoring time – from 17:00 to 23:00 – AM 918 KHz followed the NEC’s guideline during the election campaign period. During and after election day, AM 918 KHz produced its own reports related to the election atmosphere and election results in an almost neutral tone.

In conclusion, AM 918 KHz and other broadcasting state media consider the RGC and PM as their main political actors. It supports the ruling CPP and opposes the opposition SRP. Were it not for the NEC’s Equal Access Program and voter education programming, political parties would receive very little coverage on AM 918 KHz.

#### **3.2. Findings of AM 918 KHz from June 1-25, 2008**

### 3.2.1. Findings across all programs

Some common examples of political actor coverage on AM 918 KHz were as follows:

- Voice of RCAF: “Support for Soldiers Facing Difficulties”;
- Song request program (callers could talk about political actors);
- Understanding the elections in Cambodia;
- Groundbreaking ceremony of the bridge across the Tonle Sap River;
- Ministry of Economy and Finance and the World Bank signing two agreements;
- Views from the Newspapers: “SAM Rainsy Incites CPP Members to Defect to the SRP”;
- H.E. Mr. KEAT Chhon meets with US Ambassador to Cambodia;
- First Vice-President of Senate gives honorable medal to development partners;
- H.E. Mr. THONG Khun presides over groundbreaking ceremony;
- Neary Rattanak (Women are Precious Gems) working together against human trafficking;
- PM inaugurates HUN Sen Kampong Trolach High School in Kampong Chhnang province.

Within this monitoring period, AM 918 KHz dedicated only 13 hours, 1 minute and 45 seconds to political actors.

Like other state electronic media, AM 918 KHz allotted most of its political time to covering the performance and activities of the RGC and PM, which combined received 89%, equal to 11 hours, 38 minutes and 10 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. The PM alone was heard in 33%, equal to 4 hours, 18 minutes and 5 seconds. In addition, AM 918 KHz produced Views from the Newspapers, which quoted articles from pro-CPP newspapers. The program not only praised the CPP but also criticized non-ruling political parties, the SRP in particular.

Coverage of the RGC and PM was mostly neutral (91%, equal to 10 hours, 36 minutes and 34 seconds, of RGC and PM coverage) and positive (9%, equal to 1 hour and 32 seconds). Negative information towards the RGC and PM was heard for only 1 minute and 4 seconds. An example of negative information towards the RGC and PM was in Views from the Newspapers “Behind the Campaign Game: RGC sold Angkor Wat”. This show aimed to defend the RGC and PM from criticism that accused the RGC and PM of selling Angkor Wat to businessman.

The NA and Senate combined were allotted only 2%, equal to 15 minutes and 58 seconds. The coverage of the NA and Senate was 100% neutral in tone.

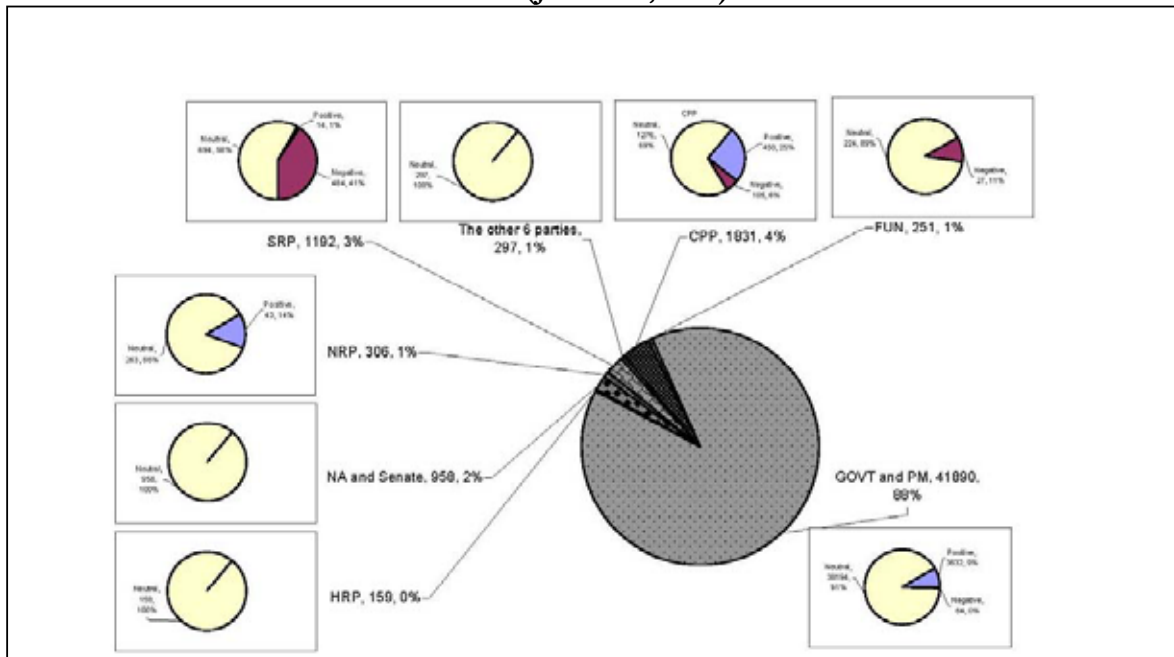
All 11 political parties were heard on AM 918 KHz within this monitoring period. Of political party coverage, AM 918 KHz’s trend was not different from that of other state-media, dedicating the vast majority to defending and disseminating on the activities and achievements of the CPP. Coverage of political parties on AM 918 KHz was usually heard in Views from the Newspapers.

Of political party coverage, the CPP within the monitoring period received 45%, equal to 30 minutes and 31 seconds, of time dedicated to all political parties. Positive information towards the CPP on AM 918 KHz was heard in 25%, equal to 7 minutes and 30 seconds, of the CPP’s total time. Negative information was at 6%, equal to 1 minute and 45 seconds. Coverage of the CPP included – but was not limited to – the contribution of the CPP to peace building, CPP achievements and broadcasts of the CPP platform.

The SRP saw the second most coverage, receiving 30%, equal to 19 minutes and 52 seconds, of time dedicated to all political parties. Unlike the CPP’s coverage, SRP coverage was mostly negative, equal to 7 minutes and 31 seconds of its total time. This included coverage of SRP defectors to the CPP and an analysis that the SRP would disappear after the elections. Positive information took up only 14 seconds.

The NRP was allotted 8%, equal to 5 minutes and 6 seconds, followed by FUNCINPEC (6%, equal to 4 minutes and 11 seconds) and the HRP (4%, equal to 2 minutes and 39 seconds). The other 6 political parties received around 1%, equal to 50 seconds each. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone.

**Chart 5: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs in AM 918 KHz (June 1-25, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

AM 918 KHz gave a chance to only the RGC and PM to speak on air. RGC spoke for 2 hours, 20 minutes and 26 seconds. Most RGC members and officials were given a chance to speak in the program about the RCAF, covering the activities and performance of high-ranking officers in the RCAF.

The PM could speak only for 2 hours, 32 minutes and 20 seconds. For instance, in the broadcast on June 23, 2008 on the inauguration of the Bun Rany HUN Sen Development Center in Pursat province under the presidency of the PM, the latter spoke for 1 hour and 38 minutes.

**Voter education**

AM 918 KHz dedicated its air time to covering voter education programs/information for 2 hours, 08 minutes and 42 seconds within the pre-election campaign period. AM 918 KHz gave air time to the NEC to broadcast a program on understanding elections in Cambodia. Besides this, voter education spot (including songs/comedy spots) was also observed within this monitoring period.

**Intimidation or threatening words toward voters**

Within this monitoring period, AM 918 KHz broadcast a speech of the PM during the inauguration of Bun Rany HUN Sen Development Center, warning voters that if people did not vote for him and the CPP, some projects would stopped, because such projects, for example the development center, were not funded by the RGC but him and his wife.

**Political advertisements/promotional spots for any political actors**

COMFREL observed no political advertisements/promotional spots for any political actors.

**Appeals to vote for any person/political actors**

Only the PM received such appeals on AM 918 KHz.

**Appeals not to vote for any person/political actors**

Appeals not to vote for any person/political actors were not observed within this monitoring period, besides on the NEC's Equal Access Program.

**Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics were heard about on AM 918 KHz for 39 minutes and 21 seconds, mainly on the program "Neary Rattanak", which looks at women and leadership in the RGC.

**Youth/disabled persons/indigenous people in politics** were not mentioned within the monitoring period.

**3.2.2. Findings by program****News programs**

Like other state-run channels, AM 918 KHz dedicated most of its political time in news programming to the RGC and the PM (90%, equal to 3 hours, 42 minutes and 2 seconds). Most of the coverage was neutral, with some positive coverage. Positive coverage towards the RGC and PM was usually about the development of the country by the current RGC under the leadership of the PM. Negative information was heard for only 49 seconds. Negative information was usually raised by the PM himself. For instance, in a broadcast on June 3, 2008, the PM acknowledged low development in some sectors.

The NA and Senate were heard about in 4%, equal to 9 minutes and 35 seconds. News about the NA and Senate was usually about the leaders of these two institution visiting local communities/people. The coverage tone was only neutral.

Only two political parties saw coverage on AM 918 KHz: the CPP and SRP. The rest received only 3 seconds each on the news on June 1, 2008 (ballot listings). The CPP received 7 minutes and 6 seconds, 1 minute and 2 seconds of which was positive (negative was at 15 seconds). Coverage of the CPP usually came from CPP RGC members, who talked of the CPP when on visits to the communities.

The SRP was allotted 6 minutes and 59 seconds, mostly negative information (3 minutes and 23 seconds). No positive information was heard. Coverage included air time dedicated to a defamation lawsuit filed by H.E. Mr. HOR Namhong against the SRP's President Mr. SAM Rainsy.

Some common examples of coverage of political actors on the news were as follows:

- The NEC announcing the listing of political parties on the ballot paper;
- The PM presiding over groundbreaking ceremony to repair National Road 3;
- H.E. Mrs. BUN Rany HUN Sen visiting soldiers;
- Samdech HENG Samrin seriously criticizing some politicians;
- The PM informing the people that the number of the CPP on the ballot paper was 4;
- H.E. Mr. KHON Vuth visiting and giving gifts from the PM to villagers at Prek Thmey commune, Kean Svay district, Kandal province.

***Direct speech opportunity***

Only RGC members and officials and the PM were allowed a chance to speak on air. The RGC spoke for 41 minutes and 33 seconds, the PM for only 20 seconds.

## Other programs

COMFREL observed that AM 918 KHz produced one special program, “Views from the Newspapers”, to cover most political actors – mainly the RGC, PM, CPP and SRP. This program broadcast editorial articles from pro-CPP newspapers, usually to defend the RGC, PM and CPP and criticize opposition parties, the SRP in particular.

Like the news, other programs placed the RGC and PM as the top priority of their political coverage. The RGC and PM combined were allotted 89%, equal to 7 hours, 52 minutes and 11 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Like TVK, AM 918 KHz sometimes broadcast the whole of the PM’s speech when he attended any ceremony. However, most of the coverage of the RGC and PM was neutral in tone, with some positive coverage, usually in Views from the Newspapers. Only 15 seconds were taken up by a negative tone towards the PM.

The NA and Senate combined received around 1%, equal to 6 minutes and 23 seconds. The coverage of the NA and the Senate was completely neutral in tone.

The 11 political parties were heard about in AM 918 KHz’s programs, receiving 10%, equal to 52 minutes and 39 seconds. However, AM 918 KHz dedicated most coverage to the ruling CPP and its main rival the SRP.

Of political party coverage, the CPP was allocated 44%, equal to 23 minutes and 25 seconds. 28%, equal to 6 minutes and 28 seconds, of the CPP’s coverage was positive while negative information was at 6%, equal to 1 minute and 30 seconds. Coverage of the CPP was usually linked to that of other political parties, the SRP in particular.

The SRP, the main rival of the CPP, was allocated 24%, equal to 12 minutes and 53 seconds. However, 4 minutes and 41 seconds of the SRP’s total coverage was negative in tone and positive information was heard for only 14 seconds.

The NRP received 10%, equal to 5 minutes and 3 seconds. Coverage was almost all neutral in tone with some positive information. FUNCINPEC received 8%, equal to 4 minutes and 3 seconds, followed by the HRP (5%, equal to 2 minutes and 36 seconds). The other 6 political parties received 47 seconds each. Coverage of these political parties was mostly neutral in tone.

### ***Direct speech opportunity***

The PM was allotted the most time to speak on air (2 hour and 32 seconds); AM 918 KHz sometimes broadcast whole speeches. The RGC spoke for 1 hour, 38 minutes and 58 seconds.

No political party was given the chance to have its voice heard on AM 918 KHz.

### **3.3. Findings of AM 918 KHz from June 26-July 25, 2008**

Within this election campaign period, AM 918 KHz suspended its pro-CPP program Views from the Newspapers. In the meantime, the NEC Equal Access Program was introduced. Hence, coverage of political parties was very different in terms of tone and time allocation from that during the pre-election campaign period.

COMFREL could not receive a signal from AM 918 KHz on June 30, 2008. Hence, COMFREL could not monitor the broadcast on that date.



### 3.3.1. Findings across all programs

During the election campaign period, all political parties could be heard on AM 918 KHz. In terms of percentages, coverage of the RGC and PM decreased sharply owing to the sudden increase in political party coverage; however, in terms of duration, coverage of the RGC and PM remained the same.

The RGC and PM combined received 29%, equal to 19 hours, 22 minutes and 23 seconds, down from the pre-election campaign period's 89%, equal to 11 hours, 38 minutes and 10 seconds. In addition, negative coverage of the RGC and PM was more common than positive coverage. Within the monitoring period, negative coverage of the RGC and PM, mostly on the NEC's Equal Access Program, was at 6%, equal to 1 hour, 15 minutes and 21 seconds, of the total time allotted to the RGC and PM. The RGC and PM still received positive coverage (5%, equal to 55 minutes and 6 seconds), particularly as the RCAF program was still on air (please see Chart 6 for data from June 26 to July 31, 2008).

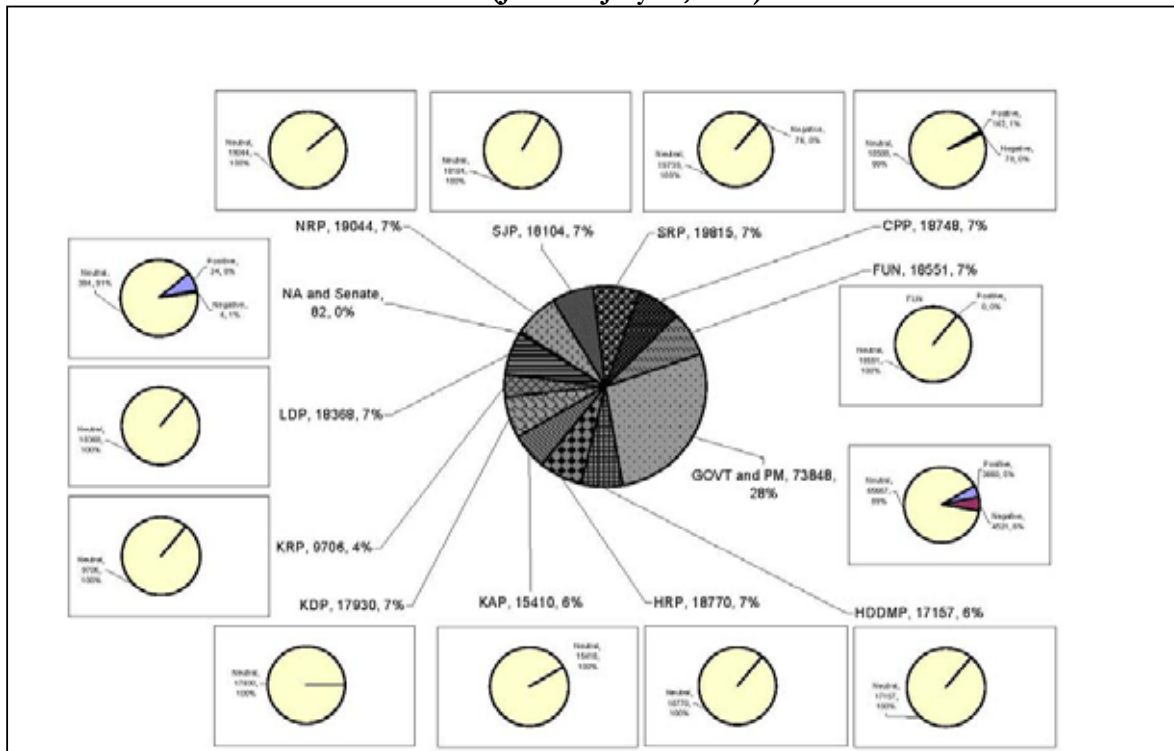
The NA and Senate received the least coverage. Within this one-month period, AM 918 KHz allotted only 5 minutes and 8 seconds to the NA and Senate. The coverage was neutral, with some positive.

In terms of political party coverage, the SRP led within this monitoring period, receiving 7%, equal to 4 hours, 51 minutes and 22 seconds. The NRP, HRP, FUNCINPEC, LDP and SJP were allotted around 7% too (or between 4 hours, 16 minutes and 55 seconds and 4 hours, 32 minutes and 47 seconds). The HDDMP, KDP and CPP received around 6%, or around 4 hours and 6 minutes; the KAP 3 hours, 38 minutes and 17 seconds; and the KRP 2 hours, 7 minutes. Coverage was usually on the NEC's Equal Access Program. The tone, besides political platforms and electoral campaigning, was mostly neutral.

Some common examples of coverage of political actors on AM 918 KHz within the election campaign period were as follows:

- RCAF program: H.E. Mr. NEANG Phat meeting with soldiers of Region 5;
- NEC's Equal Access Program;
- Neary Rattanak: Women and decision making;
- H.E. Mr. CHAN Sarun, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, reminding farmers to be ready to do farming;
- Support of the RGC's policy to list Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site;
- PM promising not make any speeches during the election campaign;
- The election campaign reaching its sixth day;
- The inauguration of a new CPP office in Banteay Meanchey province;
- PM assigning engineering forces to increase demining activities using an automatic demining machine he donated.

**Chart 6: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs in AM 918 KHz (June 26-July 31, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

All political parties and the RGC could speak on air via AM 918 KHz. All political parties used the NEC’s Equal Access Program to have their voice heard. The PM’s direct speaking was heard for 46 seconds during a feature story on Boeung Yak Lom broadcast on July 20, 2008 in which a speech on tourism and sustainable resource was inserted.

The NA and Senate were not given any chance to speak on air within this monitoring period.

**Voter education program**

Within this election campaign period, voter education information was heard for 4 hours, 37 minutes and 42 seconds. Most of the voter education coverage was heard in the NEC programming.

