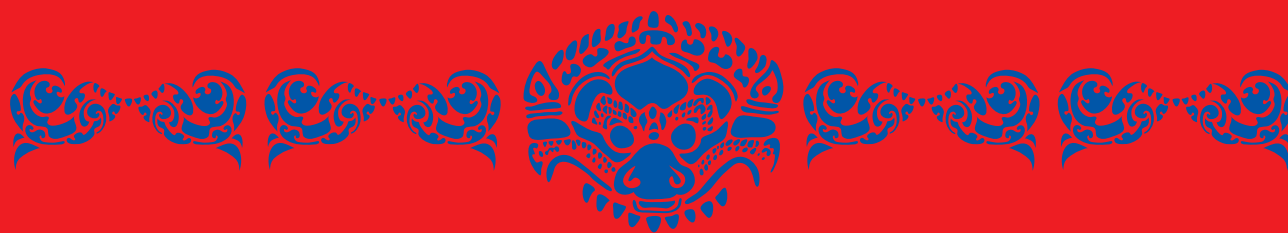


REPORTING GOVERNANCE:

A Content Analysis of Cambodian Media Outlets

October 2015



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC ID	Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development
ABC RA	Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Australia
CCAP	Cambodia Communication Assistance Project
CCHR	Cambodian Center for Human Rights
CTN	Cambodian Television Network
D&D	Decentralisation and De-concentration
DFAT	Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DMC	Department of Media and Communication
LICADHO	Cambodia League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PDI	Provincial Department of Information
RFA	Radio Free Asia
RFI	Radio France International
RNK	Radio National Kampuchea
TVK	National Television of Cambodia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCV	Women's Community Voices Radio Station
WMC	Women's Media Center of Cambodia

Executive Summary

Introduction

Good governance promotes the rule of law, economic development, poverty reduction, better public service delivery and improved democratic processes. It requires participation, free flow of information, transparency, accountability, and inclusiveness. It is in this context that media and communication processes become integral to good governance (see also Servaes, 2007). To understand and improve Cambodia's governance processes through the media, an evaluation of the Cambodian media's governance coverage is important.

The Cambodia Communication Assistance Project (CCAP) collaborates with several Provincial Departments of Information to enhance the role of news media in promoting good governance. This media content analysis aims to contribute to the body of information and understanding of governance-related coverage in the Cambodian media sector.

Background and Context

CCAP is a sub-national governance project, working with four Provincial Departments of Information (PDI) in Battambang, Kampong Cham, Kampot and Siem Reap. The three-year project (May 2012 –September 2015) is funded by the Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and implemented by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development (ABC ID).

Aims and Objectives

The primary purpose of this study is to provide insight into how the Cambodian media is covering governance issues. Specifically, the analysis will look at:

1. The extent, type, and proportion of governance-related coverage by media outlets.
2. The prominence of governance reporting.
3. The thematic scope of governance reporting.
4. Bias in governance reporting.

Methodology

A content analysis is an effective tool to assess the way governance issues are covered across the Cambodian media. Focussing on journalism and news, this content analysis was not an extensive, randomized sample but a selective quantitative study used to provide insights over a certain period. News items were collected over two weeks, between August 18 and 31 2014. This period was selected to avoid any major political, cultural, or social events that may have skewed media coverage.

To determine the scope and focus of the analysis a two-step sampling procedure was used:

1. Selecting media outlets.
2. Selecting sample period, broadcast times, and content.

Key Findings

Many quantitative observations are made into the reporting and coverage of governance issues across the Cambodian media. First, there is too little public communication on governance issues in Cambodia. Second, amount and quality of governance communication varies by media. Third, there is greater in-depth analysis and discussion on governance processes and goals compared to other media content. Fourth, governance news coverage is dominated by official government voices. Fifth, public institutions and elected or appointed officials are predominantly reported in a positive way, as opposed to providing balanced coverage. Lastly, governance coverage focuses on citizen voice and participation over accountability and transparency issues.

Too little public communication on governance issues

Governance communication accounts for only 11.6 per cent of all media coverage. Most coverage is unrelated to governance, leaving the public limited access to important information on the roles, responsibilities, and decisions of public institutions and elected or appointed officials. Most of the media, with the exception of TV, followed a similar pattern, with non-governance/government stories making up the majority of coverage across the sector. Even for the few governance topics covered, most reporting focused on individuals, family, community, and non-state actor interactions. This was prioritised over scrutinising the public sector and the state's ability to exercise its core function. The media's lack of coverage on the public sector, and government actions and responsibilities, is apparent across the sector, resulting in the Cambodian people having limited access to information on those who are governing them and the decisions they make.

Governance communication varies by media but low overall

Newspapers devoted less than 10 per cent of their coverage (measured in column centimetres) to governance topics, with coverage consistently low for each outlet. There was no significant difference between the privately owned English language papers (Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily) and the pro-government Khmer language papers (Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap). However, the privately owned papers did produce more governance content overall. While coverage did not vary substantially, ownership and political affiliation does appear to have a small affect on how governance communication is reported.

The online media landscape was much more diverse in its coverage. Diem Am Pil (DAP) provided far less governance coverage than Voice of Democracy (VOD), accounting for less than five per cent of its articles, while VOD covered governance in just less than 20 per cent of stories. The ownership, affiliation, and target readership of the online outlets may have been a factor in the coverage produced, with VOD, the non-government affiliated, local NGO operated service producing a significantly higher percentage of governance stories.

Similar to the online media landscape, TV coverage was also diverse. Governance coverage ranged from 8 to 18 per cent for the three broadcasters. The state broadcaster, National Television of Cambodia (TVK), dedicated just over 13 per cent of its coverage to governance issues. Bayon News, a government affiliated station, dedicated less than 10 per cent of its coverage to governance issues. Cambodian Television Network (CTN), the only non-government owned/af-

affiliated TV station in the study, produced the highest percentage (18%) of governance content.

Cambodian radio stations contributed the most amount of time to governance issues as a collective, although again, coverage varied by broadcaster. International broadcasters were consistently high reporters of governance issues, as were community radio stations. Consistent with the Cambodian media sector, state run stations produced the lowest amount of governance coverage. However, apart from other radio stations, state run radio did produce more governance coverage than most other media types.

State owned radio coverage also varied, but was generally low overall. Coverage ranged considerably, with one PDI station producing no governance content, while another dedicated just over 15 per cent of its overall airtime to governance coverage. Combined, the four PDI stations averaged just over six governance-focused stories each over the two-week sample period. This provides an opportunity for PDI stations to increase the amount of locally and provincially based content that focuses on important governance issues.

There is greater depth in governance reporting compared to other news stories

When governance stories are reported in the media they, on average, tend to have greater time and space dedicated to them over other news genres. This was consistent across newspapers, online, TV, and radio. However, despite greater time and space given to governance topics, they did not necessarily place prominently within their broadcast order or placement in newspapers, online and on radio. TV was the only outlier, with most governance topics broadcast in the top 10 stories during a news segment.