**Intimidation or threatening words toward voters**

Like other state-media that broadcast the NEC’s Equal Access Program, some political parties used warning words/phrases/statements towards voters to make them think twice before voting for certain political parties. Most of these statements were raised by non-ruling parties and targeted the incumbent government and the PM.

**Political advertisements/promotional spots for any political actors**

Promotional songs that praised and supported the activities and achievements of the PM were broadcast on AM 918 KHz for 31 minutes and 45 seconds.

### Appeals to vote for any political actor

All political parties were able to appeal to voters via AM 918 KHz. Appeals were usually heard on the NEC's Equal Access Program. All political parties appealed to voters to vote for them after they had described their political platform and their individual political platform achievements.

### Appeal not to vote for any political actor

Only the CPP was the subject of such an appeal. Most political parties appealed to voters on the NEC's Equal Access Program to change the current leadership, raising many issues, such as land disputes, illegal logging, illegal immigration, social injustice, none of which were addressed by the CPP-led RGC.

### Women in politics, including female candidates

Women in politics and female candidates were covered for 1 hour, 44 minutes and 10 seconds. This was mainly heard about on the NEC's Equal Access Program.

### Youth in politics

Youth in politics were covered on AM 918 KHz for 19 minutes and 52 seconds, in a feature on the importance of a youth policy.

### Indigenous people/disabled persons in politics

Within this monitoring period, COMFREL observed no coverage of indigenous people/disabled persons in politics.

### 3.3.2. Findings by program

#### NEC's Equal Access Program

The NEC's Equal Access Programs was also broadcast on AM 918 KHz. The format, structure and contents of the program were the same as those broadcast on FM 96 MHz. On AM 918 KHz, it was broadcast twice daily: 9:00-11:00 and 20:00-22:00. COMFREL monitored only the latter broadcast time. Please see Section 1 for more details.

**Table 4: Time taken by each political party on the NEC's Equal Access Program on AM 918 KHz**

No	Party	Duration granted (10 minutes X 30 days)	Duration used
1	CPP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 23 minutes and 4 seconds
2	FUN	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 31 minutes and 17 seconds
3	HDDMP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 10 minutes and 45 seconds
4	HRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 35 minutes and 37 seconds
5	KAP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	3 hours, 42 minutes and 4 seconds
6	KDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 23 minutes and 53 seconds
7	KRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	2 hours, 7 minutes and 00 seconds
8	LDP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 30 minutes and 27 seconds
9	NRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 41 minutes and 23 seconds
10	SJP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 26 minutes and 35 seconds
11	SRP	5 hours, 00 minutes, and 00 second	4 hours, 50 minutes and 15 seconds

## News programs

Few political actors were covered in the AM 918 KHz's news programming. The tone was almost 100% neutral, with no negative information toward any political actors.

The RGC, including the PM, was allotted the most coverage on AM 918 KHz's news, receiving 96%, equal to 3 hours, 57 minutes and 3 seconds. Coverage of the RGC was mostly about the activities and performance of the RCAF, for instance, of H.E. General MEAS Sophea (Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the RCAF) presiding over Kampot's dam, meeting about security on election day, giving assistance to farmers, etc.

The NA and Senate combined were given around 1%, equal to 3 minutes and 24 seconds. The four political parties combined were heard for approximately 3%, equal to 5 minutes and 10 seconds.

The four political parties heard on AM 918 KHz's News Program included the CPP (2 minutes and 46 seconds), FUNCINPEC (52 seconds), and the SRP and NRP (46 seconds each).

Coverage of the CPP was usually heard from RGC members and the PM who sometimes mentioned their political party.

### *Direct speech opportunity in news programming*

Only the RGC could speak on AM 918 KHz (14 minutes and 9 seconds).

## Other programs

Almost all political coverage on other AM 918 KHz programs was allotted to the RGC and the PM, which combined received 99%, equal to 14 hours, 9 minutes and 10 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political actors, leaving only 1%, equal to 5 minutes and 1 second, for political party coverage.

RGC was the most heard actor, receiving 84%, equal to 11 hours, 57 minutes and 33 seconds. 96%, equal to 11 hours, 32 minutes and 23 seconds, of coverage of the RGC was neutral in tone. Positive information on the RGC was at approximately 1%, equal to 5 minutes and 49 seconds. A negative tone was given to about 3%, equal to 19 minutes and 21 seconds, when AM 918 KHz's Neary Rattanak covered women and birth, in which the Ministry of Health and doctors were criticized.

The PM was allotted 15%, equal to 2 hours, 11 minutes and 37 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. The PM received both positive (25%, equal to 32 minutes and 27 seconds) and neutral coverage (75%, equal to 1 hour, 39 minutes and 10 seconds).

7 political parties were covered within this monitoring period in other AM 918 KHz programs. Only the CPP was given positive coverage; the other parties received neutral information.

The CPP was heard about for 2 minutes and 29 seconds, of which 1 minute and 40 seconds was positive in tone; the LDP 55 seconds; FUNCINPEC 32 seconds; HDDMP 26 seconds; SJP 23 seconds; SRP 15 seconds; and KDP 11 seconds.

Some examples of political coverage on AM 918 KHz's other programs were as follows:

- Live broadcast of the celebrations on the listing of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site;
- A letter from Mr. DAM Sith, Editor-in-Chief of a SRP-affiliated newspaper, to H.E. Mr. HOR Namhong (Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation);

- “Our Society, Our Life” on July 10, 2008, inviting SRP representatives to disseminate the SRP’s political platform.

### ***Direct speech opportunity in other programs***

Only the RGC members and officials were given a chance to speak on air (4 hours, 55 minutes and 48 seconds).

### **3.4. Findings of AM 918 KHz monitoring after the election campaign period (July 26-31, 2008)**

On cooling-off day (July 26, 2008), AM 918 KHz covered only the RGC (6 minutes and 18 seconds). The coverage dealt mostly with the border issue with Thailand.

However, on election day (July 27, 2008), AM 918 KHz produced its own program to cover the election process, including a report on the good election atmosphere, high voter turnout and, interestingly, the election results, in which all political parties received only neutral coverage.

In addition, after election day, AM 918 KHz still presented news related to the election results and winning parties – CPP, SRP, SRP, FUNCINPEC and NRP – for example coverage of the CPP’s intention to form a new RGC with FUNCINPEC.

In conclusion, coverage of AM 918 KHz shortly after the election campaign was better than that of the state-run channel Radio FM 96 MHz, with all political parties, especially the winning parties, covered. However, the pro-CPP program “Views from the Newspapers” was back immediately after election day, with more coverage about the victory of the CPP (although no criticism of any party).

## **II. PRIVATE BROADCASTING MEDIA**

### **4. CTN FINDINGS**

Findings on CTN are not divided into two periods as coverage remained the same regardless of the election campaign period. Moreover, pro-CPP programming was still on air during the campaign period.

#### **4.1. Summary and conclusion**

CTN’s coverage of political actors was not much different from coverage on state media during the pre-election campaign period; it was worse than the state media owing to the fact that its pro-CPP programming was not suspended during the election campaign period.

CTN is one of the TV channels that the NEC claims violated the NEC’s guidelines<sup>21</sup> and one of the channels that openly rejected the NEC’s request for the media to follow the NEC’s Guideline on Media during the Election Campaign Period. RFA quotes CTN’s representative CHHUM Kosal as saying:<sup>22</sup> “CTN asked for a license from MoInfo and in the letter we stated that we serve the RGC’s political platform. Therefore, to tell the truth, none of the private television channels will welcome political parties other than the ruling CPP.”

<sup>21</sup> According to a Statement of the NEC’s Spokesman dated July 15, 2008, violating media included: Bayon TV, Apsara TV, Phnom Penh TV 3, CTN TV, FM 88 MHz, FM 90 MHz, FM 95 MHz, FM 97 MHz, FM 98 MHz, FM 99 MHz, FM 103 MHz, RFA and VOA.

<sup>22</sup> Sophart, P. (n.d.). *NEC Appeal to Media Not to be Biased*. Retrieved July 10, 2008, from [www.rfa.org/khmer](http://www.rfa.org/khmer).

CTN, regardless of the guideline, campaigned strongly for the CPP in both news programs and other programs. In addition, it produced programs to disseminate on and praise the performance, activities and achievements of the CPP and the CPP-led RGC as well as the PM and to criticize the CPP's rivals. This accounted for 92% of the coverage of political actors on CTN.

The SRP was allocated more time than other political parties (except the CPP), but coverage was mainly criticism and insults to the leaders of the party.

The NA and Senate were allocated around only 1% of time. Other political actors – the other 9 political parties – combined received only 3% within the two-month monitoring period.

CTN also dedicated time to the NEC to broadcast its Voter Education Spot before and during the election campaign period, although song spots were rarely broadcast.

In general, there is no doubt that CTN is one of the 39 CPP-affiliated electronic media claimed by the PM.

#### 4.2. Findings across all programs

Here are some common examples of political coverage on CTN:

- Conference on People's Improvement achieved through the RGC's Rectangular Strategy;
- PM HUN Sen granting a hearing to the UK Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- Genius and Achievement: presenter's commentary on election campaign;
- H.E. Mr. LEK Hour presiding over ceremony for SRP defectors to the CPP;
- SRP replacing a vice-commune chief who defected to the CPP;
- H.E. Mr. DUL Keoun meeting with CPP women members in Kandal province;
- RGC appealing to journalists to clearly understand the Preah Vihear case and provide correct coverage;
- H.E. Mr. PRUM Sokha presiding over a review of the CPP work during the election campaign.

Findings on CTN within this monitoring period – June 1-July 31, 2008 – across all programs showed that CTN was much in favor of CPP-affiliated political actors – RGC, PM and CPP – which combined were dedicated 92%, equal to 19 hours, 35 minutes and 9 seconds, of total political time (21 hours, 16 minutes and 23 seconds). These political actors enjoyed CTN coverage not only before but also during and after the election campaign period. In addition, only these political actors, along with the Senate, were given positive coverage on CTN.

Other political actors – the other 10 political parties, the NA and the Senate – combined were allotted only 8%, equal to 1 hour, 41 minutes and 14 seconds within CTN's two-month broadcast from 17:00 to 23:00.

The RGC received the most coverage: 41%, equal to 8 hours, 37 minutes and 29 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. The RGC, one among few actors receiving positive information, was heard positively in 13%, equal to 1 hour, 6 minutes and 30 seconds, of the RGC's total time coverage. Negative information towards the RGC was only 7 seconds long. Positive information on the RGC dealt mainly with the RGC inaugurating ceremonies or achievements as well as the development of the country under the leadership of the incumbent RGC.

The PM received the second most coverage, at 29%, equal to 6 hours, 5 minutes and 28 seconds. Coverage of the RGC and PM was almost the same; in other words, any coverage about the PM often included the RGC and vice versa.

The NA, along with the Senate, was heard about in only 2%, equal to 22 minutes and 15 seconds. The content of the coverage was not much different from that of the RGC and PM, with CPP MPs meeting foreign delegations and paying visits to people in the community. For example, coverage on July 4, 2008 reported Samdech HENG Samrin, President of the NA, meeting with Konrad Adenauer outgoing country representative Wolfgang Meyer at the NA building. Coverage was mostly neutral in tone, with some positive information. Negative information towards the NA was heard for only 9 seconds, when PM HUN Sen warned Prince NORODOM Ranariddh, sentenced in absentia to 18 months imprisonment, of his arrest if he came back to Cambodia, referring to the case of the arrest and imprisonment of FUNCINPEC MP Samdech NORODOM Sirivudh in 1995 (accused of involvement in organizing an armed force, plotting to overthrow the government).

The CPP was dedicated the most political party coverage,<sup>23</sup> at 79%, equal to 4 hours, 52 minutes and 12 seconds. Coverage dealt mostly with acceptance ceremonies for new CPP members, visits of CPP high-ranking officers to CPP members at local level and the election campaign of the CPP, etc.

In addition, CTN produced a program called “Genius and Achievements” to disseminate on the CPP’s, RGC’s and PM’s achievements and to defend the CPP from criticism. This program, whose anchor was the PM’s advisor, sometimes seriously criticized non-ruling political parties, the SRP in particular.

CTN dedicated positive coverage towards the CPP only, making up 14%, equal to 40 minutes and 48 seconds, of the CPP’s coverage. Negative information on the CPP was heard for only 39 seconds, when the party responded to the SRP’s president SAM Rainsy’s criticism, which was repeated by the PM’s advisor and CTN presenter CHHUM Kosal – “Do you know the people selling out the country? Of the three, the one in the middle is the naughtiest.”

The SRP, the main rival of the CPP in the elections, saw more coverage than the other non-ruling political parties, at 14%, equal to 51 minutes and 48 seconds. Coverage was mainly negative or neutral. 41%, equal to 21 minutes and 21 seconds, gave a negative image of the SRP. Most of the negative coverage was heard on Genius and Achievements.

The NRP, FUNCINPEC and HRP received 15 minutes and 10 seconds, 6 minutes and 20 seconds, and 2 minutes and 11 seconds, respectively, all negative or neutral in tone.

Given 35 seconds each, with neutral coverage only, the other 6 political parties were covered only once, on June 19, 2008, on the current affairs program “Thursday Talk”, which mentioned the political parties contesting in the 2008 elections.

### **Direct speech opportunities**

Within this monitoring period, CTN provided chances to only the RGC, the PM, the Senate and the CPP to speak on air. The RGC spoke for 2 hours, 44 minutes and 46 seconds, followed by the PM (2 hours, 23 minutes and 14 seconds); the CPP (1 hour, 28 minutes and 13 seconds); and the Senate (51 seconds).

### **Voter education**

Voter education within this monitoring period was heard for only 15 minutes and 10 seconds, of which 13 minutes and 47 seconds were heard during the election campaign period. CTN occasionally broadcast the NEC’s Voter Education Spot song.

<sup>23</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A3 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political party on CTN from June 1-July 31, 2008.

**Intimidating or threatening words toward voters**

Intimidating or threatening words towards voters were rarely heard on CTN, but did occur. For example, on June 1, 2008, CTN broadcast PM HUN Sen's speech warning FUNCINPEC leaders that they would disappear if the NRP won the election: "If [the NRP] wins the elections, they will not keep us; H.E. Mr. KEO Putreasmeay is perceived as a betrayer. They are only prepared to cut our necks."

Such threatening words toward voters were also heard during the election campaign period, when CTN's presenter CHHUM Kosal defended the CPP from the SRP's criticism, repeating SAM Rainsy's speech: "Change that one-eyed driver [the PM] or he will drive us into a crevasse."

**Political advertisements/promotional spots**

COMFREL observed no political advertisements/promotional spots broadcast on CTN within this monitoring period.

**Appeals to vote for any person/political party**

Such appeals on CTN were heard only for the CPP, both before and during the election campaign period. One example was on the news broadcast on June 19, 2008 when H.E. Mr. EAV Chameroun, director of the CPP working group for Kandal's Sa Ang Phnom and Prek Koy commune, met with the local residents and appealed to them to vote for the CPP standing at number 4 of the ballot paper.

On the final day of the election campaign period, CTN broadcast a program promoting the RGC and the CPP in Siem Reap province, wherein CPP Siem Reap Provincial Governor SOUS Phearin appealed to all voters to vote for the CPP for development, stability and peace in the country.

It should be noted that such appeals were also heard for the SRP once, when the presenter of Genius and Achievement criticized and repeated SAM Rainsy's speech insulting the leaders of the CPP and appealing voters to vote for the SRP instead of the CPP. However, after repeating the speech, the presenter criticized the SRP and appealed to voters not to vote for SAM Rainsy.

**Appeals not to vote for any political party**

Such appeals were heard with the SRP as their subject, both before and during the election campaign period. For instance, on June 20, 2008, Genius and Achievement interviewed SRP defectors to the CPP: SOK Peng, CHHIT Sarith and NUTH Reoun, all of whom criticized their old political party. Mr. CHHIT Sarith, previously in charge of the SRP's Youth Movement, appealed to youth not to vote for Mr. SAM Rainsy saying he was nepotistic and cheated youth for votes.

Such an appeal regarding the CPP was heard on July 04, 2008, when presenter CHHUM Kosal of Genius and Achievement defended the CPP from the SRP's criticism, repeating SAM Rainsy's speech: "Change that one-eyed driver or he will drive us into a crevasse."

**Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics, including female candidates, received only 3 minutes and 54 seconds of coverage, when the PM encouraged an increase in the number of women in decision-making positions and the appointment of provincial female deputy-governors.

**Youth in politics**

Youth in politics received only 25 seconds of coverage.



**Indigenous/disabled persons in politics** received no coverage within this monitoring period on CTN.

### 4.3. Findings by program

#### 4.3.1. News programs

Here are a few common examples of political actor coverage on CTN's news programming:

- PM HUN Sen granting a hearing to the UK Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs;
- Inauguration ceremony of HUN Sen Angtasom High School;
- H.E. Mr. LEK Hour presiding over the ceremony for SRP defectors to the CPP;
- SRP replacing a vice-commune chief who defected to the CPP;
- H.E. Mr. HENG Taikry inaugurating achievements in Koh Thom district, Kandal province.

CTN's news programs were used to disseminate on the performance, activities and achievement of the RGC, PM and CPP. Coverage was mainly about the RGC, PM, CPP and CPP MPs, which combined received 98% of the time dedicated to all political actors in news programming within the monitoring period. Another 4 political parties – HRP, FUNCINPEC, HRP and NRP – received a very small amount of coverage. Such coverage was not different between the pre-election campaign period and the election campaign period.

The two-month monitoring of CTN from 17:00 to 23:00 found that CTN's news programming focused mainly on the RGC, including the PM (67%, equal to 6 hours, 35 minutes and 28 seconds). Most of the coverage was about the performance and activities of RGC members at national level and any field visits or inauguration ceremonies attended or presided over by RGC members or officials. The majority was neutral in tone, with some positive coverage (34 minutes and 54 seconds) but only 7 seconds of negative information.

The NA and Senate combined received only 3%, equal to 19 minutes and 47 seconds. Only neutral and positive information was heard. Coverage was mostly about meetings between the NA or Senate and foreign delegations and CPP MPs' field visits to the community.

CTN's news programming within this monitoring period covered only 5 political parties and was very much in favor of the CPP, in terms of both tone and time allocation.

Time allocated to the CPP was more than that allocated to the PM, NA, Senate, SRP, FUNCINPEC, HRP and NRP combined. 28%, equal to 2 hours, 46 minutes and 59 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors, covered the activities and performance of the CPP, including the election campaign. Coverage of the CPP on CTN's news programming focused on acceptance of new CPP members, including those who had defected from other political parties, field visits of high-ranking CPP officers to grassroots supporters and the CPP's election campaign.