The amount of time and space given to governance stories appeared to be a clear indication of the prominence attached to governance stories. When governance issues were covered in the media, they were, on average, longer and more in-depth than other story types. Newspapers devoted more column centimetres to governance issues, online more characters, and TV and radio more time. This was consistent across almost all outlets, suggesting that when a governance issue is reported, editors and producers consider it important to the audience.

Governance coverage was dominated by official government voices

Overall, the media industry relied heavily on public institutions and officials in governance stories, although this varied between media types and outlets.

For TV, the state-owned TVK and state-affiliated Bayon News produced a vast majority of their stories using government sources and subjects. However, there was a stark difference between the state owned/affiliated stations representation of national government voices (TVK 84.8% of total sources in government stories; Bayon News 81.8%), compared to the privately owned station, CTN, and its use of national government sources (57.1%).

A similar trend was evident for newspapers. However, the government-affiliated newspapers' representation of sources and subjects was not quite as skewed as other media types. In comparison to non-state media, government representation in government-affiliated newspapers still demonstrates unequal coverage – over representing public institutions and government officials.

The prevalence for overusing government representatives as sources and subjects in governance stories was also common throughout the state-owned radio stations. The government stations – RNK, Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI and Siem Reap PDI – not only averaged among the lowest for number of sources used per story, but also had the highest amount of government representation in their sources, subjects and protagonists. In contrast, the community-run stations, Sarika and WMC, averaged double the amount of sources and had a much more even distribution of source attribution, subjects, and protagonists within their coverage.

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials mostly reported positively

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials made up the majority of sources and subjects used in governance stories and were also highly likely to be presented positively in the media. Consistently, public institutions and elected or appointed officials are more often presented either positively or neutrally, and are much less likely to be presented negatively than any other group. Whether or not individual outlets are government owned or affiliated appears to be a factor in how government officials and stories are represented and reported. Furthermore, community run media and international broadcasters, independent from government, are more likely to be critical of public institutions and officials.

Thematic coverage of governance issues is too narrow

There was little variation in the thematic coverage of governance issues across the Cambodian media sector. Five topics – crime and security, administrative news, infrastructure, land rights, and social affairs – make up over 60 per cent of all governance topics reported. This consolidation of coverage was also evident not just in governance coverage but all news items, with a noticeable number of topics important for good governance processes receiving little attention. Corruption, human rights, gender, environment, and law and justice issues received less than 5 per cent of coverage.

Considerations

The following considerations provide some broad guiding principles for media development initiatives that are designing and implementing activities in Cambodia.

Increase amount and diversity of coverage

For the Cambodian media sector to improve its governance reporting, with the promotion of good governance processes and reforms at its core, a free, pluralistic, and independent media is essential. The media sector needs to increase the amount of governance coverage, especially on radio and television, so the majority of the population is able to access important information, have a safe space to discuss and debate issues and be exposed to a greater diversity of viewpoints. Radio and TV are key to achieving this given their greater accessibility and the limitations around internet access and literacy levels for newspaper and internet.

Increase oppositional viewpoints in governance coverage

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials dominate the media's coverage of governance. Currently, the government dictate the agenda-setting process and how issues of governance, accountability, and transparency are framed and presented to the Cambodian public. Although media coverage provided sufficient time and space when governance issues were cov-

ered, greater diversity of non-public institutions, such as NGOs, academics, private business, and international actors, need a greater opportunity to discuss issues of governance freely and openly. Opposition political parties were also poorly represented, appearing in just over 10 percent of governance stories (11.25%). Overall, efforts should be made to increase the amount and diversity of sources cited within governance stories.

Broaden reporting format beyond straight news stories

Journalists and media organisations need to present more content in different formats. More feature stories, opinion and editorial pieces, and interviews and discussions would benefit the state of governance coverage that is currently dominated by straight news stories. This would allow for greater debate, discussion and diversity of opinion within governance coverage. Format diversity is particularly relevant for newspapers and online news providers, which are well suited to longer, in-depth analysis. For radio and TV to provide more in-depth analysis and discussion on governance issues, the establishment of dedicated governance programming may need to be considered.

Improve legal protection for journalists and enforce the right to free expression and free press

Unevenly applied laws for regulating the media, the constant or perceived threat of physical attacks and taking to court which is widely perceived to be partisan and not independent, censorship, and undue influence from government are all factors that need to be rectified for any substantial changes to occur in the Cambodian media sector (Freedom House, 2014). Without guarantees of freedom of expression and a free press, as well as the arbitrary enforcement of defamation laws for criticising public officials, journalists will continue to self-censor important information needed to establish good governance processes (Freedom House, 2014).

Cambodia's press freedom status was considered 'not free' by Freedom House in 2014, dropping even further from its 2013 ranking. Defamation cases against journalists are common and in April 2014, an 'unofficial English-language version of a draft cybercrime law was leaked' revealing the potential for Cambodia's online space to be further restricted (Freedom House, 2015b). A Freedom House report stated that Cambodia's score declined due to 'high levels of self-censorship by Khmer language journalists, the lack of access to a diversity of viewpoints in Khmer-language media, and an increase in violence against journalists in 2014' (2015c).

Without guarantees of freedom of expression and a free press, as well as the arbitrary enforcement of defamation laws for criticising public officials, journalists will continue to self-censor important information needed to establish good governance processes and inform citizens with important information to assess government actions or inactions.

Increase and diversify coverage

Transparency is an issue that received very low coverage across all media types. Transparency is central in promoting institutional effectiveness and should become a greater focus of the media sector. Coverage of important social and institutional information is also low and the media sector should consider increasing its coverage of other important information areas including corruption, anti-corruption initiatives, gender, youth, human rights, and environmental issues.

There was also a distinct lack of media coverage on the effectiveness, equity, and sustainability of governance issues. This means that there is little debate, discussion and awareness on issues including the quality of policy implementation, government commitment to policies, service delivery, equal opportunity to access basic services, and sustainable social development initiatives.

These key considerations provide some broad guiding principles for media development initiatives that are designing and implementing activities in Cambodia.

Introduction

Cambodia began the process of improving its governance structures over 20 years ago (GIZ Cambodia, 2015), with governance reform becoming a priority in the country's development agenda (Hughes, 2010; AusAID, 2012; RGC, 2014). Good governance promotes the rule of law, economic development, poverty reduction, better public service delivery and improved democratic processes. It requires participation, free flow of information, transparency, accountability, and inclusiveness. It is in this context that media and communication processes become integral to good governance (see also Servaes, 2007). To understand and improve Cambodia's governance processes through the media, an evaluation of the Cambodian media's governance coverage is required.

A strong and independent media supports good governance principles and process. However, for this to occur the media must be able to freely 'monitor, investigate and criticize' (UNESCO, 2015) government policies and actions without interference or fear of reprisal. When allowed to operate freely the media can provide ongoing assessments and scrutiny of government, and provide a platform for facilitating public debate and bringing citizen voices into the public sphere. Further to this, it is widely acknowledged that a free press plays a pivotal role in 'sustaining and monitoring a healthy democracy, as well as contributing to greater accountability, good government, and economic development (Freedom House, 2015a). However, freedom of the press in Cambodia remains consistently at risk, with Freedom House, in its Freedom of the Press Index, reporting that 'nearly all the media outlets in the country' are under 'ongoing control' (Freedom House, 2014). The Freedom of the Press report asserts that media laws are 'vaguely written' and 'unevenly applied' (Freedom House, 2014), and that most media outlets are 'openly aligned with a political faction, leaving little space for balanced views and journalism conducted in the public interest' (Freedom House, 2014). Further, recent studies (Equal Access, 2011; Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development, 2013) found that leading news outlets in Cambodia report very little on governance issues, and much less on critical ones such as land rights and natural resource management. When media outlets do report these issues, the voice from the government is predominant (Equal Access, 2011).

Donor-funded projects have aimed at improving the ability of the Cambodian media sector to better report governance issues and promote good governance processes. Some of these projects have included the TVK program, Equity Weekly, funded by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the RNK talkback program, funded by the World Bank's Demand for Good Governance Project and Australian Aid. Another example is Loy9, a Cambodian youth entertainment-education radio program promoting youth participation in governance processes, created by BBC Media Action (The Communication Initiative, 2012). Similarly, the Cambodia Communication Assistance Project (CCAP) collaborates with several Provincial Departments of Information to enhance the role of news media in promoting good governance. This media content analysis aims to contribute to the body of information and understanding of governance-related coverage in the Cambodian media sector.

Background: Cambodia Communication Assistance Project

CCAP is a sub-national governance project, working with four Provincial Departments of Information (PDI) in Battambang, Kampong Cham, Kampot, and Siem Reap. The three-year project (May 2012 –September 2015) is funded by the Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and implemented by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation International Development (ABC ID).

The overarching goal of CCAP is to contribute to the achievement of better governance systems and practices in Cambodia. The project aims to improve the capacity of the partner PDI's to strengthen their ability in improving citizen and political engagement and increasing citizen access to information. In doing so, the aim is to increase voice, transparency, and accountability on issues that impact people the most. Specifically, improved dialogue and information processes will help build a better understanding of aspects of good governance between people and government.

Aims and Objectives

The primary purpose of this study is to provide insight into how the Cambodian media is covering governance issues. Specifically, the analysis will look at:

1. The extent, type, and proportion of governance-related coverage by media outlets.
2. The prominence of governance reporting.
3. The thematic scope of governance reporting.
4. Bias in governance reporting.

Methodology

A content analysis is an effective tool to assess the way governance issues are covered across the Cambodian media. Focussing on journalism and news, this content analysis was not an extensive, randomized sample but a selective quantitative study used to provide insights over a certain period. News items were collected over two weeks, between August 18 and 31 2014. This period was selected to avoid any major political, cultural, or social events that may have skewed media coverage.

Sampling Procedure

To determine the scope and focus of the analysis a two-step sampling procedure was used:

1. Selecting media outlets.

2. Selecting sample period, broadcast times, and content.

Selecting media outlets

A purposive sampling technique was used to select the media outlets across newspaper, online, TV, and radio – from both local and international broadcasters operating in Cambodia. Over the two-week period, all news stories were analysed from 20 *key* and *relevant*¹ media outlets². Key outlets were selected based on audience share, influence (based on local researcher knowledge), ownership (private, state, international and community), political affiliation and self-prescribed adherence to high journalistic standards. Relevant outlets were selected because they were considered as emerging community/NGO stations or were being specifically supported as part of CCAP. Please note that in following analysis *Radio key* outlets and *Radio relevant* outlets were selected based on the criteria above. The study also focussed predominantly on Khmer-language media. Selected media outlets are listed below.

Figure 1: Media Outlets

Media type	Media outlet
Newspaper	1. Rasmei Kampuchea
	2. Koh Santepheap
	3. Phnom Penh Post
	4. Cambodia Daily
Online	5. DAP
	6. VOD
TV	7. National Television of Kampuchea (TVK)
	8. Cambodian Television Network (CTN)
	9. Bayon News
Radio key	10. Radio National of Kampuchea (RNK)
	11. Women's Media Center (WMC)
	12. FM103
	13. Radio Free Asia (RFA)
	14. Radio France International (RFI)
Radio relevant	15. ABC Radio Australia (ABC RA)
	16. Sarika
	17. Kampong Cham PDI
	18. Battambang PDI
	19. Kampot PDI
	20. Siem Reap PDI

¹ Radio outlets were selected based on two categories: (1) 'key' outlets – leading news media outlets in Cambodia; and (2) 'relevant' outlets – media outlets not considered 'leading' but relevant to CCAP.

² For further discussion on the Cambodian media landscape see: International Federation of Journalists. (2015). *Country Report: "Media and Gender in Cambodia"*. International Federation of Journalists.

Selecting the sample period, times and content

The sample period and content from media outlets was selected using purposive sampling. The sample period – 18 to 31 August 2014 – was based on the availability of researchers and to avoid any major political, cultural, or social events, which may have skewed the media coverage. The selection of content, broadcast times, programs, and dates was not conducted randomly and is therefore not considered to provide representative results of the selected media outlets. However, the two-week sampling period is thought to be sufficient for providing an overview of the Cambodian media's coverage of governance issues. A comprehensive breakdown of the content and programs selected for analysis is provided in Table 44, page 78.

Sample Size

The two-week period provided a substantial amount of content for analysis, with 6,229 news items coded over the period, including over six hundred and fifty thousand column centimetres (657567.6) of newspaper content, over 94 hours (94.1) of radio, 18 hours (18.1) of TV and almost five million (4,810,134,718) characters online. In terms of number of items selected, newspaper stories accounted for the largest per cent of content (47%), followed by radio (27%), online (18%), and lastly, TV (8%), highlighted in Table 1, below. Data distribution by media outlet is provided in Table 41, page 76.

Table 1: Data Distribution by Media Type

Media type	Items	Total size
Newspaper	2928	657567.6 cm2
Online	1141	4810134718 Characters
TV	458	18.1 hours
Radio key	1141	71.6 hours
Radio relevant	561	22.5 hours
Total	6229	

Analysis

Common descriptive statistics (univariate and bivariate) were used in this analysis and the data was analysed at three levels. The first looked at all items in the sample, coding them by story format, section and placement within the media type, primary and secondary topics and size.

The second level of analysis focused on identifying stories based on their governance relevance. This included identifying governance themes, and the number of sources used and their attribution.

The third level of analysis focused on governance stories only. Also included in this analysis was identifying subjects and protagonists sentiment. A further breakdown on the levels of analysis is provided in Table 40, page 75. A full list of the variables used in this analysis is provided in Annex 3, page 80.

Defining Governance

Governance is an evolving concept, making it difficult to provide a commonly accepted definition³ (for an in-depth discussion see Pierre & Peters, 2000). The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific define it as ‘the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)’ (2007). Adding to this, the UNDP reports that governance processes can involve formal and informal, and state and non-state actors, which can be categorised into three broad groups: government, private sector, and civil society (United Nations Development Programme, 1997). The World Bank definition of governance, which focuses on the public sector, is useful for operationalising the term within the context of this study. The World Bank defines governance as ‘the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development’ (World Bank, 1992), and ‘the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authority to shape public policy and provide public goods and services’ (World Bank, 2007).