The SRP was received approximately 1%, equal to 5 minutes and 6 seconds. The tone towards the SRP was only neutral, with some negative. 3 other political parties – HRP, FUNCINPEC and NRP – received around 1%, equal to 5 minutes and 18 seconds, most of which was neutral in tone, with little negative coverage but no positive information. For example, on July 30, 2008, CTN reported that businesspeople were dissatisfied with political parties – SRP, HRP, NRP and FUNCINPEC – that did not accept the election results. Coverage of these 4 political parties was also of the defection of their members to the CPP prior to and during the election campaign period.

### Direct speech opportunities

In the news programs, only those affiliated with the CPP were given the chance to speak on air. The RGC spoke for 21 minutes and 11 seconds, the CPP for 10 minutes and 25 seconds, the PM for 2 minutes and 15 seconds and the Senate for 51 seconds.

#### 4.3.2 Other programs

Some common examples of CTN political actor coverage on other programs were as follows:

- Conference on People's Improvement achieved through the RGC's Rectangular Strategy;
- Genius and Achievement: presenter's commentary on election campaign;
- Samdech HUN Sen's speech related to fisheries.

Coverage on other programs was not different from that on the news programs, except that non-ruling parties received more time but worse quality of tone in their coverage.

Genius and Achievement, whose anchor was the PM's advisor CHHUM Kosal, often invited guest speakers affiliated to the CPP to praise and disseminate on CPP achievements and criticize the non-ruling parties, particularly the SRP. Unlike the state media, CTN continued to broadcast this during the election campaign period. As a result, only the RGC, PM and CPP received positive information.

As in the news programming, the RGC and PM were the main actors supported by CTN. These two actors combined received 71%, equal to 8 hours, 7 minutes and 29 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political actors in other programs. 18%, equal to 1 hour, 26 minutes and 39 seconds, of the coverage of the RGC including the PM was positive in tone, with negative at only 58 seconds.

The CPP was also the main actor favored by CTN. It was allocated 18%, equal to 2 hours, 5 minutes and 13 seconds. The tone was mostly neutral, with some positive information. Negative information was at only 39 seconds. An example was a broadcast on July 24, 2008 on Thursday Talk regarding "Thailand's Invasion of Cambodia's Territory". The program's guest speaker SOY Sopheap appealed to all patriot voters to vote for CPP Samdech HUN Sen, as he "does not have two nationalities".

The SRP was allotted 7%, equal to 46 minutes and 42 seconds, more than other non-ruling political parties. However, coverage was only negative and neutral in tone. 45%, equal to 20 minutes and 56 seconds, was negative, mostly criticism of the leaders of SRP, such as on June 20, 2008, when SRP defectors to the CPP SOK Peng, CHHIT Sarith and NUTH Reoun talked of bad performance and corruption within the SRP.

The NRP received 2%, equal to 13 minutes and 21 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Others parties and the NA and Senate combined received approximately 2%, equal to 11 minutes of CTN's other programs.

### Direct speech opportunities on other programs

As in the new programming, CTN gave chances only to CPP-affiliated actors to speak on air. The RGC spoke for 2 hours, 23 minutes and 35 seconds; the PM for 2 hours, 21 minutes and 2 seconds; and the CPP for 1 hour, 17 minutes and 48 seconds. CTN often invited CPP senior officials to be guest speakers on its pro-CPP programs.

## 5. RADIO FM 105 MHZ FINDINGS

Radio FM 105 MHz is a private and independent radio station. This radio station rented out its air time to political parties, civil society – for example Voice of Democracy (VoD) radio program – and other

foreign-based radio stations, including RFA and VOA, which broadcast on Radio FM 105 MHz from 20:30 to 22:30. COMFREL monitored FM 105 MHz only from 17:00 to 20:30 and 22:30 to 23:00.

### 5.1. Summary and conclusion

Without VoD and NDI's forum, FM 105 MHz would have played no role in providing political information or voter education.

VoD provided more professional coverage of political actors, giving most of the related sources the chance to defend or comment on coverage. In addition, all political actors were given coverage of varied tone (positive, negative and neutral), unlike other local media observed. However, VoD also aimed to give more chances and voice to opposition parties (SRP, NRP and HRP), which raised their concerns over election irregularities and other sensitive issues.

VoD also dedicated political time to the NA, including MPs, although most time was given to SRP MPs.

The NDI program was the main vehicle for information on the NA and political parties through its Parliamentarian and Voters Dialogue forum and Political Party Debate.

### 5.2. Findings across all programs<sup>24</sup>

Some common examples of political actor coverage on FM 105 MHz were as follows:

- The PM indirectly criticizing former FUNCINPEC president for selling everything, even teaching positions;
- Road to the 2008 national election;
- Roundtable discussion: the arrest of Moneak Sekar Khmer newspaper's editor-in-chief;
- SAM Rainsy asks Mr. EING Sary to be a witness in his case against H.E. Mr. HOR Namhong;
- CPP group leader in Prey Veng province insulted and forced SRP activist to remove SRP signboard from the SRP activist's house;
- Opposition party criticize the PM for talking only about defectors to the CPP and not the RGC's work;
- Indigenous people ask the RGC to think of the environment before developing hydro-electricity;
- Opposition party says that distribution of the voter information notice was carried out in an unfair manner;
- NRP condemns CPP activists for use of intimidation;
- Interview with political parties on the election campaign environment;
- HRP claiming that groups of gangster were tearing up HRP leaflets;
- NDI program: dialogue between MPs and voters.

The coverage of political actors on Radio FM 105 MHz was much better than that on the state-run electronic media and CTN in terms of time allocation, information tone and balance of coverage. Although the RGC including the PM led in time allocation, political parties still enjoyed better time allocation. Most political actors were given neutral coverage.

Within the monitoring period, the RGC including the PM received 23%, equal to 11 hours, 49 minutes and 23 seconds. Although most coverage was neutral in tone, negative coverage was more common

<sup>24</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A5 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor on FM 105 MHz within this monitoring period.

than positive coverage. 9%, equal to 1 hour, 13 minutes and 14 seconds, was negative; only 3%, equal to 22 minutes and 18 seconds, was positive.

Time allocated to the NA and its members and the Senate was higher than on state-run channels and CTN. NA and the Senate combined received 12%, or 6 hours, 10 minutes and 22 seconds. Most NA and Senate coverage was neutral in tone, with negative and positive information at around 2% each.

In terms of political party coverage, FM 105 MHz dedicated more time to covering information related to the SRP, at approximately 13%, equal to 6 hours, 32 minutes and 11 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Positive and negative coverage towards the SRP was almost the same, with negative coverage heard for 6 minutes and 30 seconds and positive coverage for 5 minutes and 27 seconds.

The CPP was the second most covered political party on FM 105 MHz, allotted around 10%, equal to 5 hours, 20 minutes and 24 seconds. It also received the most negative coverage, with 8%, equal to 24 minutes and 29 seconds, of all of its coverage. Positive information was at 3%, equal to 10 minutes and 11 seconds.

The NRP received approximately 9%, equal to 4 hours, 30 minutes and 4 seconds. More than 98% of the coverage was neutral in tone, with the rest shared between positive and negative information.

HRP and FUNCINPEC were given around 7% each, equal to 3 hours, 50 minutes, 52 seconds and 3 hours, 35 minutes and 53 seconds, respectively. More than 98% of the coverage was neutral in tone.

The other 6 political parties received between 2% (1 hour, 7 minutes and 6 seconds), and 5% (2 hours, 37 minutes and 55 seconds). Almost all coverage was neutral in tone.

### **Direct speech opportunities**

All political actors were given a chance to speak on air. The NA and Senate spoke for the longest time, at 4 hours, 32 minutes and 49 seconds, mostly on the NDI's forum for MPs and voters. The RGC, including the PM, spoke for 2 hours, 16 minutes and 9 seconds. The SRP was able to speak on air for 3 hours, 23 minutes and 2 seconds. The other political parties were given between 1 hour and 2 hours.

### **Voter education**

Voter education on FM 105 MHz within this monitoring period was heard for 1 hour, 17 minutes and 10 seconds. FM 105 MHz's VoD also produced a prize-giving electoral question and answer program.

### **Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Such coverage was heard on July 7, 2008 when VoD reported that H.E. THONG Khun, Minister of Tourism, warned voters not to use roads or schools with Samdech HUN Sen's name if they do not vote for the CPP.

### **Political advertisements/promotional spots**

This kind of coverage was not observed on FM 105 MHz.

### **Appeals to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were heard for all political parties, for instance Mr. SAM Rainsy's appeal to voters to vote for the SRP in order to develop the country.

**Appeals not to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were not observed directly.

**Women in politics, including female candidates**

Such coverage was observed for 23 minutes and 39 seconds on FM 105 MHz.

**Youth in politics**

Youth in politics received only 5 minutes and 46 seconds on FM 105 MHz's VoD.

**Disabled persons in politics**

Such coverage was briefly heard (30 seconds).

**Indigenous people in politics** were not heard about on FM 105 MHz.

**5.3. Findings by program**

Radio FM 105 MHz rarely broadcast its own programs, instead renting out most of its air time to other institutions, including VoD, NDI, RFA and VOA. COMFREL did not monitor the broadcasts of RFA and VOA through FM 105 MHz as it monitored these two channels separately.

**5.3.1. VoD on FM 105 MHz**

Some common examples of frequently heard information on VoD were as follows:

- Road to the 2008 national elections;
- SAM Rainsy asks Mr. EING Sary to be a witness in his case against H.E. Mr. HOR Namhong;
- CPP group leader in Prey Veng province insulted and forced SRP activist to remove SRP signboard from the SRP activist's house;
- Opposition party criticize the PM for talking only about defectors to the CPP and not the RGC's work;
- NRP condemns CPP activists for use of intimidation;
- Interview with political parties on the election campaign environment;
- HRP claiming that groups of gangster were tearing up HRP leaflets;

VoD broadcast on FM 105 MHz from 17:00 to 19:00. This program was run by the Cambodian Center for Independent Media (CCIM), a Cambodian NGO. VoD contributed much time to covering political actors, political parties and election processes. 62% of all political actor coverage was on FM 105 MHz was on VoD.

As "no news is good news", VoD usually covered difficulties faced by ordinary people or non-ruling political parties, rather than the development work of the RGC. However, in terms of professionalism, VoD content was much better than that in the above-mentioned media, as it provided chances to all involved parties to clarify their position or defend themselves from any allegation.

The RGC, including the PM, received the most coverage, at 31%, equal to 9 hours, 57 minutes and 2 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political actors. The content was varied: negative, positive and neutral information. 10%, equal to 59 minutes and 13 seconds, was negative in tone. Positive information was at 3%, equal to 15 minutes and 8 seconds. Coverage dealt with not only the main activities of the RGC related to sensitive issues – human rights, economic crisis, border issues – but also conflicts between the RGC and ordinary people and criticisms of the RGC for poor performance.

VoD also dedicated time to covering the performance of the Senate and NA, which combined were allocated 5%, equal to 1 hour, 30 minutes and 53 seconds. 99% of the coverage was neutral in tone and the rest was shared between positive and negative. VoD gave more coverage to SRP MPs (more than 70% of the NA and Senate coverage), usually their comments on RGC work or intervention in disputes, especially land conflicts.

The SRP received the most time on VoD, at 14%, equal to 4 hours, 26 minutes and 3 seconds. 96% was neutral in tone. Coverage included, but was not limited to, political incidents, such as the killing or intimidation of SRP activist or members, and the SRP's complaints, comments or suggestions related to election processes or irregularities.

The NRP was given the second most coverage, at 10%, equal to 3 hours, 11 minutes and 33 seconds. Coverage was almost all neutral in tone. Positive and negative information were at around 1% each. The content of the NRP's coverage was not much different from that of the SRP.

The CPP, which received far more negative coverage than the other political parties, was allotted 9%, equal to 2 hours, 54 minutes and 56 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. VoD often publicized information related to the CPP's bad performance, for example alleged CPP threats towards other political parties. However, VoD also gave those accused the chance to defend themselves.

The HRP received 8% of coverage, equal to 2 hour, 43 minutes and 26 seconds, 100% neutral in tone.

FUNCINPEC received 5%, equal to 1 hour, 36 minute and 46 seconds. 98% of the coverage was neutral; negative information was at 1%, equal to 1 minute and 19 seconds.

The content of coverage of the SRP, NRP, HRP and FUNCINPEC was similar across the parties: their political platform and harassment, intimidation or threats toward their political activist.

The LDP was allotted approximately 5%, equal to 1 hour, 34 minutes and 11 seconds. More than 99% of the coverage was neutral in tone.

The other 5 political parties received between 2% and 3% and information was completely neutral in tone. Coverage was mainly of their political platforms.

VoD produced many other programs giving voice to political parties. These included political debate and political party platform dissemination. All political parties were heard about in these programs.

### **5.3.2. News programs on FM 105 MHz**

News on Radio FM 105 MHz was not broadcast regularly or daily within this monitoring time and only a few political actors were covered, and for a short time. The RGC and PM were heard for 12 minutes and 29 seconds. Coverage was all neutral in tone.

#### **Direct speech opportunities on news programs**

Only the RGC had a chance to speak on air, for 11 minutes and 18 seconds, when Deputy Military Police Chief CHEA Ratha gave an interview to FM 105 MHz.

### **5.3.3. Other programs**

Some common examples of coverage on FM 105 MHz's other programs were as follows:

- NDI program: dialogue between MPs and voters.

- NDI: candidates political debate;
- 59<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the loss of Kampuchea Krom to Vietnam.

FM 105 MHz also broadcast an NDI public forum for MPs' dialogue with voters. NDI-organized candidate debates were also heard on FM 105 MHz.

Within this monitoring period, the NA and Senate received the most coverage, allotted 23%, equal to 4 hours, 24 minutes and 23 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political actors, because of the NDI's MP-voter forum. In the forum, MPs from the 3 elected political parties were invited to speak and voters could raise their concerns and questions on the topic discussed. The tone was mostly neutral (97% of the NA and Senate coverage), with some positive information (3%).

The RGC, including the PM, received only 8%, equal to 1 hour, 30 minutes and 25 seconds. 88% was neutral in tone, and positive coverage was at 8%, equal to 7 minutes and 10 seconds. Negative coverage was at 4%, equal to 4 minutes and 1 second. Coverage was mainly on the NDI programs.

In terms of political party coverage, the CPP was allotted the most time, receiving 13%, equal to 2 hours, 25 minutes and 28 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone; positive coverage was at only 3%. Most of the coverage of political parties, including the CPP, was heard on the political debate forums organized by the NDI.

The SRP received 11%, equal to 2 hours, 6 minutes and 8 seconds; FUNCINPEC was allotted 10%, equal to 1 hour, 51 minutes and 18 seconds; the NRP 7%, equal to 1 hour, 24 minutes and 53 seconds; the KDP, HRP, LDP and HHDMP between 5% and 6% each, or between 57 minutes and 10 seconds and 1 hour, 9 minutes and 3 seconds; and the other parties between 1% and 2%. Most of the information towards them was neutral in tone.

## 6. RADIO FM 102 MHZ FINDINGS

Radio FM 102 MHz is run by an NGO, Women's Media Center of Cambodia (WMC).

### 6.1. Summary and conclusion

Radio FM 102 MHz, within the monitoring time, provided more balanced coverage and mostly neutral information about political actors.

Its news programs covered more stories on election-related issues and provide time to all political parties to comment or give opinions. However, time given to political parties was still limited. Most were heard about on the news.

Outside of the news, political parties were not the target of coverage by FM 102 MHz. Instead, most political time was given to the RGC and PM, also allocated more time in the news.

FM 102 MHz's broadcast on political actors aimed to achieve information dissemination rather than to dig into sensitive issues that give a negative image to actors involved.

No other special program giving time to political parties was observed on FM 102 MHz.

FM 102 MHz produced and broadcast a few voter education pieces, encouraging voters to vote according to their will and not to sell their vote, but coverage was very limited.

## 6.2. Findings across all programs<sup>25</sup>

Here are some examples of coverage of political actors on FM 102 MHz:

- NGOs and NEC claim that election campaign is comparatively better than in the past;
- NGOs and political parties urge the RGC to pass and enforce the anti-corruption law;
- Mr. SAM Rainsay goes to court to clarify his position in the case filed by Mr. HOR Namhong;
- An RGC spokesman and member of the CPP claims the election is fair;
- National election temporary results are rejected by 4 winning political parties;
- CHRAC expresses concerns over violence during the election campaign;
- Intimidation cases continue to happen as the election campaign goes on;
- Over 1000 families intimidated to leave their land;
- Economic analyst: gasoline prices will continue to increase;
- NEC shows the printing of ballot papers;
- Non-ruling parties face difficulties setting up their party signboards.

Monitoring across all programs found that FM 102 MHz did not dedicate much time to covering political actors. Within the monitoring period, all political actors combined were allocated only 11 hours, 55 minutes and 3 seconds. Coverage of political actors aimed merely at giving information about actors' activities.

The RGC, including the PM, was given the most time (78%, equal to 9 hours, 18 minutes and 46 seconds). 99%, or 9 hours, 12 minutes and 10 seconds, was neutral in tone. Coverage was of their performance or social issues.

The NA and Senate combined were allocated only 1%, or only 9 minutes and 7 seconds. Coverage of the NA was usually MPs' comments on NA-related issues such as draft laws, or other MP interventions. Coverage was completely neutral in tone.

All political parties were given time on FM 102 MHz, especially on the news. Before the election campaign period, FM 102 MHz dedicated most of its time to the RGC and PM. However, during and after the election campaign period, coverage of political actors focused on political parties.

Of political party coverage, the SRP was allotted the most coverage, and only neutral tone. Coverage of SRP was 6%, equal to 43 minutes and 25 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political actors. Most of the coverage on FM 102 MHz was about the difficulties facing the SRP and comments or opinions of political party representative on election processes, for instance voter registration, distribution of voter information notices, election campaigns, election results, etc. The SRP was often quoted.

The NRP received 4%, equal to 26 minutes and 37 seconds, all completely neutral in tone.

The CPP was the only political party to receive negative and positive information, being allotted around 3%, equal to 24 minutes and 16 seconds. Positive information was heard for only 51 seconds and negative for 1 minute and 38 seconds. For instance, coverage on the news on July 4, 2008 showed the NRP accusing the CPP of using sample ballot papers for their election campaign and the SRP alleging that the CPP was using Form 1018 to rig the upcoming vote.

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<sup>25</sup> Please see Annex I: Chart A4 for detailed time allocation and information tone dedicated to each political actor on FM 102 MHz within this monitoring period.



Other political parties received between 1% and 2%, or between 1 minute and around 11 minutes. Only neutral information was heard for these political parties. These political parties were given a chance to comment on any election-related news on FM 102 MHz.