Governance is about the processes by which public policy decisions are made and implemented. It is the result of interactions, relationships, and networks between different sectors (government, public, private and civil society) and involves decisions, negotiation, and different power relations to determine who gets what, when and how. These relationships determine how goods and services are managed and provided (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

Based on the various definitions of governance above, news items were classified into four categories:

1. **Non-governance/government** – The story does not relate to governance or government actors, processes, or goals.
2. **Government-related** – Related to a personal story of a public official or event with a focus on governance actors only and not on governance processes or goals. Government related stories are not directly identified with governance processes or goals and are therefore not classified as governance stories.

Actor: relates to public officials/institutions, at either national or sub-national level that performed actions, which are non-governance related.

3. **Governance process** – Related to state/non-state institutions or events with a focus on governance actors undertaking their professional duties. Governance process stories highlight the processes by which public policy decisions are made and implemented. They also highlight the operational aspects of governance including the challenges and problematic incidents in delivery of governance.

Actor: relates to state/non state actors/institutions, at either national or sub-national level, that performed professional duties, which are governance related.

Process: concerns the acquisition and exercise of authority over public policy, public goods, and public services.

4. **Governance goal** – Involves three elements –actors, processes, and goals - to report on governance outcomes. Governance goal stories include the delivery of governance outcomes and impact (or not) as actors engage in the implementation of governance processes.

Actor: relates to state/non state actors/institutions, at either national or sub-national level, that performed professional duties, which are governance related.

Process: concerns the acquisition and exercise of authority over public policy, public goods, and public services.

Goal: concerns the development and/or well-being of the country for long-term impact and sustainability.

³ For an in-depth discussion see: Pierre, J., & Peters, G. (2000). *Governance, Politics and the State*. London: Macmillan Press.

Results

The following section presents the results of the Cambodian media's coverage of governance issues. The section is divided into five sub-sections:

1. Type and scope of coverage.
2. Extent of governance coverage.
3. Prominence of governance coverage.
4. Thematic focus of governance coverage.
5. Bias in governance coverage.

Each section provides an overview by media type (newspaper, online, TV, radio) and by media outlet (full list available – Table 41, page 76).

Type and Scope of Coverage

This section provides information on the most common format of stories found in the Cambodian media (news, feature, opinion, interview, advertorial), and the main topic of stories.

Story Format

Most stories (86.1%) covered by the Cambodia media were straight news stories (highlighted in Table 2, below). Straight news stories were classified as informing the audience on a current event that is happening around the world or in their local area, without incorporating the author's opinion or commentary. Given the sample and the focus of analysis on news outlets, programming and coverage, the high number of straight news stories in the sample was expected. The highest percentage of straight news coverage came from TV, presenting 94.8 per cent of its coverage in this format. Similar to TV, relevant radio stations also produced a high amount of straight news stories (94.3%). Newspapers produced the least amount of straight news coverage (83.1%) although straight news stories still represented the majority of their coverage.

Feature stories were the second most common story format (7.3%), across all media types. Feature stories, defined as a longer form articles or segments providing more in-depth reporting and analysis, accounted for 9.6 per cent of newspaper coverage and 9 per cent of radio key coverage. Conversely, TV media outlets dedicated just over 1 per cent (1.1) of their airtime to feature stories, while producing no opinion/commentary content and less than 1 per cent (0.7%) interview or discussion stories.

For online and TV, advertorial was the second most common story format, accounting for 4.7 and 2.8 per cent of stories, respectively. Advertorial stories were defined as an advertisement written in the style of a news item or feature story, largely aimed at promoting a product or service. Although advertorial content accounted for only 2.9 per cent of the story formats used by all media types, the presence of advertorials or sponsored content is significant as it is often difficult for readers and viewers to distinguish between advertising and editorial content. There was a negligible amount of advertorials on radio.

Table 2: Format of Stories

Media type	Straight news	Feature	Opinion/ Commentary	Interview/ Discussion	Advertorial	Other	Total
Newspapers	2433 (83.1%)	282 (9.6%)	62 (2.1%)	23 (0.8%)	113 (3.9%)	15 (0.5%)	2928 (100%)
Online	1010 (88.5%)	47 (4.1%)	24 (2%)	3 (0.3%)	54 (4.7%)	3 (0.3%)	1141 (100%)
TV	434 (94.8%)	5 (1.1%)	0 (0%)	3 (0.7%)	13 (2.8%)	3 (0.7%)	458 (100%)
Radio key	955 (83.7%)	103 (9%)	25 (2.2%)	50 (4.4%)	1 (0.1%)	7 (0.6%)	1141 (100%)
Radio relevant	529 (94.3%)	20 (3.6%)	9 (1.6%)	3 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	561 (100%)
Total	5361 (86.1%)	457 (7.3%)	120 (1.9%)	82 (1.3%)	181 (2.9%)	28 (0.5%)	6229 (100%)

Base: All news stories (n= 6,229); (Row percentages)

Story Format of Governance Items

There was little change in the story format of governance stories compared to all stories, except that there was no advertorial content in governance news items. Straight news stories were the most prominent format, accounting for 91.3 per cent of all story formats, followed by feature stories (6.5%). For governance stories across all media types, the prevalence of news and feature stories increased, showing even less variation in the type of story format, as seen in Table 3, below. From the 724 governance-focused articles produced, only 63 were in the style of feature, opinion/commentary, and interview/discussion stories as seen in Table 3, below. Of these 63 stories, 35 came from radio key stations. This shows that, for most media, the topic of governance is almost solely reserved for the straight news format, with media outlets choosing to report on events and facts rather than incorporating editorial analysis, opinion or commentary.

Table 3: Story Format of Governance Stories

Media type	Straight news	Feature	Opinion/ Commentary	Interview/ Discussion	Advertorial	Total
Newspaper	244 (93.9%)	14 (5.4%)	2 (0.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	260 (100%)
Online	78 (95.1%)	3 (3.7%)	1 (1.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	82 (100%)
TV	62 (93.9%)	1 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (4.6%)	0 (0%)	66 (100%)
Radio key	190 (84.4%)	27 (1%)	3 (1.3%)	5 (2.2%)	0 (0%)	225 (100%)
Radio relevant	87 (95.6%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)	91 (100%)
Total	661 (91.3%)	47 (6.5%)	7 (1%)	9 (1.2%)	0 (0%)	724 (100%)

Base: All governance stories (n=724); (Row percentages)

Story Topics

Crime and security issues were the most reported topic by the Cambodian media (specifically for newspaper and online), accounting for 12.7 per cent of all coverage. The convergence of media reporting into several key topics is evident, with over 65 per cent (65.4%) of all content produced by the Cambodian media falling into 10 categories, seen in Table 4, below.

Second to crime and security issues was reporting on social affairs (8.4%), followed by economic and business issues (7.8%). Other topics that received a high amount of coverage included administrative news (6.9%), and international/regional issues (6.4%). An International/regional issue was defined as a wide range of issues and events that occur outside the national country context. This would involve news that concerns the activities of other countries, institutions, groups, and individuals. Media reporting on issues considered politically or culturally sensitive or issues of social importance are scarce. Coverage of corruption, anti-corruption initiatives, gender, youth, human rights and environmental issues account for less than 5 per cent (4.4%) of all media coverage.

Like the overall trend, newspapers produced most of their coverage on crime and security issues, which accounted for 15.2 per cent of all the topics they produced. Crime and security stories were even more common in online news providers, which dedicated 15.9 per cent of all coverage to the issue.

TV media outlets covered international and regional issues most frequently (29.5%), accounting for the majority of coverage on the issue across all media types.

Differences existed in radio key and relevant coverage, with radio key producing most stories on social affairs (12.4%), while for radio relevant, administrative news was the most frequently reported topic, representing 15.5 per cent of its coverage and accounting for 20 per cent of all administrative news covered across the media. Radio relevant stations also dedicated time to social affairs (10.2%), politics (9.3%) and crime and security issues (7.1%).

Table 4: Story Topics

News topic	Newspaper	Online	TV	Radio key	Radio relevant	Total
Crime & security	446 (15.2%)	181 (15.9%)	10 (2.2%)	114 (10%)	40 (7.1%)	791 (12.7%)
Accidents – traffic	114 (3.9%)	53 (4.6%)	1 (0.2%)	30 (2.6%)	3 (0.5%)	201 (3.2%)
Accidents – general	119 (4.1%)	54 (4.7%)	4 (0.9%)	62 (5.4%)	26 (4.6%)	265 (4.3%)
Politics	101 (3.4%)	88 (7.7%)	7 (1.5%)	94 (8.2%)	52 (9.3%)	342 (5.5%)
Corruption/anti-corruption	34 (1.2%)	10 (0.9%)	0 (0%)	18 (1.6%)	9 (1.6%)	71 (1.1%)
Social affairs	181 (6.2%)	119 (10.4%)	26 (5.7%)	142 (12.4%)	57 (10.2%)	525 (8.4%)
Law & justice	106 (3.6%)	36 (3.2%)	19 (4.1%)	38 (3.3%)	18 (3.2%)	217 (3.5%)
Administrative news	82 (2.8%)	113 (9.9%)	63 (13.8%)	86 (7.5%)	87 (15.5%)	431 (6.9%)
Land rights	102 (3.5%)	62 (5.4%)	7 (1.5%)	103 (9%)	33 (5.9%)	307 (4.9%)
Investment, trade, business & economics	347 (11.9%)	56 (4.9%)	15 (3.3%)	41 (3.6%)	24 (4.3%)	483 (7.8%)
Human rights	25 (0.9%)	15 (1.3%)	3 (0.7%)	20 (1.8%)	12 (2.1%)	75 (1.2%)
International co-operation	84 (2.9%)	41 (3.6%)	23 (5%)	51 (4.5%)	34 (6.1%)	233 (3.7%)

Infrastructure	59 (2%)	26 (2.3%)	18 (3.9%)	13 (1.1%)	14 (2.5%)	130 (2.1%)
Education	78 (2.7%)	36 (3.2%)	17 (3.7%)	49 (4.3%)	25 (4.5%)	205 (3.3%)
Environment	35 (1.2%)	7 (0.6%)	6 (1.3%)	18 (1.6%)	5 (0.9%)	71 (1.1%)
Agriculture	33 (1.1%)	18 (1.6%)	11 (2.4%)	23 (2%)	17 (3%)	102 (1.6%)
Natural resources (forestry, fishing)	13 (0.4%)	9 (0.8%)	3 (0.7%)	8 (0.7%)	3 (0.5%)	36 (0.6%)
Health	117 (4%)	50 (4.4%)	10 (2.2%)	56 (4.9%)	27 (4.8%)	260 (4.2%)
Youth	20 (0.7%)	3 (0.3%)	4 (0.9%)	10 (0.9%)	2 (0.4%)	39 (0.6%)
Gender	7 (0.2%)	4 (0.4%)	1 (0.2%)	3 (0.3%)	5 (0.9%)	20 (0.3%)
Ethnic	5 (0.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.1%)	0 (0%)	6 (0.1%)
Military	74 (2.5%)	50 (4.4%)	16 (3.5%)	31 (2.7%)	14 (2.5%)	185 (3%)
International/regional	102 (3.5%)	45 (3.9%)	135 (29.5%)	80 (7%)	35 (6.2%)	397 (6.4%)
Entertainment	235 (8%)	10 (0.9%)	9 (2%)	5 (0.4%)	5 (0.9%)	264 (4.2%)
Cultural, art & religion	72 (2.5%)	7 (0.6%)	6 (1.3%)	22 (1.9%)	2 (0.4%)	109 (1.7%)
Science & technology	56 (1.9%)	24 (2.1%)	2 (0.4%)	8 (0.7%)	5 (0.9%)	95 (1.5%)
Sport	231 (7.9%)	3 (0.3%)	17 (3.7%)	5 (0.4%)	3 (0.5%)	259 (4.2%)
Other	50 (1.7%)	21 (1.8%)	25 (5.5%)	10 (0.9%)	4 (0.7%)	110 (1.8%)
Total	2928 (100%)	1141 (100%)	458 (100%)	1141 (100%)	561 (100%)	6229 (100%)

Base: All stories (n=6,229); (Column percentages)

Extent of Governance Coverage

This section provides information on the amount of governance coverage reported in the Cambodian media compared to non-governance stories. A full definition of governance is provided above in the Defining Governance section, on page 22. Stories used in the study and classified into one of the four categories listed below:

1. **Governance process** – Relates to state/non-state institutions or events with a focus on governance actors undertaking their professional duties. Governance process stories highlight the processes by which public policy decisions are made and implemented. They also highlight the operational aspects of governance including the challenges and problematic incidents in delivery of governance.
2. **Governance goal** – Involves three elements –actors, processes, and goals, to report on governance outcomes. Governance goal stories include the delivery of governance outcomes and impact (or not) as actors engage in the implementation of governance processes.
3. **Non-governance/government** – The story does not relate to governance or government actors, processes, or goals.
4. **Government-related** – Related to a personal story of a public official or event with a focus on governance actors only and not on governance processes or goals. Government related stories are not directly identified with governance processes or goals and are therefore not classified as governance stories.

Media Governance Coverage

Governance Coverage across Media

Across the media, governance coverage was relatively low, and relatively consistent between media outlets. Only 11.6 per cent of the Cambodian media focused on stories with a governance angle. Most (66.9%) media stories covered issues not related to governance or government. Stories that focused on government issues (21.5%) were almost twice as frequent as those reporting on governance (11.6%). Most of the media, with the exception of TV, followed a similar pattern in their coverage, with non-governance/government stories making up the majority (66.9%). This was followed by government-related stories (21.5%), governance process stories (10.3%), and lastly, governance goal (1.3%), which received very little coverage.