### **Direct speech opportunities**

As most of the coverage was dedicated to the RGC, the RGC spoke on FM 102 MHz for the longest, 3 hours, 31 minutes and 16 seconds. MPs' voices were heard for only 2 minutes and 39 seconds.

All political parties were given chances by FM 102 MHz to speak on air, especially with regard to commenting on other election-related news stories. The SRP, which received the most coverage compared with other political parties, spoke for 15 minutes and 59 seconds; followed by the NRP (6 minutes and 14 seconds); CPP (3 minutes and 52 seconds); FUNCINPEC (3 minutes and 21 seconds); HRP (3 minutes and 9 seconds); KAP (2 minutes and 30 seconds); HDDMP (1 minute and 50 seconds); and other political parties (around 1 minute).

### **Voter education**

Radio FM 102 MHz broadcast more information on election-related issues but voter education programs were rarely heard within the monitoring time.

### **Intimidation or threatening words toward voters**

Such coverage was not observed on FM 102 MHz.

### **Political debate and political advertisements/promotional spots toward any political actor**

COMFREL observed no coverage of political debate programs or political advertisements.

### **Appeals to vote for any political actor/party**

No such appeals were heard toward any political actors within this monitoring period.

### **Appeals not to vote for any political actors**

No such appeals were heard toward any political actors within this monitoring period.

### **Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics were observed for 12 minutes and 27 seconds, although female candidates running for this election were not heard about. Radio FM 102 MHz sometimes broadcast "Neary Rattanak", which raised topics related to women's participation in politics.

### **Youth in politics**

Youth in politics were heard about for only 17 minutes and 16 seconds, for instance coverage of youth talking about their concerns about drugs to political parties.

### **Indigenous/disable people in politics**

Such coverage was not observed within this monitoring period.

### **6.3. Findings by program**

#### **6.3.1. News program**

FM 102 MHz's news programming dedicated more time to covering the RGC, including the PM, which combined were allotted 51%, equal to 2 hours, 11 minutes and 52 seconds, of time dedicated to all political parties. 97% of the coverage was neutral in tone and the other 3% was negative and positive information. Coverage was usually about current affairs in the country.

The NA and Senate combined were heard for 3%, equal to only 9 minutes and 3 seconds. Coverage of the NA was usually MPs comments, especially those from the SRP, on news articles. Coverage was all neutral in tone.

Of political parties, the SRP was again dedicated the most coverage, receiving 13%, equal to 33 minutes and 44 seconds. Again, coverage – like that of other political parties – was usually its comments on election processes and some of the challenges faced by the party. Neither negative nor positive information was heard regarding the SRP.

The NRP received the second most coverage on news programs, at 9%, equal to 24 minutes and 22 seconds. Coverage was only neutral. The content was similar to that of the SRP.

The CPP came in third, with 8%, equal to 21 minutes and 47 seconds. Only the CPP received negative and positive information, at 1 minute and 38 seconds and 51 minutes, respectively.

The other 8 political parties were given between 1% and 3%, or between 2 minutes and 13 seconds, and 8 minutes and 47 seconds. Coverage of these political parties was only neutral.

#### **6.3.2. Other programs**

FM 102 MHz's other programs dedicated the most political time to covering the RGC and PM, which combined were allotted 94%, equal to 7 hours, 6 minutes and 54 seconds. 99% of the RGC's coverage was neutral in tone. Positive information on the RGC and PM was heard for 2 minutes and 54 seconds and negative for 15 seconds. Coverage of the RGC included the Ministry of Women's Affairs Neary Rattanak program.

The name of the NA was heard once, for only 4 seconds.

Political parties were not paid much attention by other FM 102 MHz's programs, receiving only 6% in total, equal to 27 minutes and 30 seconds. Nevertheless, the SRP received the most time if compared with other political parties, at around 2%, equal to 9 minutes and 41 seconds. The other political parties, including the CPP, received less than 1% or less than 3 minutes. Coverage of all political parties was neutral in tone.

## **7. RFA FINDINGS**

The usual broadcast of RFA in Khmer in the evening is for one hour, from 19:30 to 20:30 local time. At this time, it increased its coverage to two hours: from 18:30 to 20:30 local time. COMFREL monitored the two-hour evening broadcasting.

## 7.1. Summary of findings and conclusion

RFA paid much attention to covering election related-topics, increasing its coverage time from 1 hour to 2 hours in the evening show. Coverage of political actors on RFA was more dynamic and balanced in terms of both time allocation and sources of information.

In addition, RFA provided sensitive information to the public. It often covered the negative performance or activities of powerful people, including the CPP. Political parties' allegations towards the CPP were also often broadcast on RFA. As a result, negative information about the RGC and PM was often heard on RFA, although the station gave chances to the RGC and PM to defend themselves from any allegation or criticism.

Because of the contents of its political coverage, RFA was perceived by the RGC and RGC-affiliated institutions as anti-RGC and CPP and pro-opposition parties, particularly the SRP. However, our findings show that, despite the fact that the SRP was given the most coverage, this was not used to promote or praise the SRP. In reality, RFA gave more time and chances to non-ruling political parties in order to allow them to voice their concerns and challenges.

The findings show that RFA focused mostly on SRP members as their sources of information. As a result, SRP members and MPs were the most heard actors in both news and other programs, as well as receiving the most time to speak on air. However, negative words/phrases/information on the SRP were also often heard in the news program.

Other political parties also enjoyed more coverage, especially on RFA's Understanding Political Party Platforms and debate programs. However, these political parties were not usually news makers.

RFA still focused on election-related issues after election day, highlighting the problems of the elections, for instance the opposition parties' stand to reject the temporary election results and other irregularities during election day.

## 7.2. Findings across all programs

The following are some common examples of political actor coverage on RFA:

- SRP MPs asking the court to release Mr. Dam Sith on bail (opposition newspaper's editor-in-chief);
- NGOs' reaction to the arrest of Mr. Dam Sith;
- HRP's signboard being taken down;
- Prince NORODOM Ranariddh stating that the current leadership has led to economic decline;
- COMFREL: at least 39 broadcasting media are affiliated to the CPP;
- Citizen voters criticize political parties for lying;
- Banteay Meanchey Provincial Court arrests a SRP activist accused of selling other people's farmland;
- Russey Keo uses force to pull down SRP signboards;
- SRP accuses CPP of persuading and forcing SRP's activist to defect in Svay Rieng province;
- Roundtable discussion: civil servants' roles in elections;
- SRP's leader seriously criticizes the CPP;
- Opposition party claims violation cases happened toward its activists;
- CPP officer in Sihanoukville files lawsuit against the SRP for campaigning during banned time;
- Election complaints from the CPP and SRP;
- SRP's activists accuse CPP village chief of not allowing the SRP to put up its poster;
- NRP claims that NRP's signboard have been stolen.

Political parties and other political actors enjoyed better coverage in terms of time allocation (for details, please see Chart 7).

The RGC, including the PM, was allotted 33%, equal to 12 hours, 51 minutes and 23 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Like VoD, RFA seemed to broadcast more on irregularities and conflicts between the RGC and people or inactivity of the RGC. NGOs' and opposition political parties' criticism of the RGC's performance was also heard. As a result, within this monitoring period, the RGC and PM were given the most negative information compared with other political actors. Negative words or phrases towards the RGC and PM were heard in 11%, equal to 1 hour, 28 minutes and 28 seconds, of the RGC and PM's coverage, for instance an interview between the Asia Director of Human Rights Watch and a RFA commentator, which included references to the murder and torture of FUNCINPEC officials as the responsibility of the PM during the July 5-6 coup in 1997. RFA asked the PM and the National Police Commander-in-Chief to comment on this matter but received no response. The RGC and PM's representatives were also given chances to defend themselves from criticism. Positive words or phrases about the RGC and PM were heard for 6 minutes and 32 seconds.

The NA and Senate were covered for 3%, equal to 1 hour, 12 minutes and 46 seconds. However, more than 50% of the coverage was dedicated to covering SRP MPs, who gave their comments or opinions on any topics related to the RGC, PM or NA's work. 98% of coverage, equal to 1 hour, 11 minutes and 9 seconds, was neutral in tone.

In terms of political party coverage, RFA also produced special interview programs to disseminate the political platforms of the political parties running for election. This interview program provided a chance to all political parties.

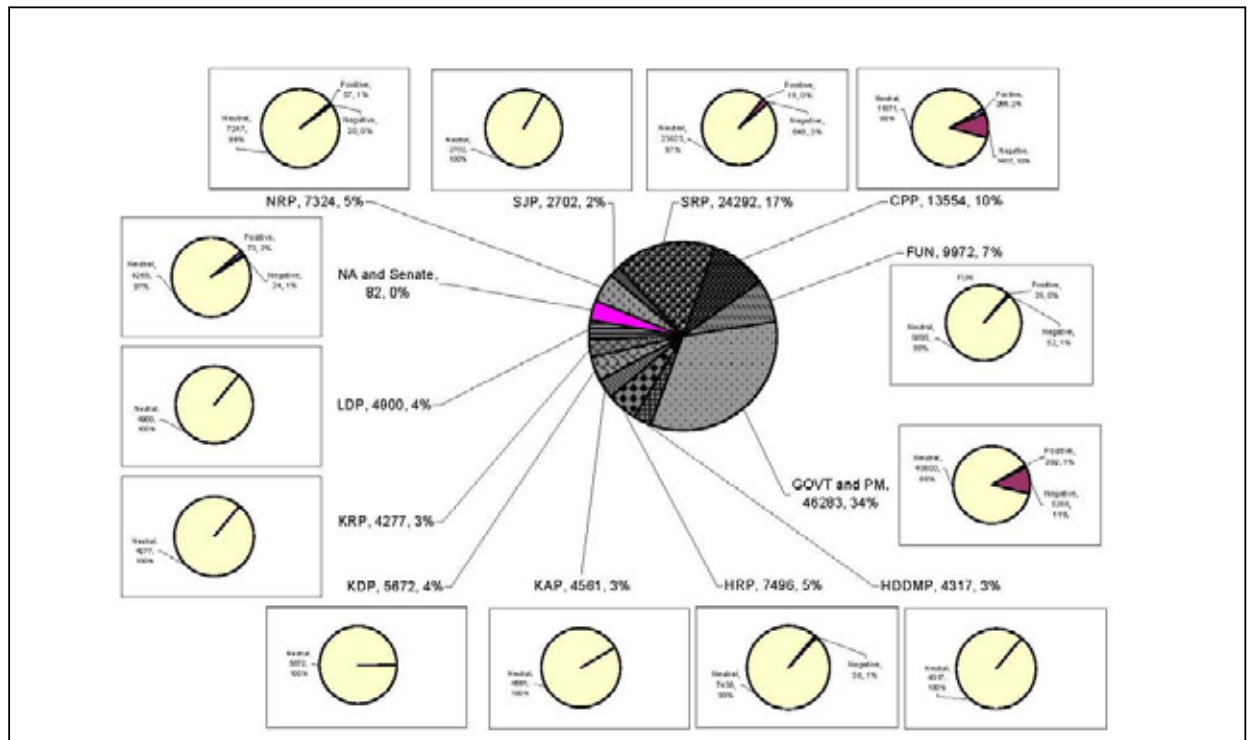
RFA gave more time to the SRP, at 17%, equal to 6 hours, 44 minutes and 52 seconds. However, the information tone varied: there was very little positive coverage (19 seconds), some negative coverage (18 minutes and 48 seconds) and mostly neutral coverage (6 hours, 25 minutes and 45 seconds). Coverage was usually about activities, announcements and press releases of the SRP or any incidents occurring to SRP activists. Any criticism of the SRP was also heard, for instance coverage of SRP members defecting to other political parties.

The ruling CPP was allotted 10%, equal to 3 hours, 45 minutes and 54 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. The information tone was varied: negative words/phrases were heard in 10%, equal to 23 minutes and 37 seconds, of its coverage; positive words/phrases were heard for 4 minutes and 26 seconds. The content of the coverage was similar to that of the SRP. However, during the election campaign period, opposition parties' allegation cases (intimidation, threats, pulling down of the party's signboards or posts) against the CPP were often heard, for example SRP activists accusing CPP village chiefs of not allowing the SRP to put up its posters. However, RFA usually gave CPP representatives the chance to defend themselves against any allegation.

FUNCINPEC was heard about in 7%, equal to 2 hours, 46 minutes and 12 seconds. The HRP and NRP received around 5%, or around 2 hours each. Coverage was also of incidents happening to their activists, such as intimidation, etc. Coverage was almost completely neutral in tone.

The other 6 political parties received around 3%, or around 1 hour each. The tone of the coverage was completely neutral. Most coverage was heard on the political platform dissemination program. The activities of these parties were also highlighted during the election campaign period.

**Chart 7: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on RFA (June 1-July 31, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunities**

RFA gave chances to all political actors to speak on air. RFA’s news program inserted interviewee sound bites into their news articles.

The RGC, including the PM, was given the longest duration, of 3 hours, 15 minutes and 59 seconds. MPs could speak for 31 minutes and 13 seconds, of which 23 minutes and 27 seconds were used by SRP MPs. Direct speech by the SRP was heard for 3 hours and 13 seconds. Other political parties were heard for only around 1 hour.

**Voter education**

RFA increased its coverage time to cover the elections in Cambodia. Voter education was also heard on RFA, for 1 hour, 1 minute and 9 seconds, for instance an interview between RFA and EMO staff members about the elections and voter education.

**Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Intimidation or threatening words were heard on RFA. For instance, on June 14, 2008, a CPP high-ranking official warned voters in Kandal province that there would be a war or national instability if the CPP lost in the elections.

**Political advertisements or promotional spots**

Such broadcasts were not observed within the monitoring period, although RFA produced a special program on “Understanding Political Party Platforms” to cover each political party’s platform.

**Appeals to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were heard for only 5 political parties: CPP, FUNCINPEC, NRP, SJP and SRP. For instance, on June 21, 2008, the wife of CHEA Vichea, late leader of the Free Trade Union of Workers of the Kingdom of Cambodia, appealed to garment workers to vote for the SRP.

**Appeals not to vote for any political actor**

Within this monitoring period, such appeals were heard dealing only with the CPP, on July 1, 2008, when RFA broadcast part of the SRP's election campaign which allegedly accused the CPP's leaders of selling the country and appealed to voters not to vote for the "one-eyed leader".

**Women in politics, including female candidates**

Women in politics, including female candidates, were heard about for 1 hour, 9 minutes and 27 seconds. Most of the coverage was heard on the "Khmer Women Program". For instance, coverage on July 3, 2008 featured SRP female candidate for Kampong Speu constituency KIM Nat Sim.

**Youth in politics**

Youth in politics were briefly heard about (1 minute and 2 seconds), when RFA reported news on a debate between youth from political parties.

**Disabled persons in politics**

Disabled persons in politics or in elections were heard about for 1 minute and 56 seconds.

**Indigenous people in politics**

Such coverage was not observed within this monitoring period.

**7.3. Findings by program****7.3.1. News programs**

The RGC, including the PM, the SRP and the CPP dominated the coverage on RFA's news programming.

The RGC, including the PM, received 48%, equal to 6 hours, 54 minutes and 3 seconds, of RFA's news programming. The coverage was mostly neutral and some negative (13%, for instance SRP MPs criticizing the RGC for drawing up a new map of Preah Vihear Temple, coverage of the military using violence in land conflicts, etc.) Positive words/phrases were heard in only 2 minutes and 50 seconds.

The NA and Senate combined received 3%, equal to 28 minutes and 12 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. The information tone was completely neutral with little positive information. This was because most of the coverage of the NA was MPs' comments or opinions.

In terms of political party coverage, RFA dedicated much of its coverage towards the SRP, which received almost 45%, equal to 3 hours, 8 minutes and 6 seconds, of the time dedicated to all 11 political parties contesting in the elections. However, the content was mostly made up of incidents happening to the SRP or SRP criticism of other political actors rather than promotion of the SRP. As a result, only neutral and negative information (9 minutes and 6 seconds) were heard about the SRP: positive words or phrases were heard for only 8 seconds.

The ruling CPP received 21%, equal to 1 hour, 27 minutes and 46 seconds, of time dedicated to all political parties. The CPP received the most negative information of all political parties on RFA's news programming: 14% – equal to 12 minutes and 2 seconds – of its coverage. Alleged intimidation or threat cases carried out by CPP members towards other political activists or citizens were often heard about. RFA also provided the CPP with the chance to defend itself against any allegations.

The NRP received 10%, equal to 43 minutes and 23 seconds. 99% of the coverage was neutral in tone and negative words/phrases were heard for only 20 seconds.

The HRP and FUNCINPEC were allocated around 8%, or 33 minutes each. The tone was mostly neutral, with some negative, for instance coverage of internal conflicts in FUNCINPEC and its members defecting to other political parties.

The other 6 political parties were heard for 1% each, with only neutral information. However, these political parties were given more time on other RFA programs.

### **Direct speech opportunities on RFA's news programming**

On RFA's news programming, all political actors' voices were heard, except that of the Senate.

Sound bites of the RGC including the PM were heard for 1 hour, 13 minutes and 16 seconds. MPs spoke for only 7 minutes and 59 seconds.

The SRP led other political parties in having more sound bites aired, for 45 minutes and 3 seconds, followed by the CPP (13 minutes and 53 seconds), NRP (11 minutes and 52 seconds), HRP and FUNCINPEC (around 5 minutes each) and other political parties (a bit more or less than 1 minute).

### **7.3.2. Other programs**

Some common examples of political actor coverage on other RFA programs were as follows:

- Observation report: land conflict between ordinary people and Okhnar LY Yung Pat in Koh Kong province;
- Understanding Political Party Platforms;
- Khmer Women: Mrs. KIM Nat Sim, SRP candidate for Kampong Speu constituency;
- Roundtable discussion: Cambodian women's status in politics;
- Special program on 2008 national elections;
- Interview with the Asia Director of Human Rights Watch on the murder of FUNCINPEC's soldiers during the 1997 coup;
- Cambodian people celebrating the listing of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site;
- Report surrounding the election campaign;
- An interview with Prince NORODOM Ranariddh.

RFA also produced a program to cover each political party's platform, allowing each political party more time than in the news programming.

The RGC, including the PM, was allocated 24%, equal to 5 hours, 57 minutes and 20 seconds. Like on the news, the tone was mostly neutral, with some negative words/phrases. 8%, equal to 11 minutes and 35 seconds, was negative. Positive coverage was at 3 minutes and 49 seconds.

The NA and Senate combined were allocated 3%, equal to 44 minutes and 34 seconds. Coverage was almost all neutral in tone.

The SRP led other political parties in terms of time, with 15%, equal to 3 hours, 36 minutes and 46 seconds, of time dedicated to all political actors. Coverage was mainly of political party debates, on Understanding Political Party Platforms and on other RFA “interview programs”. Negative words/phrases towards the SRP were heard for only 1 minute and 42 seconds. Positive words/phrases were heard for only 11 seconds. RFA often invited SRP activists to be its guest speakers on various programs.

The CPP was allocated 9%, equal to 2 hours, 17 minutes and 55 seconds. Again, coverage was mostly neutral and negative (9% – equal to 11 minutes and 35 seconds – was made up of negative words/phrases). Positive words/phrases were heard for only 3 minutes and 49 seconds. Besides coverage of the CPP’s political platform and election campaign, the CPP was also heard about in other programs, for instance the roundtable discussion on human rights in Cambodia, in which negative words/phrases about the CPP’s unfulfilled promises were heard for 9 minutes and 14 seconds.

FUNCINPEC was also allocated around 9%, equal to 2 hours, 13 minutes and 4 seconds. Almost 100% of the coverage was neutral in tone. The other political parties were allocated between 3% and 6%, mostly neutral. Coverage of these political parties in other RFA programs was usually about political platforms or took the form of political debate.

### **Direct speech opportunities on other RFA programs**

The RGC, including the PM, led with regard to having sound bites inserted in other RFA programs, speaking for 2 hours, 2 minutes and 43 seconds.

The NA was able to speak for only 23 minutes and 14 seconds. RFA dedicated more time to SRP MPs, who could speak for 17 minutes and 43 seconds.

RFA again gave more time to the SRP in terms of sound clips in other programs, with representatives of the party speaking on air for 2 hours, 15 minutes and 10 seconds.

The other 10 political parties were also given chances to speak on air, especially on the Understanding Political Party Platforms program. Most could speak for around 1 hour, except for the HDDMP, KRP and SJP, which spoke for less than 30 minutes each.

## **8. VOA FINDINGS**

### **8.1. Summary and conclusion**

During the election period, VOA increased its coverage time from 1 hour to 1 hour and a half. Within the monitoring period, COMFREL observed that VOA dedicated 13 hours, 37 minutes and 51 seconds to covering political actors. In addition, coverage of political actors on VOA was more active and balanced.

Only a few political actors received positive coverage, and only for a short time. However, VOA usually gave political actors receiving negative coverage a chance to defend themselves.

The RGC and PM received more the most coverage, including positive and negative information. The content on VOA was not much different from that on RFA. Conflicts or allegations made against RGC officials were often reported.

VOA focused mainly on 5 political parties: SRP, CPP, HRP, NRP and FUNCINPEC but also covered the other 6 political parties.



The SRP and CPP were the main actors focused on by VOA, and were often linked in reports. However, coverage of the SRP was mainly of its activities or incidents occurring, whereas coverage of the CPP, besides that on its activities, also included criticisms and allegations made against the party, for instance the alleged vote rigging. Therefore, negative information about the CPP was sometimes heard whereas coverage of other political parties was mostly neutral. However, as noted, the CPP was also given the chance to defend itself, and sometimes positive information was also heard.

VOA also gave time to other political parties. In addition, each political party's platform was broadcast on VOA. However, these political parties were rarely newsmakers.

## 8.2. Findings across all programs

Some common examples of political actor coverage on VOA were as follows:

- NDI senior official asks all political parties not to use violence;
- Roundtable discussion: garment workers and the elections;
- Overwhelming victory of the CPP sees accusations of vote buying and misuse of power;
- Cambodians living in the US appeal to voters to vote for opposition parties;
- HRP not allowed to campaign in Orussey Market;
- Rural development in Pailin city is limited;
- Daun Penh district authority prevents NRP from putting up its political signboard;
- Some senior officials of some political parties use land conflicts to criticize the RGC and CPP;
- Prince NORODOM Ranariddh says that he will return to Cambodia if the NRP wins the election;
- Deputy Prime Minister HOR Namhong drops the lawsuit against Mr. DAM Sith, Editor-in-Chief of opposition party newspaper;
- Some voters not able to vote as the RGC has not solved their land conflicts.

Within this monitoring period, VOA covered political actors for 13 hours, 37 minutes and 51 seconds, focusing mainly on the RGC including the PM, the SRP and the CPP. All other political actors were also heard about on VOA.

The RGC, including the PM, led in terms of time allocated, at 38%, equal to 5 hours, 12 minutes and 27 seconds. The RGC, including the PM, also received negative coverage, at 7%, equal to 21 minutes and 30 seconds. For instance, on June 13, 2008, VOA broadcast the comments of certain political parties accusing the RGC and PM of not solving land disputes for the ordinary people and criticizing the RGC's land solving policy. In the meantime, the PM himself sometimes criticized his own RGC members for corruption (for details, please see Chart 8).

The NA and Senate combined were heard for only 3%, equal to 26 minutes and 23 seconds. Almost 100% of the coverage was neutral: most dealt with the comments of CPP and SRP MPs towards any news articles.

All political parties were observed on VOA. Coverage was usually about incidents and about parties' political platforms. Comments of political party representatives on any social issues were also heard.

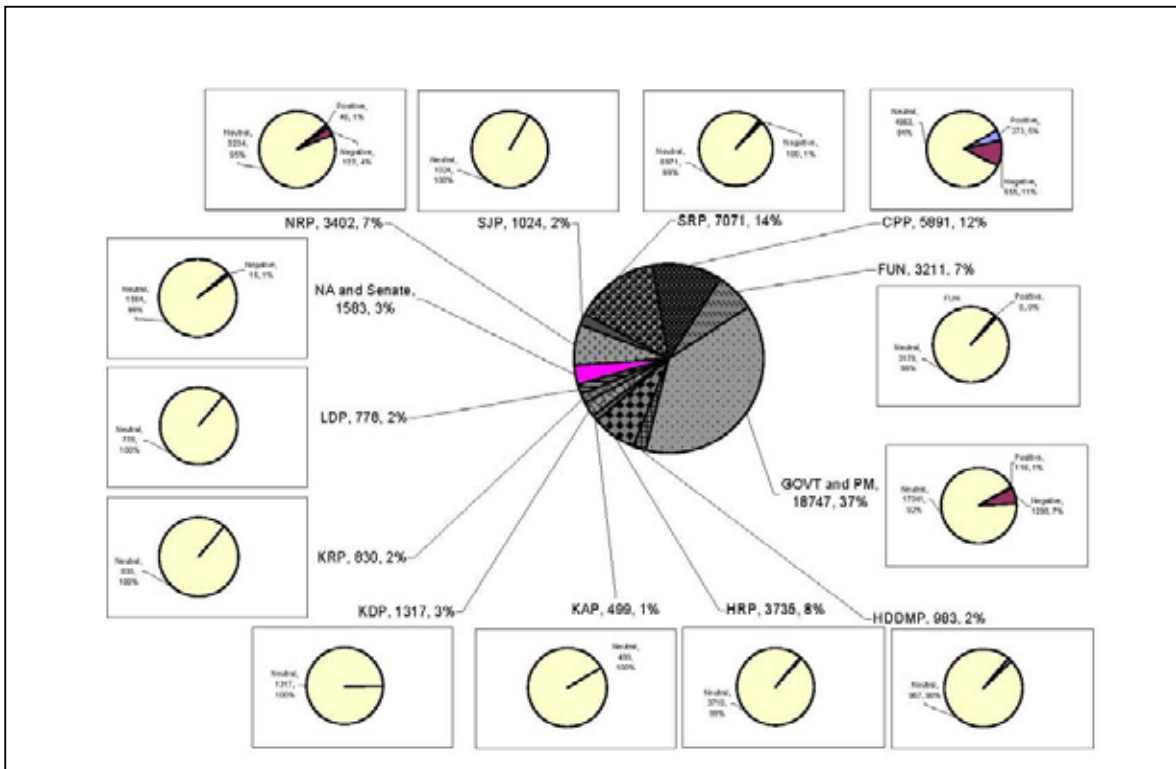
The SRP enjoyed more coverage on VOA, at 14%, equal to 1 hour, 57 minutes and 51 seconds. Coverage was mostly neutral, with only 1%, equal to 1 minute and 4 seconds, negative. Positive coverage was not observed. Observation found that the SRP enjoyed more coverage as the party was often a newsmaker for VOA, for instance its collection of illegal Forms 1018.

The ruling CPP was allotted 12%, equal to 1 hour, 38 minutes and 11 seconds. Coverage was mainly neutral or negative in tone. 11%, equal to 10 minutes and 55 seconds, of the CPP’s coverage was negative words/phrases. The CPP was the only political actor to receive negative information, as VOA often broadcast allegations made against the party. Positive words/phrases took up only 4 minutes and 33 seconds.

The HRP, NRP and FUNCINPEC received around 7%, or 1 hour, each. Coverage of the HRP and FUNCINPEC was almost all neutral, with very little negative information and no positive. The NRP received more negative information: 4%, or 2 minutes and 2 seconds (only 1% positive). Negative information was mainly the PM’s criticism of Prince NORODOM Ranariddh or coverage of the case of the selling by Prince NORODOM Ranariddh of FUNCINPEC headquarters.

The other 6 political parties were heard for 1% and 3%, or between 8 minutes and 19 seconds and 21 minutes and 57 seconds. Coverage was almost 100% neutral in tone. These parties were mostly heard about in VOA’s election campaign coverage and political platform dissemination in the form of interviews between party representatives and VOA commentators.

**Chart 7: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on VOA (June 1-July 31, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunity**

The RGC, including the PM, was heard for 1 hour, 21 minutes and 57 seconds – the longest time given. This is because VOA usually gave RGC officials the chance to defend themselves against any allegation made against them. In addition, RGC officials were sometimes invited onto the Hello VOA program.

The NA spoke for 10 minutes and 42 seconds, of which 7 minutes and 46 seconds were given to CPP MPs, for instance an interview with CPP MP CHEAM Yeab about the anti-corruption law.

VOA gave a chance to all political parties to speak on air, especially in its Interview with Political Party Representatives program.

The SRP spoke for 31 minutes and 59 seconds; followed by FUNCINPEC (24 minutes and 1 second); HRP (19 minutes and 36 seconds); CPP (18 minutes and 13 seconds); KDP (15 minutes and 52 seconds); NRP (14 minutes and 43 seconds); KRP (10 minutes and 33 seconds); SJP (9 minutes and 25 seconds); HDDMP (8 minutes and 43 seconds); LDP (8 minutes and 4 seconds; and KAP (3 minutes and 51 seconds).

### **Voter education**

Voter education information or programs were heard for 47 minutes and 41 seconds. VOA also invited EMO representatives as speakers on Hello VOA to talk about the elections.

### **Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

No intimidation or threatening words towards voters were heard in this monitoring period on VOA.

### **Political advertisements/promotional spots**

Such coverage was not heard on VOA within this monitoring period.

### **Appeals to vote for any political actors**

Such appeals were heard for only 5 political parties: HRP, SRP, NRP, CPP and FUNCINPEC. An example was on June 30, 2008 on the news, when the HRP appealed to voters to vote for the HRP for a better future for Cambodia and the Cambodian people.

### **Appeals not to vote for any political actor**

Only the CPP received such appeals on VOA within this monitoring period. Three political parties' leaders (SAM Rainsy, KHEM Sokha and Prince NORODOM Ranariddh) were given the chance to speak on VOA to voters, saying similar things *"It's time to change, please reject HUN Sen and the CPP."*

### **Women in politics, including female candidates**

Coverage of women in politics was heard briefly, for 58 seconds, on the number of female candidates in the three main political parties.

**Youth, indigenous/disabled persons in politics** were not observed within this monitoring period.

## **8.3. Findings by program**

### **8.3.1. Findings in news programming**

VOA's news programming dedicated 5 hours, 40 minutes and 45 seconds to covering political actors. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone, with some negative. Positive information on any political actor was rarely heard.

50%, equal to 2 hours, 49 minutes and 23 seconds, of political time was dedicated to the RGC, including the PM. Negative words/phrases were at 4%, equal to 7 minutes and 31 seconds, and positive words/phrase were at only 1 minute and 5 seconds. Coverage of the RGC and PM included – but was not limited to – Cambodian current affairs, conflicts such as land disputes between RGC

officials and the people, people's social concerns, etc. In addition, the RGC and PM dominated coverage when the dispute between Cambodia and Thailand arose over Preah Vihear Temple. The use by RGC officials of state vehicles for campaigning was also covered.

The NA and Senate combined were heard for 3%, equal to only 9 minutes and 37 seconds. Coverage included MPs' comments or opinions on the RGC's performance. 97% of the coverage was neutral in tone and 3% or 16 seconds was negative.

All political parties were heard on VOA's news programming. The SRP again led in terms of time allocated, receiving 14%, equal to 47 minutes and 57 seconds, of the time dedicated to all political parties. No positive information was heard; 98% was neutral; and 2% (equal to 1 minutes and 10 seconds) was negative, for instance on the defection of SRP senior member. VOA gave the SRP a chance to talk about incidents, cases of intimidation or threats or election irregularities affecting SRP activists. The SRP's election campaign was also heard about.

The CPP was given 9%, equal to 30 minutes and 44 seconds. Most of the coverage was neutral or negative, with positive information at only 24 seconds. 20%, equal to 5 minutes and 54 seconds, was negative in tone, mainly because of reporting on alleged intimidation or threat cases committed by the CPP's local officials, for instance coverage of a CPP local official using violence against the SRP's female candidate MU Sochua. The Thai Prime Minister accused the PM and CPP of using Preah Vihear to gain more votes for the CPP; this was also reported on VOA's news. The CPP's election campaign was also heard about.

The NRP was allotted 8%, equal to 27 minutes and 22 seconds, of political time. Coverage was mostly neutral, with some negative, such as coverage of the case of Prince NORODOM Ranariddh selling FUNCINPEC headquarters. The NRP's election campaign was also observed.

The HRP received 5%, equal to 19 minutes and 48 seconds, of the total political time on the news. No positive information was observed, only neutral (98%, or 19 minutes and 48 seconds) and negative (2%, or 25 minutes). Coverage included the HRP's election campaign and some HRP comments or suggestions related to election issues.

Within this monitoring period, VOA news dedicated only 3% – equal to 11 minutes and 29 seconds – of total political time to FUNCINPEC. 95% of coverage was neutral in tone, with negative at 5%, or 33 seconds. Coverage included the FUNCINPEC election campaign and the party's internal crisis.

The other 6 political parties received less than 10 minutes of coverage, mostly in VOA's election campaign coverage.

### **Direct speech opportunities**

Not all political actors' voices were heard on VOA's news programs.

The RGC and PM were given the longest time to speak (27 minutes and 37 seconds), whereas the NA spoke for only 1 minute and 30 seconds.

VOA inserted more SRP sound bites, at 12 minutes and 37 seconds, followed by the HRP and KDP (4 minutes and 29 seconds each); KAP (3 minutes and 51 seconds); NRP (3 minutes and 40 seconds); CPP (3 minutes and 24 seconds); FUNCINPEC (1 minutes and 24 seconds); SJP (47 seconds); and HDDMP (20 seconds)

### 8.3.2. Findings in other programs

In other VOA programs, all political actors combined were heard for 7 hours, 52 minutes and 41 seconds. Most of the coverage was neutral in tone.

The RGC, including the PM, still led in terms of time allocated, receiving 30% – equal to 2 hours, 20 minutes and 59 seconds – of total political time. Again, it received the most negative information. Negative words/phrases towards the RGC and PM were at 10% – equal to 13 minutes and 55 seconds – of their coverage. Coverage focused mainly on the PM commenting on serious or sensitive issues (such as the border dispute, elections), RGC involvement in protecting security during the elections, conflicts between RGC officials and ordinary people, etc.

The NA and Senate combined were allocated 4% – equal to 17 minutes and 6 seconds – all of which was neutral in tone. Coverage included MP comments or opinions on certain issues and interviews between VOA and CPP MP CHEAM Yeab over corruption in Cambodia.

All political parties were mentioned on other VOA programs. Coverage was mostly of each political party's political platform, any special reports on incidents affecting political party activists, election campaigns, etc. The SRP and CPP dominated coverage. The SRP was mentioned at around 14% – equal to 1 hour, 8 minutes and 25 seconds – of time dedicated to all political actors. The tone was almost all neutral, with only 30 seconds of negative coverage and no positive coverage.

The CPP was the allotted 14% – equal to 1 hour, 6 minutes and 38 seconds – of total political time. The CPP led other political parties with regard to positive and negative information. 87% – equal to 57 minutes and 41 seconds – of its coverage was negative in tone. This included – but was not limited to – criticisms by other of the CPP, other political parties' allegation against the CPP of vote rigging, etc. VOA also gave CPP positive coverage at about 6% – equal to 3 minutes and 56 seconds – of all its coverage. An example of this was coverage of election campaigning in Kampot province where a CPP member talked about the CPP's achievements, such as in infrastructure development, national stability and peace.

The HRP and FUNCINPEC received only neutral tone coverage, at around 9% each or around 42 minutes of time dedicated to all political actors. Other political parties, except the NRP and KAP, were allotted around 3% (or around 14 minutes), only neutral. The NRP received around 6% (equal to 29 minutes and 20 seconds). The tone was mostly neutral, with little positive or negative information. The KAP received only 56 seconds of coverage.

### Direct speech opportunities

VOA's other programs gave more time to political actors to speak on air, except the KAP and the Senate, whose voices were not heard. The RGC including the PM spoke for 54 minutes and 20 seconds and the NA for 9 minutes and 12 seconds. FUNCINPEC led the political parties, speaking for 22 minutes and 27 seconds; followed by the SRP (18 minutes and 59 seconds); HRP (15 minutes and 7 seconds); CPP (14 minutes and 49 seconds); and other political parties (between 8 and 11 minutes).

## 9. RFI FINDINGS

### 9.1. Summary and conclusion

Political time on RFI lasted 9 hours, 8 minutes and 7 seconds (or around 15% of RFI's broadcasting time within this monitoring period). Although the RGC including the PM dominated RFI's coverage, the SRP and CPP were also given a large amount of time.

Unlike RFA and VOA's coverage, RFI also mentioned positive information on certain actors. The programs "Events Related to the Elections in Cambodia" and "Views from the Newspapers" allowed political parties to be heard often.

RFI did not seem to dig for negative information on political actors but gave time to political actors to criticize other political parties or to promote their own political parties.

## 9.2. Findings across all programs

Within this monitoring period, RFI dedicated 9 hours, 8 minutes and 7 seconds to covering political actors. The Senate was the only actor that was not heard about on RFI.