Media coverage of stories with a governance angle or focus was low, featuring in only 11.6 per cent of coverage, overall. From the two definitions given to governance in this study (process and goal) the proportion of governance coverage that focused on process (10.3%) was significantly higher than governance goal coverage (1.3%).

Newspaper and online news providers covered governance the least for both process (newspaper, 7.7%; online, 6%) and goal (newspaper, 1.2%; online, 1.2%) stories. Given newspapers self-pre-

scribed status as a medium that produces content to a higher journalistic standard than other forms of media, is it of note that newspapers dedicated such a small amount of coverage to governance issues, while, conversely, dedicating a vast amount of coverage to non governance/government topics (77.5%).

Radio (key and relevant) broadcast the most amount of governance process stories, 18.4, and 14.4 per cent, respectively, while radio relevant produced more governance goal coverage (1.8%), compared to radio key (1.3%).

Table 5: Governance Coverage by Media Type

Media type	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related	Total
Newspapers	225 (7.7%)	35 (1.2%)	2268 (77.5%)	400 (13.7%)	2928 (100%)
Online	68 (6%)	14 (1.2%)	770 (67.5%)	289 (25.3%)	1141 (100%)
TV	58 (12.7%)	8 (1.8%)	195 (42.6%)	197 (43%)	458 (100%)
Radio key	210 (18.4%)	15 (1.3%)	655 (57.4%)	261 (22.9%)	1141 (100%)
Radio relevant	81 (14.4%)	10 (1.8%)	279 (49.7%)	191 (34.1%)	561 (100%)
Total	642 (10.3%)	82 (1.3%)	4167 (66.9%)	1338 (21.5%)	6229 (100%)

Base: All stories (n=6,229); (Row percentages)

Newspaper Governance Coverage

Cambodian newspapers' coverage of governance issues was low, as illustrated in Table 6, below. Governance process stories constituted just 7.7 per cent of overall coverage, and governance goal stories accounted for only 1.2 per cent.

Cambodia Daily produced the highest percentage of governance process stories (10.2%), with Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap covering the lowest (6.2% and 6.8%, respectively). The Phnom Penh Post, which has previously positioned itself as a newspaper aiming to produce content to a higher journalistic standard, produced just 8.9 per cent of governance process stories, and only 1.1 per cent for governance goal stories. Phnom Penh Post also produced the highest percentage of non-governance/government related stories (81.4%). Considering Cambodia Daily and Phnom Penh Post are privately owned and not affiliated with government, their limited governance coverage should be noted.

The amount of governance goal stories published by newspapers was similarly low, with each paper dedicating less than 2 per cent of coverage to topics on governance goals. Koh Santepheap Daily produced the most, accounting for 1.8 per cent of total stories, while Rasmei Kampuchea Daily covered the least, dedicating less than 1 per cent (0.8%) to the issue.

Table 6: Newspaper Governance Coverage

Newspaper outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related	Total
Rasmei Kampuchea	56 (6.2%)	7 (0.8%)	654 (72.3%)	188 (20.8%)	905 (100%)
Koh Santepheap	57 (6.8%)	15 (1.8%)	656 (77.9%)	114 (13.5%)	842 (100%)
Phnom Penh Post	57 (8.9%)	7 (1.1%)	522 (81.4%)	55 (8.6%)	641 (100%)
Cambodia Daily	55 (10.2%)	6 (1.1%)	436 (80.7%)	43 (8%)	540 (100%)
Total	225 (7.7%)	35 (1.2%)	2268 (77.5%)	400 (13.7%)	2928 (100%)

Base: All newspaper stories (n=2,928); (Row percentages)

Online Governance Coverage

Online news publications produced differing amounts of governance coverage. DAP provided far less governance process coverage than VOD, accounting for only 3 per cent of their overall coverage. DAP News coverage focused predominantly on non-governance/government related stories, which comprised 70.2 per cent of their coverage, as seen in Table 7, below. This may be a result of the different markets the online news providers are targeting, with VOD Online aiming to represent and highlight human rights and democracy issues, while DAP focuses more on business and financial issues. Further to this, DAP is also affiliated with the government, which may also affect its coverage of governance issues.

VOD dedicated a much higher percentage of their coverage to governance process issues (18.4%) compared to DAP News (3%) and interestingly, although DAP produced over four times as many news articles to VOD, it produced less governance stories in total. VOD's coverage was also more evenly distributed compared to DAP's, although still skewed towards non-governance reporting (55.8%).

Consistent with other media types and outlets, both DAP and VOD produced a higher percentage of governance process stories compared to governance goal stories. DAP News dedicated just 1.3 per cent of its total coverage to governance goals and VOD less than 1 per cent (0.9%). However, the low percentage of stories with a dedicated governance goal focus is consistent with the Cambodian media landscape and is not restricted to just online publications.

Table 7: Online Governance Coverage

Online outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related	Total
DAP	28 (3%)	12 (1%)	649 (70.2%)	235 (25.4%)	924 (100%)
VOD	40 (18.4%)	2 (0.9%)	121 (55.8%)	54 (24.9%)	217 (100%)
Total	68 (6%)	14 (1.2%)	770 (67.5%)	289 (25.3%)	1141 (100%)

Base: All online stories (n=1,141); (Row percentages)

TV Governance Coverage

TV governance coverage (process and goal) is low and accounts for only 14.4 per cent of overall coverage. Governance process stories made up only 12.7 per cent yet was still considerably higher than governance goal coverage (1.8%).

Looking at specific TV outlets, CTN dedicated the highest percentage of content to process issues, at 18 per cent of their overall reporting. CTN was also one of the few media outlets to cover goal issues in more than two per cent (2.6%) of all its stories. The higher percentage of governance issues produced in CTN's coverage could be due, in part, to the establishment of a news program that allows citizens to discuss important community issues such as waste management and infrastructure construction projects. Bayon News dedicated the lowest percentage of coverage on governance process issues across the media, featuring in only 8.2 per cent of its total coverage, compared to 13.4 per cent for TVK, and 18 per cent for CTN. Similarly, governance goal coverage was low at Bayon News (1.5%).

Interestingly, TVK, a state-owned broadcaster, reported on government-related stories at an almost equal rate (49.6%) to all other story types, as can be seen in Table 8, below. It is also the only media outlet to produce a higher number of government related stories than non-governance/ government stories, across the media sector.

Table 8: TV Governance Coverage

TV outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/ government	Government related	Total
TVK	33 (13.4%)	4 (1.6%)	87 (35.4%)	122 (49.6%)	246 (100%)
CTN	14 (18%)	2 (2.6%)	39 (50%)	23 (29.5%)	78 (100%)
Bayon News	11 (8.2%)	2 (1.5%)	69 (51.5%)	52 (38.8%)	134 (100%)
Total	58 (12.7%)	8 (1.8%)	195 (42.6%)	197 (43%)	458 (100%)

Base: All TV items (n=458); (Row percentages)

Radio Governance Coverage

Radio governance process coverage was relatively low (17.1%), despite radio outlets producing more governance-process stories than any other media type in Cambodia, as seen in Table 9, below. Radio outlets showed a greater variation in their coverage of governance issues, however, given the greater number of radio outlets analysed, this is to be expected.