Here are some common examples of political actor coverage on RFI:

- The 11 political parties preparing for the election campaign to gather vote from eligible voters;
- Reports on the election campaigning of political parties;
- Phnom Penh authorities deploy forces to defend the Royal Thai Embassy;
- Celebrations on the listing of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage site;
- People come to Phnom Penh to demand the cancellation of a social land concession contract;
- High gasoline prices affect the people and civil servants negatively;
- Views from the Newspapers: elections results;
- CPP to work with FUNCINPEC, led by NHEK Bunchhay but not KEO Puthreksmey;
- The NECs show the indelible ink to political parties;
- Phnom Penh Municipal Court reviews complaints against Mr. SAM Rainsy;
- Opposition parties criticize the limited achievements of the third legislature RGC.

The RGC, including the PM, received 38% of coverage, equal to 3 hours, 30 minutes and 7 seconds. Negative information was at around 3% (equal to 7 minutes and 16 seconds) of this. This included conflict between RGC officials and criticism by opposition parties of the RGC and PM. RFI also gave the RGC the chance to defend itself and talked about the RGC's achievements. Positive words/phrases were at 2% (equal to 3 minutes and 53 seconds). The remaining 95% (equal to 3 hours, 18 minutes and 58 seconds) was neutral in tone (for details, please see Chart 9).

The NA was allocated only 2% (equal to 10 minutes and 58 seconds). Coverage included MPs' comments or activities such as MPs' interventions in disputes.

All political parties were heard about on RFI. RFI reported on "Events Related to the Elections in Cambodia", which usually covered political parties, including their election campaigns and platforms.

Like RFA and VOA, RFI dedicated more time to the SRP, at 17% (equal to 1 hour, 32 minutes and 56 seconds). But more negative information was also heard: positive words/phrases were at only 35 seconds whereas 4% (equal to 3 minutes and 49 seconds) of coverage was negative in tone. This included coverage of SRP senior members defecting to the CPP and lawsuits against SRP members.

The CPP received the second highest amount of coverage, at 12% (equal to 1 hour, 3 minutes and 24 seconds). It also received the most negative and positive information. Negative words/phrases were at 8% (equal to 5 minutes and 20 seconds) and positive information at 7% (equal to 4 minutes and 31 seconds), for instance coverage of the CPP interrupting other political parties' campaigns and achievements of the CPP.

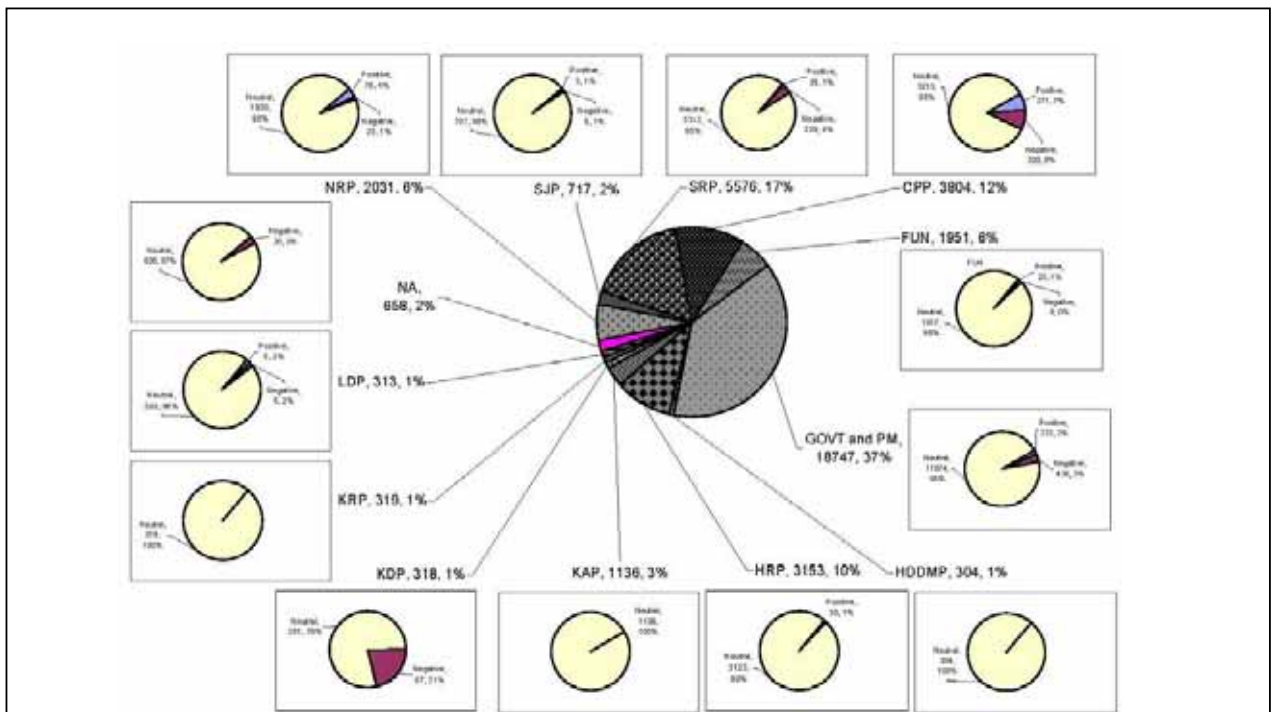
The newly-established HRP was also given more time, at 10% (equal to 52 minutes and 33 seconds) of the time dedicated to all political actors. 99% was neutral in tone while positive words/phrases were at 1% (equal to 30 seconds).

The NRP was allocated around 6% (equal to 33 minutes and 51 minutes) of political time. 95% (32 minutes and 10 seconds) was neutral in tone. Positive words/phrases were at 4% (equal to 1 minute and 18 seconds) of coverage and negative at only 1% (equal to 23 seconds).

FUNCINPEC received 6% (32 minutes and 31 seconds). Coverage was mainly neutral in tone. Positive information was at around 1% (equal to 25 seconds) while negative words/phrases were observed for only 5 seconds.

The other 6 political parties were dedicated between 1% and 3% (or between 5 minutes, 4 seconds and 18 minutes, 56 seconds). These political parties were heard mostly on RFI’s “Events Related to the Elections in Cambodia”. The SRP, CPP, HRP, NRP and FUNCINPEC were allocated more time because of their status as newsmakers.

**Chart 9: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors across all programs on RFI (June 01-July 31, 2008)**



**Direct speech opportunities**

All political actors, except the Senate, were given time to speak on air. The RGC, including the PM, spoke for 25 minutes and 42 seconds. MPs spoke for only 1 minute and 19 seconds.

The HRP was the leader of political parties, speaking for 15 minutes and 58 seconds, followed by the SRP (9 minutes and 31 seconds); KAP (8 minutes and 33 seconds); FUNCINPEC (7 minutes and 51 seconds); NRP (5 minutes and 21 seconds); CPP (4 minutes and 53 seconds); and SJP (3 minutes and 53 seconds). Other political parties spoke for around 2 minutes. Direct speech opportunities given to these political parties were heard mostly on RFI’s “Events Related to the Elections in Cambodia”.

**Voter education**

Excluding RFI’s coverage of events related to the elections, voter education was heard for only 3 minutes and 55 seconds.

### **Intimidation or threatening words towards voters**

Such coverage was not heard on RFI.

### **Political advertisements/promotional spots**

No such coverage was observed within this monitoring period.

### **Appeals to vote for any political actor**

7 political parties had the chance to appeal for votes. Some examples included SAM Rainsy appealing to voters to vote for the SRP to bring down the price of goods; Samdech CHEA Sim, the CPP's President, appealed for votes to keep the country strong; the NRP appealed for votes so that Prince NORODOM Ranariddh could return home.

Such appeals were also made by the HRP, FUNCINPEC, KAP and SJP.

### **Appeals to voters not to vote for any political actor**

Such appeals were not observed.

## **9.3. Findings by program**

### **9.3.1. Findings in news programming**

RFI's news programming dedicated 4 hours, 12 minutes and 48 seconds to covering political actors, 56% (equal to 2 hours, 21 minutes and 43 seconds) of which was allotted to the RGC, including the PM. Information on the RGC and PM was mostly neutral in tone, with 3% (equal to 3 minutes and 56 seconds) negative and 1% (equal to 1 minute and 34 seconds) positive. Coverage included – but was not limited to – current affair in the country involving the RGC, the border dispute with Thailand, conflicts between RGC officials and ordinary people, etc.

The NA was heard about in 2% of coverage, only in a neutral tone (6 minutes and 4 seconds). This was mainly MPs' comments on certain issues.

If compared with other political parties, the SRP was dedicated the most time, receiving 18% (equal to 46 minutes and 36 seconds). Coverage focused on SRP activities, including election campaigning, press statements or comments. Information was mostly neutral. Negative words/phrases were at 4% (equal to 1 minute and 39 seconds) and positive at 1% (equal to only 28 seconds).

The ruling CPP received only 8% (equal to 20 minutes and 56 seconds). In addition, RFA's news programming focused on negative information on the CPP, at 15% (equal to 3 minutes and 7 seconds) of its coverage. Positive words/phrases were at 5% (equal to 1 minute and 6 seconds). The content of the coverage was similar to that of the SRP, along with some criticism by other parties of its policies, given that it is the ruling party.

The NRP received 5% (equal to 13 minutes and 10 seconds), 95% (equal to 12 minutes and 20 seconds) of which was neutral in tone; 5% (equal to 38 seconds) positive and 12 seconds negative.

The HRP was also allocated 5% (equal to 12 minutes and 46 seconds), only neutral. FUNCINPEC received 4% (equal to 10 minutes and 5 seconds). The other 6 political parties received less than 30 seconds, only neutral.



### Direct speech in news programming

Few political actors could speak on air. The RGC, including the PM, spoke for 1 minute and 31 seconds; the SRP for 40 seconds; and the HRP for 17 seconds (during a news report on the National Conference on the CPP RGC's Rectangular Strategy).

#### 9.3.2. Findings in other programs

Political actors combined were heard for 4 hours, 53 minutes and 53 seconds on other RFA programs. These focused more on political parties, which combined were allocated 75% of political time.

The RGC, including the PM, was allocated 23% (1 hour, 6 minutes, and 58 seconds). Negative and positive information were heard at 3% (around 2 minutes and 19 seconds) each.

Political parties were often heard on RFA's "Events Related to the Elections in Cambodia" and "Views from the Newspapers", which quoted news articles from both pro-CPP and anti-CPP newspapers.

The SRP was heard in 16% (equal to 46 minutes and 20 seconds) of the time allotted to all political actors. Negative information was common, at 5% (equal to 2 minutes and 10 seconds) of its coverage whereas positive words/phrases were at only 7 seconds. This included, but was not limited to, coverage of lawsuits against the SRP's president, SRP defectors accusing Mr. SAM Rainsy of corruption, etc. The SRP was given a chance to defend itself against any allegations.

The CPP's coverage was close to that of the SRP, at 14% (equal to 42 minutes and 28 seconds). Positive information was more common than negative information. 8% (equal to 3 minutes and 25 seconds) was positive, including coverage in Views from the Newspapers, in which CPP achievements for the country were heard about. Negative information was also heard, at 5% (equal to 2 minutes and 13 seconds). This included criticism by the SRP or other political parties of the CPP-run government.

The HRP was allotted approximately 14% (39 minutes and 47 seconds), 99% of which was neutral. FUNCINPEC received 8% (22 minutes and 26 seconds), almost all neutral. The NRP was allocated 7% (20 minutes and 41 seconds), most neutral, with some positive (40 seconds) and some negative (11 seconds). The KAP received 6% of coverage (18 minutes and 44 seconds), all neutral. The other 5 political parties received less than 2% (around 5 minutes) each.

### Direct speech opportunities

The Senate and the PM were not heard.

The RGC was given the long amount of time, at 24 minutes and 11 seconds. MPs spoke for only 1 minute and 19 seconds.

RFA's other programs offered chances to the HRP to speak on air (15 minutes and 41 seconds). The SRP, which received the most coverage, spoke for 8 minutes and 51 seconds, followed by the KAP (8 minutes and 33 seconds); FUNCINPEC (7 minutes 51 seconds); NRP (5 minutes and 21 seconds); CPP (4 minutes and 53 seconds); and other political parties (less than 4 minutes).

## 10. MEDIA MONITORED ONLY FOR VIOLATIONS

Media outlets affiliated with political parties, broadcasting in almost all provinces/municipalities, continued to disregard the codes of conduct for journalists and the NEC's broadcast guidelines.

Within the monitoring period (June 1-July 31, 2008), COMFREL monitored some radio channels occasionally. These included: FUNCINPEC-affiliated FM 90.5 MHz; SRP-linked FM 93.5 MHz; and CPP-affiliated FM 95 MHz.

FM 95 MHz Bayon radio station produced its daily radio program “Khmer Culture”, aired live by at least 6 other radio stations,<sup>26</sup> which often used language inciting and provoking discrimination against other political parties, particularly the SRP, HRP and NRP (referring to their leaders as incompetent, devious, intent on ruining the nation, etc.) Such coverage was heard before and during the election campaign period.

The language referred to above was also broadcast by media outlets that rented air time to other political parties.<sup>27</sup> Maha Norkor FM 93.5 MHz, for instance, frequently broadcast the SRP program “Candle Light”, which used words to insult CPP leaders (e.g. referring to them as “thieves who steal and sell the nation”, etc.) However, this radio channel publicly announced its intention to rent out air time to political parties.

In the meantime, Ta Prom FM 90.5 MHz radio, which is affiliated to FUNCINPEC and did not make a public announcement to prove that it rented air time to all political parties, produced programs that served only FUNCINPEC.

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<sup>26</sup> These radio stations include FM 88 MHz, FM 97 MHz, FM 98 MHz, FM 99 MHz and FM 103 MHz.

<sup>27</sup> According to NEC Notification No. 06.096.08 NEC.SG.PIB, dated June 24, 2008, media outlets that have rented air time to political parties include FM 105 MHz, FM 104 MHz and FM 93.5 MHz.

## **ANNEX I: CHARTS**

Chart A1: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of each political party on state-run channels (June 1-25, 2008)

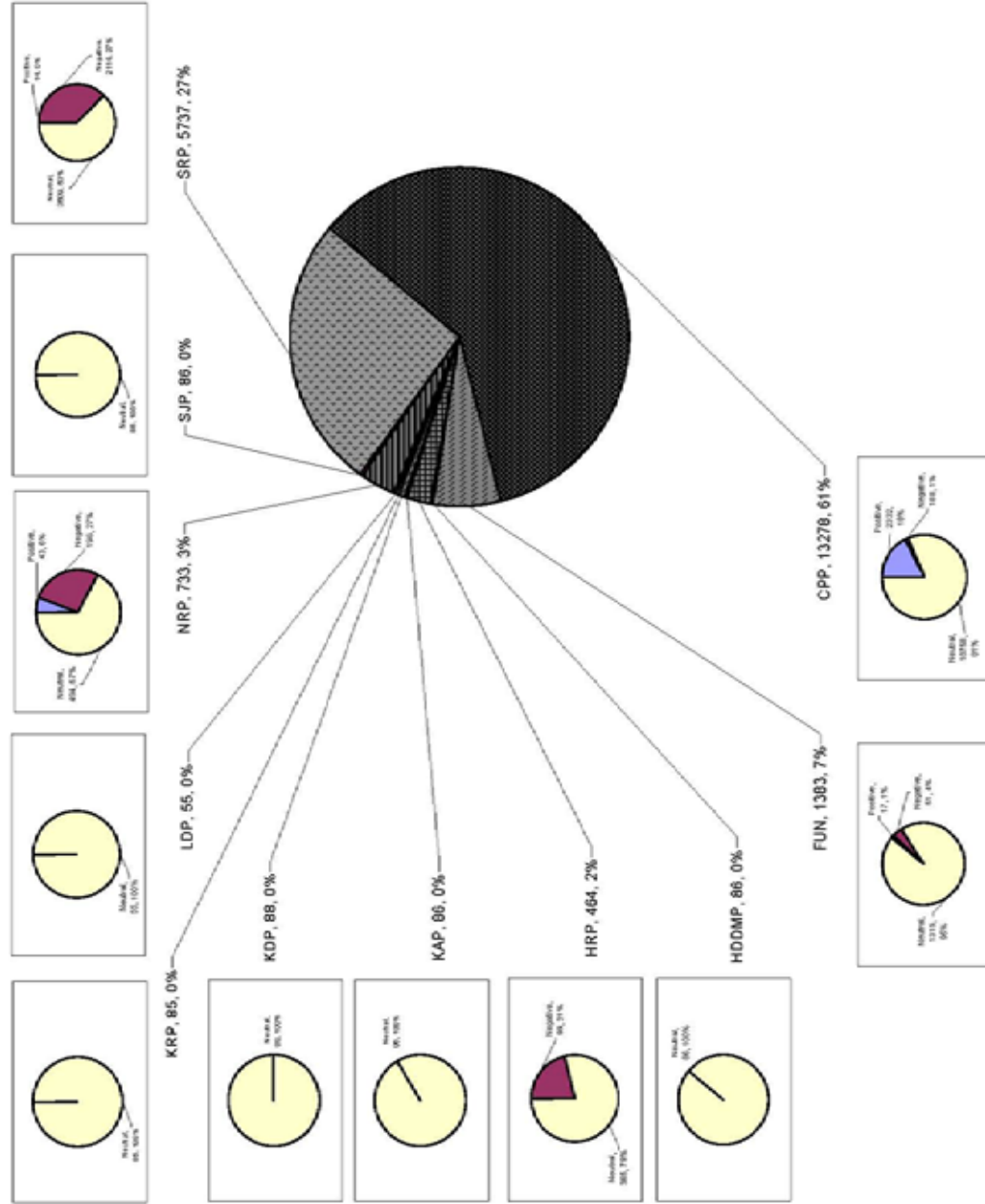


Chart A2: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors on state-run channels (June 26-July 31, 2008)

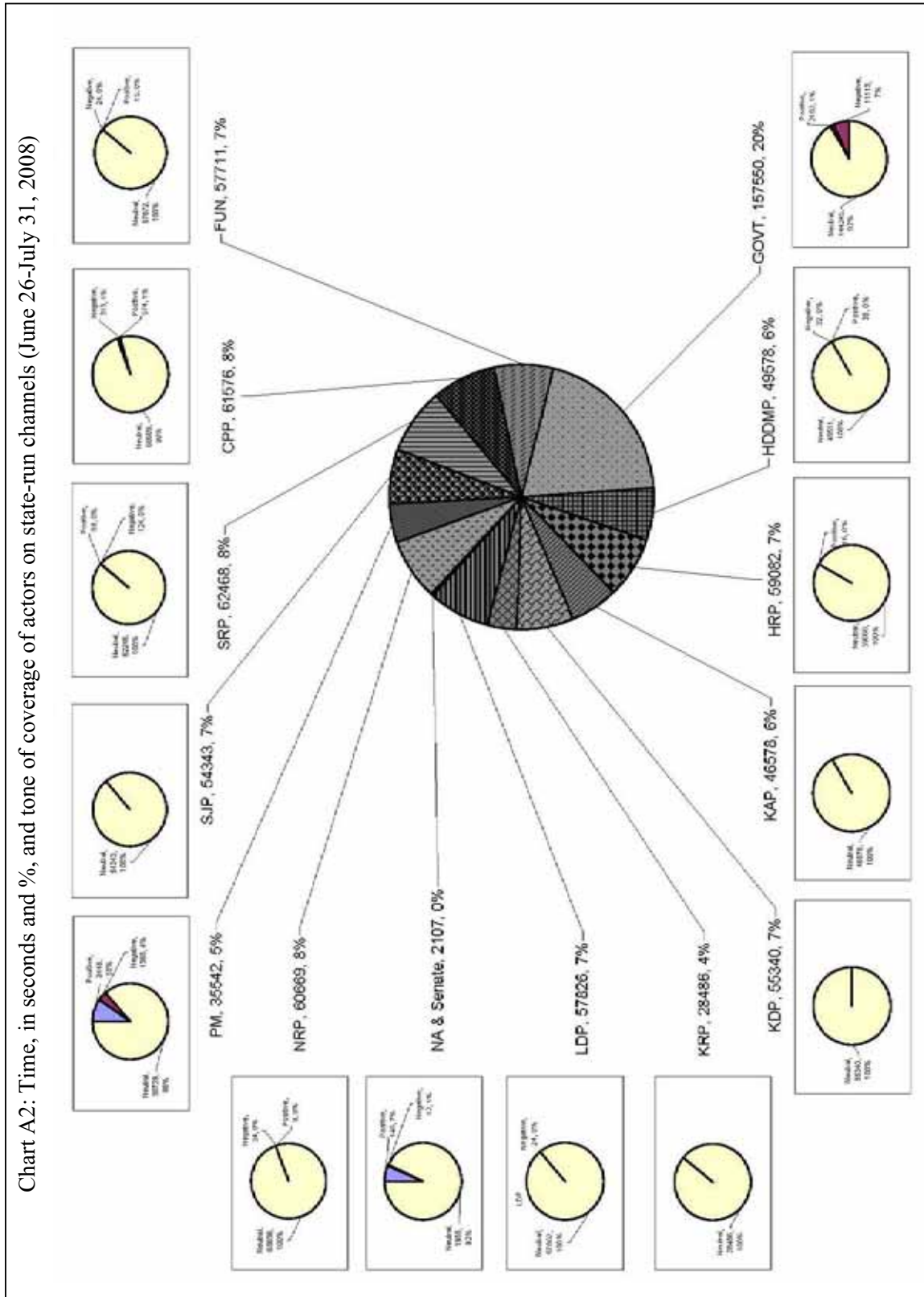
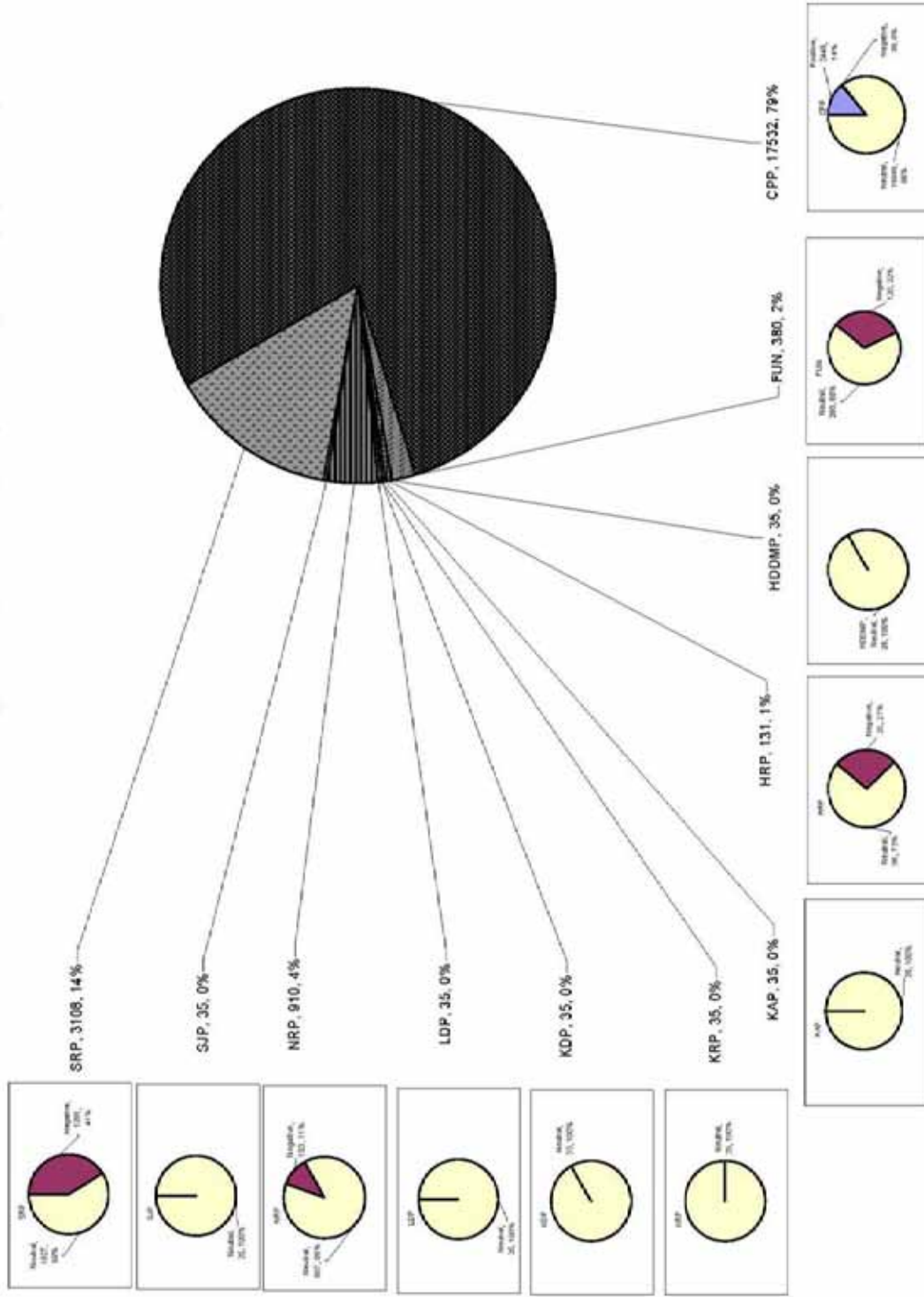


Chart A3: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of each political party on CTN (June 1-July 31, 2008)



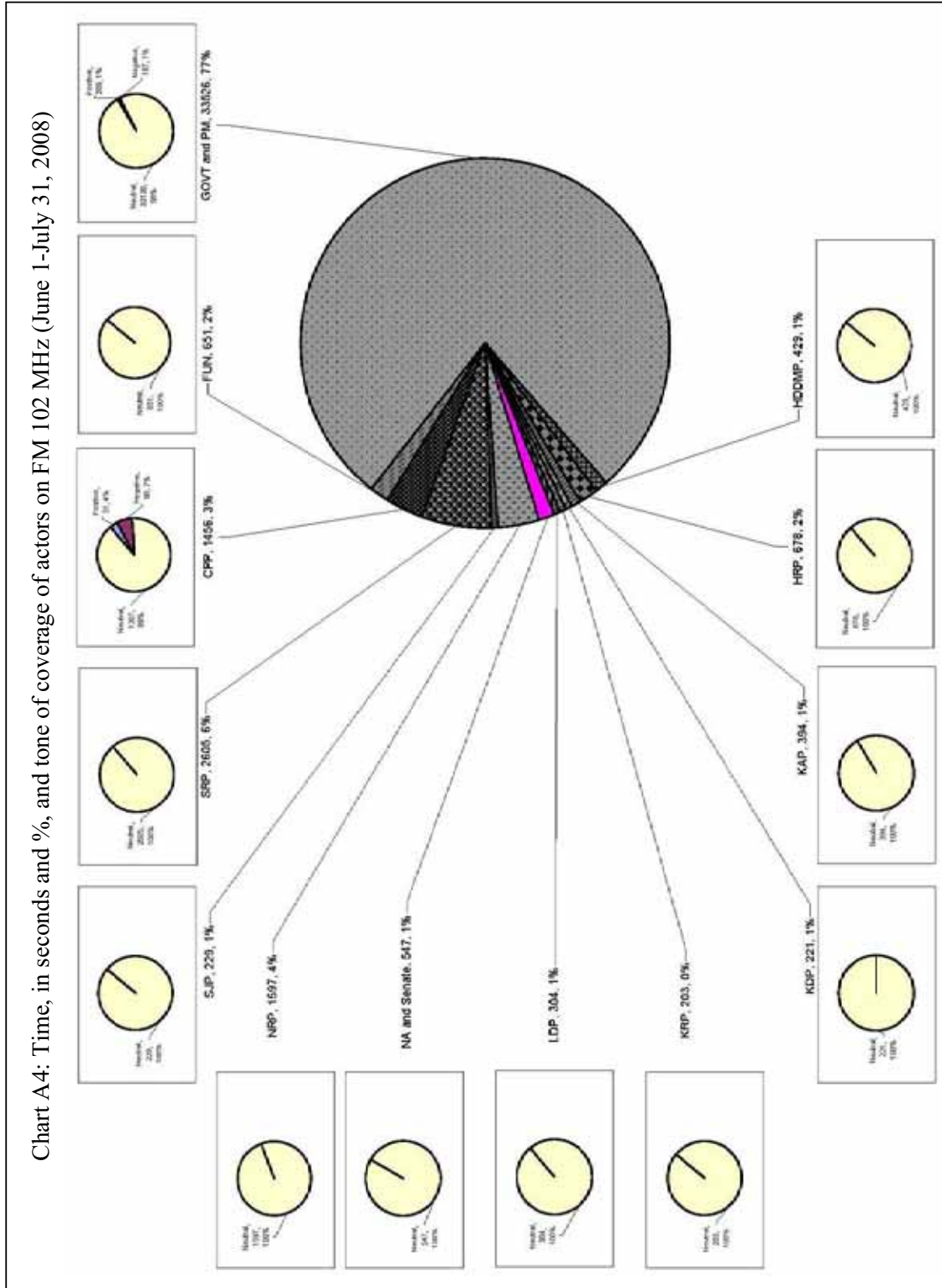




Chart A5: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors FM 105 MHz (June 1-July 31, 2008)

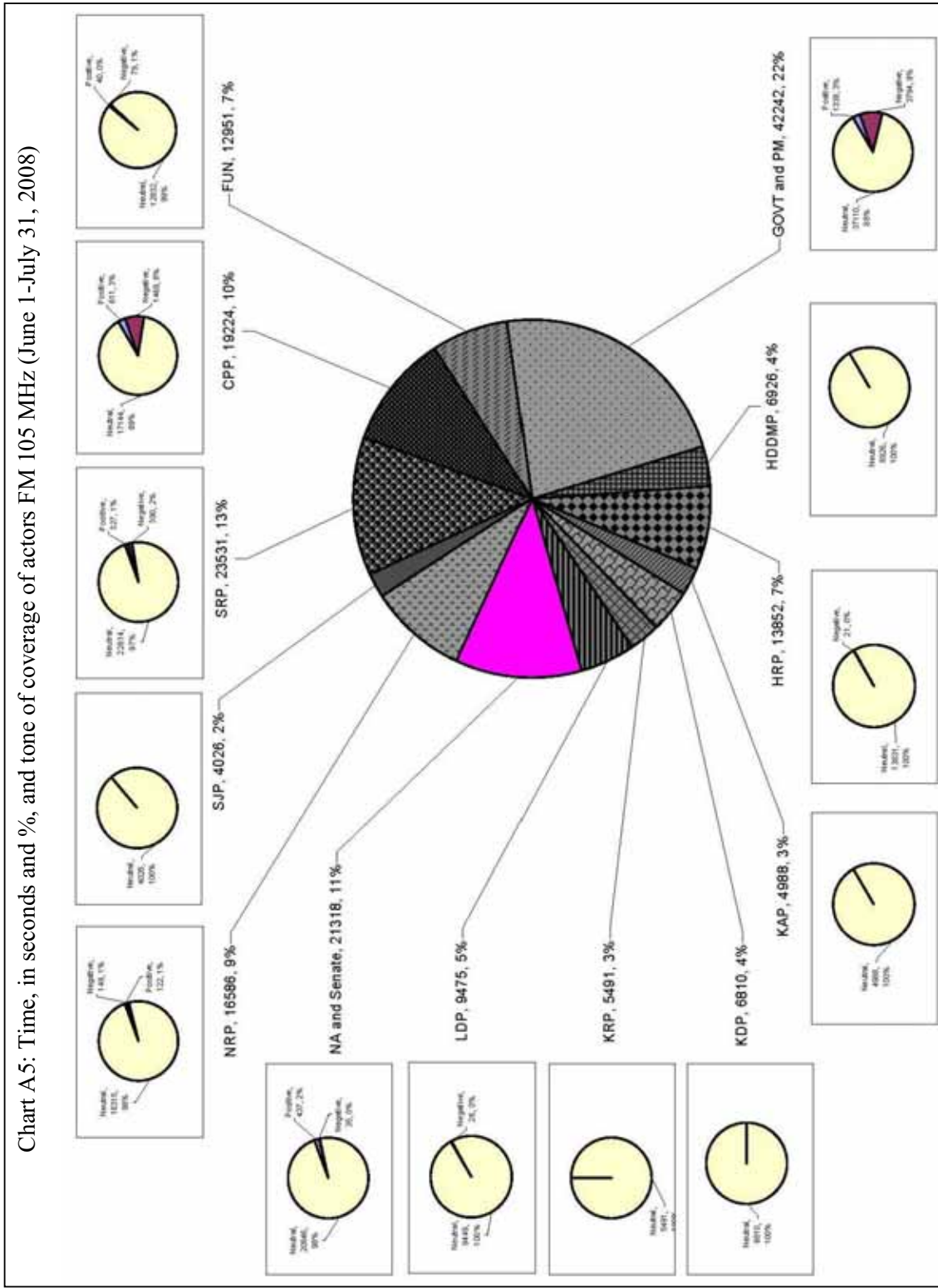
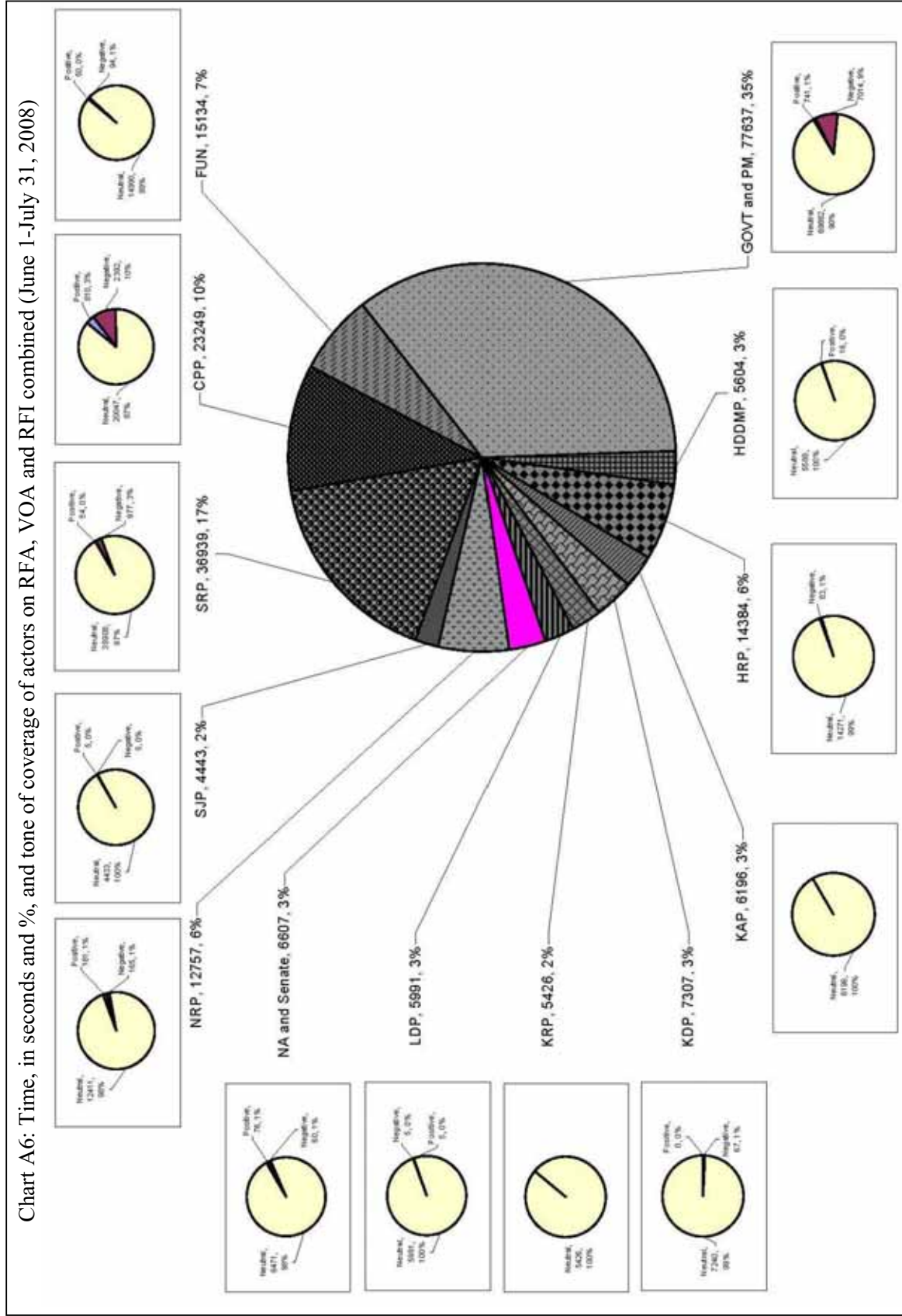




Chart A6: Time, in seconds and %, and tone of coverage of actors on RFA, VOA and RFI combined (June 1-July 31, 2008)