Looking at radio key in total – RNK, WMC, FM103, RFA, RFI, ABC RA – these stations produced more governance process stories (18.4%) compared with radio relevant ones (14.4%). Radio relevant outlets include Sarika, Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI, and Siem Reap PDI. However, this pattern was reversed when looking at governance goal coverage, with radio relevant producing a higher percentage, 1.8 per cent compared to 1.3 per cent, respectively, but only marginally. However, there are considerable variations in coverage between individual radio outlets.

RFA dedicated the highest percentage of time to governance process stories, which made up almost forty per cent (38.7%) of their overall coverage. RFA is recognised for its focus on government and political content. Sarika and ABC RA also produced a high percentage of governance process stories, both producing over 20 per cent (25.3% and 22.8%, respectively) of their coverage on stories with a governance process angle or focus. This illustrates the importance that international and NGO/community stations place on governance reporting.

At the other end of the spectrum, Kampot PDI did not produce any governance stories, but produced a significantly higher percentage of government related items (57.5%), compared to other radio outlets. Similarly, FM103, a private commercial station, focused on governance process in less than 1 per cent (0.8%) of its overall coverage, and zero per cent for both governance goal and government related stories. Almost all FM102 coverage (99.2%) was made up of non-governance/government related stories.

Governance coverage by CCAP supported PDI stations varied significantly, but was generally low, ranging between 0 and 16 per cent. Looking at governance process and goal stories, the four PDI stations averaged just over five (6.4) governance-focused stories between them. From this group, Battambang PDI produced the highest percentage of process stories, totalling 15.5 per cent, followed by Kampong Cham, at 14 per cent. Kampong Cham PDI committed the most focus to governance goal stories than other media, contributing almost five per cent (4.5%) of its coverage to goal topics.

Again, from all governance stories covered, governance process stories continue to dominate, while governance goal coverage failed to account for more than 2 per cent (1.5%) of overall items broadcast on radio.

Table 9: Radio Governance Coverage

Radio Outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/ government	Government related	Total
RNK	23 (10%)	7 (3%)	124 (53.7%)	77 (33.3%)	231 (100%)
WMC	22 (14.6%)	1 (0.7%)	100 (66.2%)	28 (18.5%)	151 (100%)
FM103	1 (0.8%)	0 (0%)	124 (99.2%)	0 (0%)	125 (100%)
RFA	110 (38.7%)	6 (2.1%)	96 (33.8%)	72 (25.4%)	284 (100%)
RFI	25 (11.2%)	0 (0%)	142 (63.7%)	56 (25.1%)	223 (100%)
ABC RA	29 (22.8%)	1 (0.8%)	69 (54.3%)	28 (22.1%)	127 (100%)
Subtotal radio key	210 (18.4%)	15 (1.3%)	655 (57.4%)	261 (22.9%)	1141 (100%)
Sarika	39 (25.3%)	1 (0.7%)	65 (42.2%)	49 (31.8%)	154 (100%)
Kampong Cham PDI	25 (14%)	8 (4.5%)	88 (49.2%)	58 (32.4%)	179 (100%)
Battambang PDI	9 (15.5%)	1 (1.7%)	36 (62.1%)	12 (20.7%)	58 (100%)
Kampot PDI	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	37 (42.5%)	50 (57.5%)	87 (100%)
Siem Reap PDI	8 (9.6%)	0 (0%)	53 (63.9%)	22 (26.5%)	83 (100%)
Subtotal radio relevant	81 (14.4%)	10 (1.8%)	279 (49.7%)	191 (34.1%)	561 (100%)
Total	291 (17.1%)	25 (1.5%)	934 (54.9%)	452 (26.6%)	1702 (100%)

Base: All radio stories (n=1,702); radio key (n=1,141); radio relevant (n=561); (Row percentages)

Prominence of Governance Coverage

Two journalistic features were used to analyse the prominence of the Cambodian media's coverage of governance. The first was the placement of governance stories compared to other types of stories. The second is the depth of governance coverage, differing by media. Depending on the type of media, the average size or length of each story was calculated to determine the time and space given to governance issues. It should be noted that for average size and length, only straight news⁴ stories are compared to improve consistency across media and because of the prevalence of news items in the sample (86.1%).

Newspaper

Newspaper items are classified by the order in which they appear within the folds and sections of the newspaper. This comprised of 'Front Page' for articles that start on the front page; 'Section Front' for articles that do not start on the front page, but start on a front page of a section; 'Middle' for stories that do not start on the front page nor a section front; and 'Last' for stories that start on the last page.

Placement of Governance Articles

Across the four newspapers, there is a high level of consistency in the placement of governance process articles, as illustrated in Table 10, below. Most newspaper process stories were published in the middle section of the paper, followed by the front page, with the exclusion of Cambodia Daily. A high percentage of governance process articles were also published on the front page. Rasmei Kampuchea published 35.7 per cent of its process articles on the front page, Phnom Penh Post 29.8 per cent, Koh Santepheap 26.3 per cent, and Cambodia Daily, trailing with 12.7 per cent.

Cambodia Daily was the only publication to place more governance process articles in section fronts over the front page of their paper, while Koh Santepheap was the only publication to place a story on the last page.

Despite most (60%) process articles appearing in the middle sections of the newspapers, a large percentage (26.2%) were placed on the front page, indicating that for many governance stories a significant amount of importance is attached.

Table 10: Placement of Governance Process Newspaper Stories

Newspaper outlet	Front page	Section front	Middle	Last	Total
Rasmei Kampuchea	20 (35.71%)	3 (5.36%)	33 (58.93%)	0 (0%)	56 (100%)
Koh Santepheap	15 (26.32%)	7 (12.28%)	34 (59.65%)	1 (1.75%)	57 (100%)
Phnom Penh Post	17 (29.82%)	9 (15.79%)	31 (54.39%)	0 (0%)	57 (100%)
Cambodia Daily	7 (12.73%)	11 (20%)	37 (67.27%)	0 (0%)	55 (100%)
Total	59 (26.22%)	30 (13.33%)	135 (60%)	1 (0.44%)	225 (100%)

Base: Governance process newspaper stories (n=225); (Row percentages)

⁴ Straight news stories only, n=5361 (see Table 2)

Average Size of Newspaper Stories

Newspapers dedicated more space to governance process stories (285cm²) and governance goal stories (288cm²) than other forms of news stories (non-governance/government, 195cm²; government related, 263cm²).

For Rasmei Kampuchea Daily, Koh Santepheap Daily, and Cambodia Daily, governance process and goal stories were afforded the first or second most amount of space within the pages of their paper. A breakdown of the average size of newspaper articles is illustrated in Table 11, below. The size of governance stories indicates that Rasmei Kampuchea Daily and Koh Santepheap Daily undertake more in-depth coverage of governance issues compared to Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily.