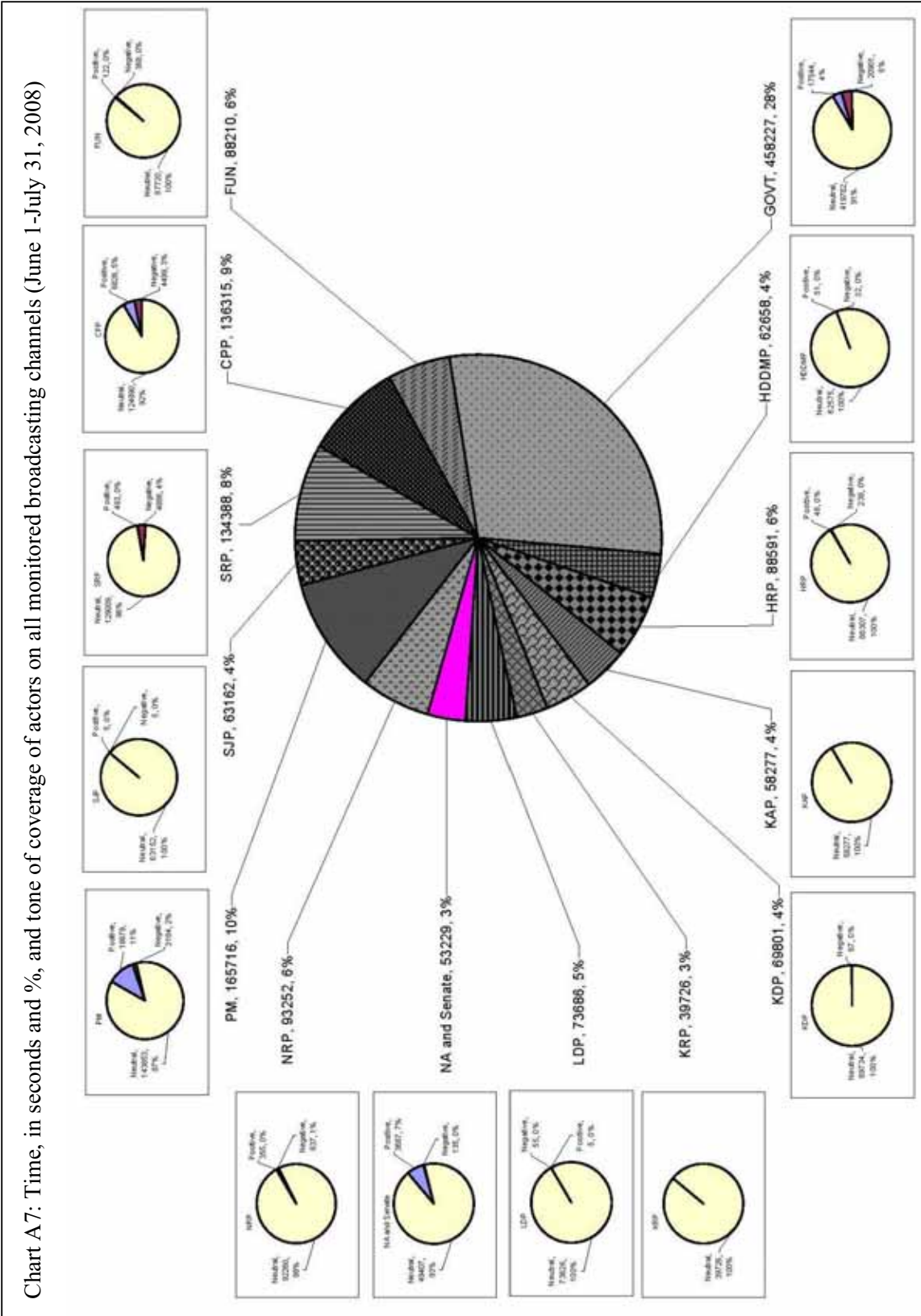


Chart A8: Direct speech opportunities, in seconds, dedicated to each political actor across all channels.

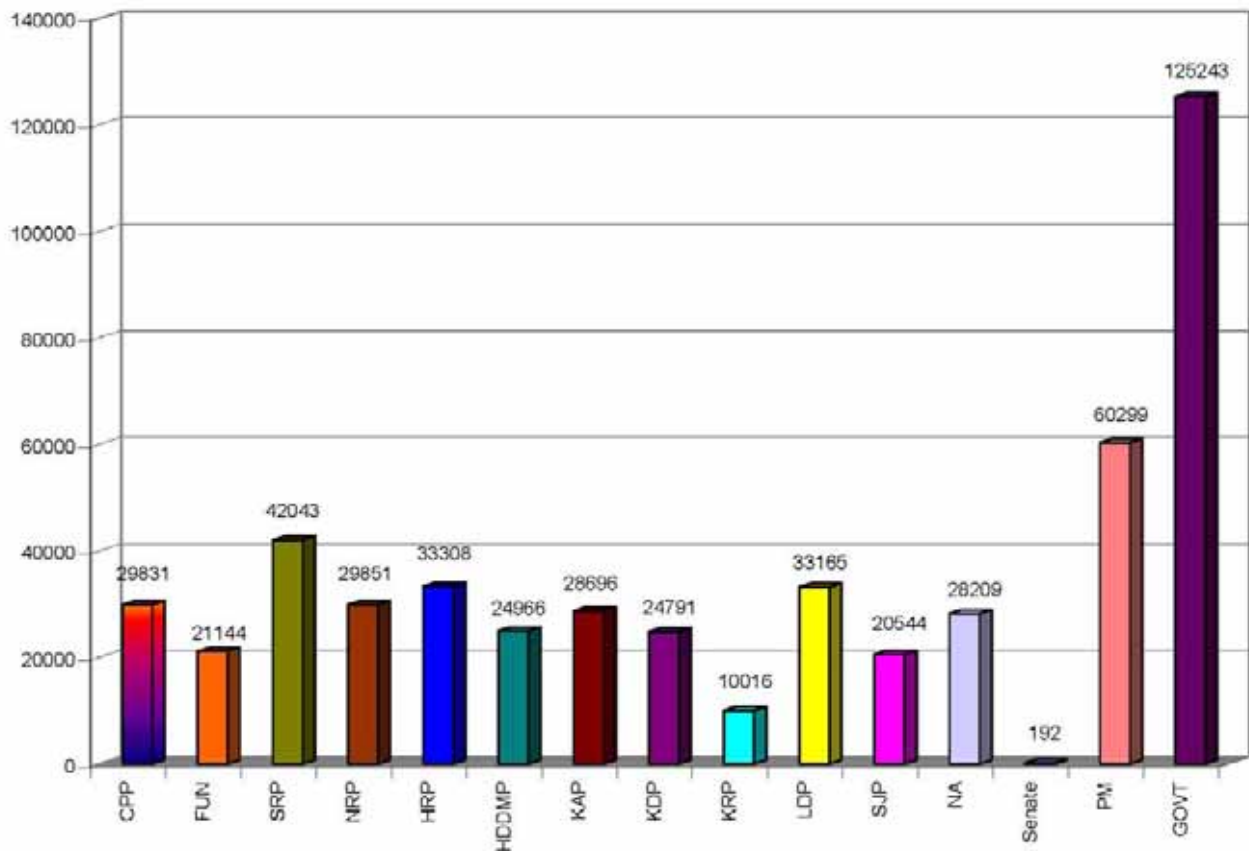
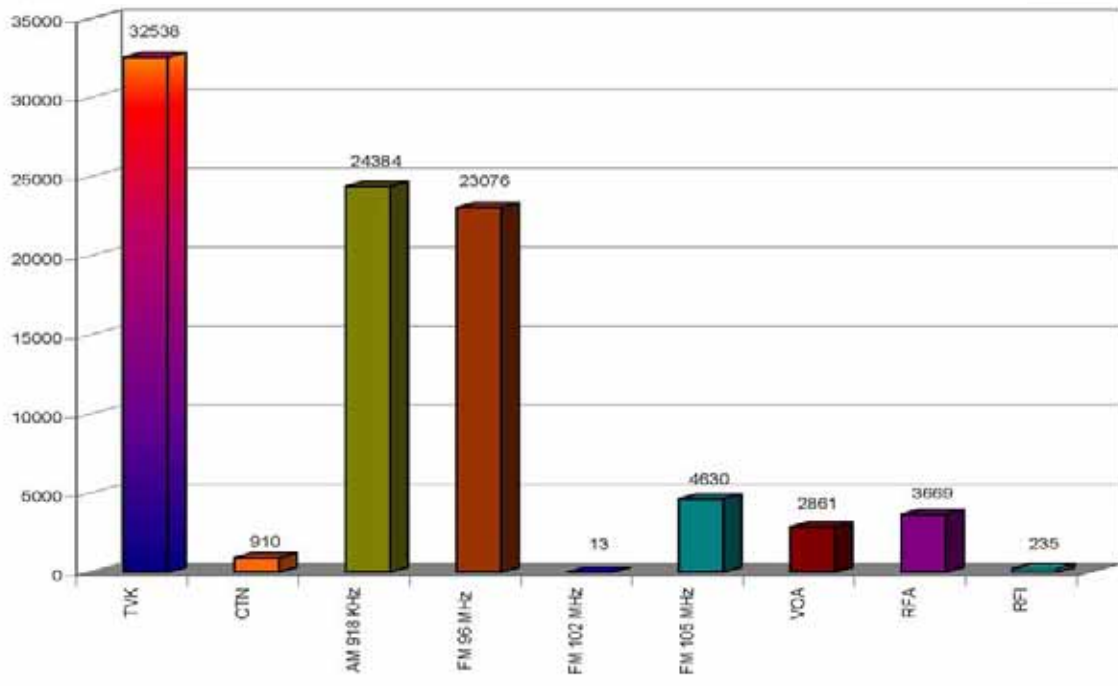
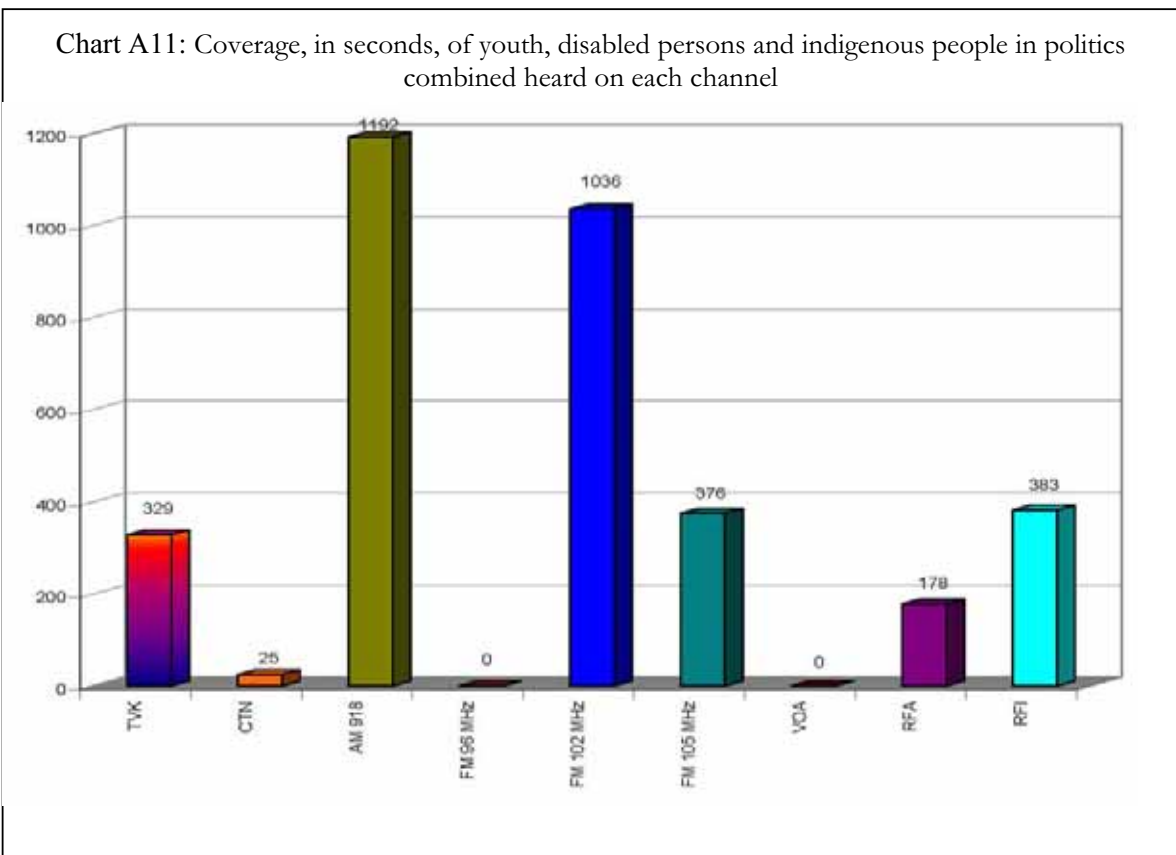
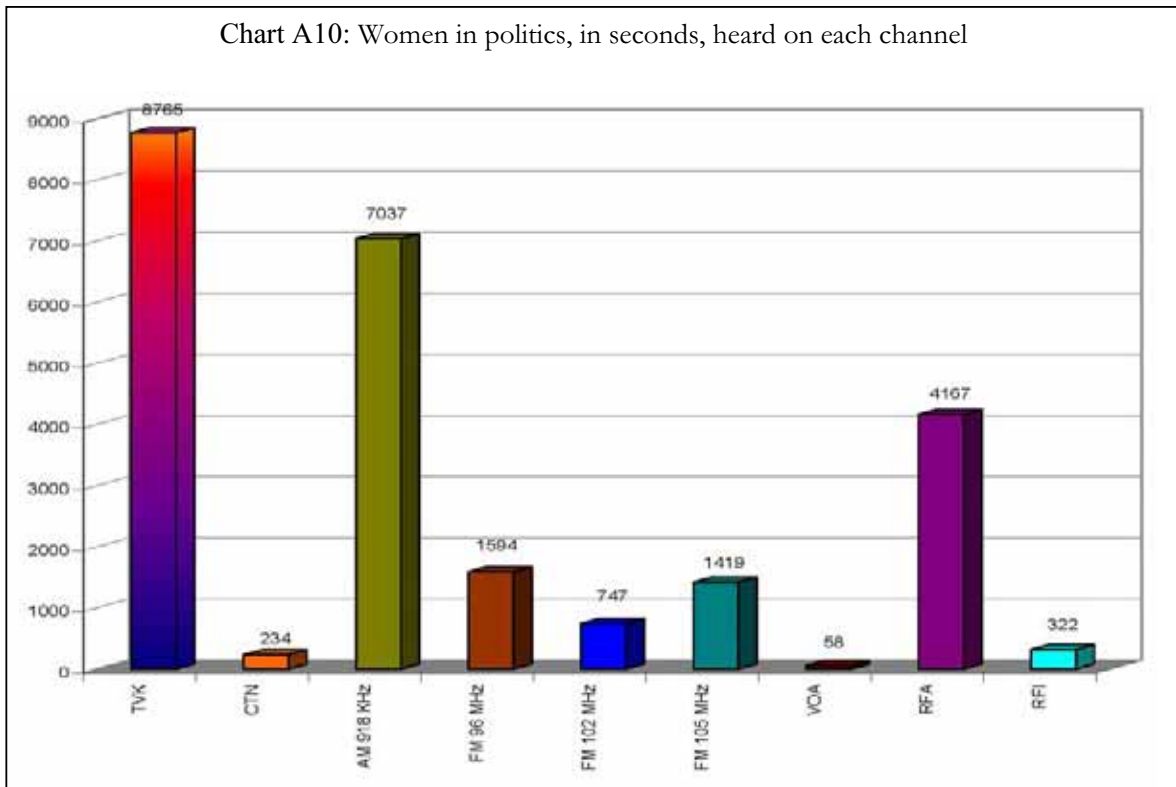


Chart A9: Voter education, in seconds, heard on each channel.





## ANNEX 2: METHODOLOGY

The methodologies used by COMFREL to monitor the media include: 1) recording of media broadcasting programs; 2) analysis of the information and the programs by the media monitoring team. The team checks which political actor the information refers to, measures its duration in seconds and evaluates whether its tone is positive, negative or neutral. A neutral tone means that the information conveys a neutral message about the political actor; a positive tone means that a favorable view of the political actor is given; a negative tone means that an unfavorable view of the political actor is presented. The media monitoring team is required to put the mentioned information into an observation checklist. After that, the information is incorporated into COMFREL's data system.

At the same time, the media monitoring team is also tasked with checking if there are cases of media broadcasts that violate the election law or that support or attack political actors.

### 1. How time is allocated to political actors

The duration of media broadcasts about political actors is measured in seconds. Whenever the media refers to a name, picture or activity of a political actor, it is considered a (relevant) media broadcast.

In case a certain political actor is given the chance by a media outlet to express his/her views and that actor takes the floor and says something about another actor, the actor referred to is also considered to have been broadcast by that same media outlet. When a political actor says something on behalf of another political actor, it means that both actors have been broadcast by the media outlet. For instance, when a minister acts on behalf of the PM, the NA president or the Senate president, the broadcast duration is allotted to all political actors.

When an official who is not included as a political actor says something on behalf of a political actor, the broadcast duration will be given to that political actor. For example, an advisor or the wife/husband of a political actor saying something on behalf of the PM or other political actor is considered to be speaking on behalf of that political actor.

In a program or news broadcast, a political actor might be viewed as receiving **positive, neutral and/or negative media broadcasts**. This is because the tone analysis focuses only on the particular phrase, sentence or speech heard or shown, not on the program or news broadcast as a whole. Therefore, each tone recording might last more or less time, depending on the phrase and sentence heard.

### 2. Information to be monitored

Information that should be monitored is any information (regardless of the type of program) that concerns political actors, including:

- **Political parties:** Those parties that have already registered for the 2008 NA elections, officials or party representatives, candidates or anyone who is publicly affiliated as a party member or a speaker on behalf of a party.
- **NA:** Refers to all members of the NA.
- **Senate:** Refers to all members of the Senate.
- **Prime Minister:** Refers to Samdech HUN Sen, only in his capacity as PM.
- **RGC:** Refers to cabinet ministers, including the PM, deputy PM, senior minister, minister and secretary of state (the PM should also be separately mentioned under the 'PM' section). The NEC, the NA, the Senate, the courts, the Constitutional Council, the Supreme Council of Magistrates,

teams of lawyers, provincial/municipal commerce departments and the National Audit Authority are not considered part of the RGC.

- **Election education**
- **Women in politics**
- **Women running as electoral candidates**
- **Disabled people in politics**
- **Minorities in politics**
- **Youth in politics**

**Politics** here refers to activities undertaken by the RGC or the NA, and elections and other state affairs related to official decision making.

**Note:** News observers must specify in which capacity politicians are presented. When a politician has many titles related to various positions, he/she should be referred to as in the broadcasting report. Samdech **HUN Sen**, for example, might be referred to as an official of the **CPP** when he does something in relation to the CPP's election campaign. Samdech **HENG Samrin** might be referred to as either an official of the CPP or as the President of the NA. Samdech **CHEA Sim** may be referred to as an official of the CPP or as President of the Senate.