While Phnom Penh Post gave most space to governance process stories (319cm²), and the second most to government related news stories (256cm²); governance goal stories were still afforded considerable column space (232cm²).

The larger amount of column centimetres given to governance issues and the prominence given to governance articles indicates that when a governance issue is covered it often features prominently within the newspaper. This suggests that editors consider governance issues important to their readers.

Table 11: Average Size of Newspaper News Stories (cm²)

Newspaper outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related
Rasmei Kampuchea	324	374	212	280
Koh Santepheap	344	325	223	287
Phnom Penh Post	319	232	203	256
Cambodia Daily	151	166	117	119
Overall average	285	288	195	263

Base: Newspaper straight news stories (n=2,433)

Online

Online news items are classified by the position they appeared on the home page of the website. Both DAP and VOD use a list style home page with the most prominent and recent stories considered to appear at the top of the page. Each governance story published was classified by its position on this list and whether it appeared in the top ten or outside the top ten articles on the page. The placement of governance articles appearing within the top ten and outside the top ten was recorded each day. Determining the depth of coverage for governance articles was based on character length and not word count as the word counter in Microsoft Word is not accurate for Khmer words.

Placement of Governance Articles

The placement of governance process articles was vastly different between the publications. Only a small percentage of DAP governance process (14.3%) stories were published in the top ten on the news provider's home page, as illustrated in Table 12, below. Conversely, VOD Online published the majority (55%) of its governance process stories in the top ten, highlighting differing priorities for the two online news sites.

Table 12: Placement of Governance Process Online Stories

Online outlet	Governance process		Total
	Top ten	Outside ten	
DAP	4 (14.29%)	24 (85.71%)	28 (100%)
VOD	22 (55%)	18 (45%)	40 (100%)
Total	26 (38.24%)	42 (61.76%)	68 (100%)

Base: Governance process online stories (n= 68); (Row percentages)

Average Length of Online News Stories

Despite producing the lowest percentage of governance articles, governance goal stories were afforded the most characters, averaging 2130 per story. Governance process stories followed, averaging 2098 characters. This is higher than both the character count for non-governance/government and government related stories, which averaged 1483 and 1768, respectively. This is highlighted in Table 13, below.

VOD produced longer stories in total, averaging 1866 characters per story; compared to DAP's 1548 characters. Looking specifically at governance stories, VOD also produced longer governance process stories, averaging 2,229 characters, compared to DAP's 1909 characters. Similarly, for governance goal stories, VOD averaged 2397, with DAP averaging 2076 per news item.

Both online outlets afforded more space to governance process and goal stories than non-governance news items and government related news items. This indicates that, while still being significantly lower in aggregate coverage, governance issues are given more depth and prominence when they are reported online.

Table 13: Average Length of Online News Stories (character count)

Online outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related
DAP	1909	2076	1453	1726
VOD	2229	2397	1662	1955
Overall average	2098	2130	1483	1768

Base: Online straight news stories (n=1,010)

TV

TV news stories are classified by order of broadcast during a specified news program and whether they appeared in the first ten or outside the first ten news reports. Please note that determining the prominence of governance news items by placement alone is problematic as the number of news items broadcast by TV outlets during a program may vary, meaning there may only be 10 news items in a given segment.

Placement of TV Governance Stories

Most governance issues featured within the top 10 news reports of a news program. This suggests that TV stations prioritise governance issues when reported. The preference for placing governance stories in the top 10 news items is consistently high across all TV networks. This is the case in over 80 per cent (84.5%) of governance process coverage broadcast, highlighted in Table 14, below.

CTN and Bayon News broadcast all governance process stories in the 10 news items, while TVK broadcast a still high 72.7 per cent in the top 10. Despite the low number of stories produced on governance, the placement of governance stories does show that when a governance issue is reported, it is usually given high priority in the news broadcast schedule.

Table 14: Placement of TV Governance Process Stories

TV outlet	Governance process		Total
	Top ten	Outside ten	
TVK	24 (72.7%)	9 (27.3%)	33 (100%)
CTN	14 (100%)	0	14 (100%)
Bayon News	11 (100%)	0	11 (100%)
Total	49 (84.5%)	9 (15.5%)	58 (100%)

Base: Governance process TV stories (n=58); (Row percentages)

Average Length of TV News Stories

TV stations dedicated more time to governance process and goal news stories than both non-governance/government stories and government related stories, highlighted below in Table 15.

The average length of TV news stories was longest on TVK (2:41) and shortest on CTN (1:34). CTN and Bayon News dedicated the most time to reporting governance process topics, averaging 2.20 minutes, and 3.11 minutes per story, respectively. TVK dedicated an almost equal time to governance goal and process stories, covering the issues for 3.14 and 3.13 minutes on average, per story, respectively.

The lowest amount of time was dedicated to non-governance/government stories, where, on average, these stories were only 1.27 minutes long, compared to 3 minutes for governance process stories, 2.57 minutes for government related stories and 2.35 minutes for governance goal stories.

Overall, TV outlets dedicated greater time and depth in reporting on governance stories and government related topics, highlighting the prominence and importance attached to issues focusing on governance and government issues, when they are reported in the media.

Table 15: Average Length of TV News Stories (mm:ss)

TV outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/government	Government related	Overall average
TVK	3:13	3:14	1:34	3:20	2:41
CTN	2:20	1:56	1:08	1:46	1:34
Bayon News	3:11	2:15	1:27	2:38	2:04
Overall average	3:00	2:35	1:27	2:57	2:18

Base: TV straight news stories (n=434)

Radio

Radio items are classified by the order they appeared in the news broadcast. Items appearing in the first five stories are considered prominent. However, it should be noted that the classification is problematic as the length of radio news programs often differs between broadcasters and programs. Because of the differing lengths of news programs and the number of distinct news items within those broadcasts, the relative placement of governance items and the prominence attached to their placement will differ.

Placement of Radio Governance Stories

Similar to the other media types and outlets, the majority (59.1%) of governance process news items covered by radio appeared within the top five stories. This indicates that a certain level of significance is attached to governance process news stories in the Cambodian news radio sector. The placement of governance process news stories in news broadcasts is summarised in Table 16 below.

For RNK and WMC, governance articles featured prominently in the top five stories broadcast, with 91.3 and 86.4 per cent appearing in the first five stories aired during their news programs. While for RFA, from the 110 stories it produced on governance process, almost half (49.1%) appeared within the top five. Conversely, for ABC RA, most (65.5%) governance process articles were broadcast outside the top five, highlighting the fact that less prominence is given to governance stories during their news programs.

For radio relevant outlets, all stations gave considerable prominence to governance process stories, excluding Kampong Cham PDI⁵. All governance stories produced by Siem Reap PDI featured in the top five, with Sarika and Battambang PDI also broadcasting the majority (74.4%, 66.7%, respectively) of their governance stories in the top five.

There was only a small difference in the prominence given to governance coverage between radio key and relevant outlets, with the latter airing 67.9 per cent of its governance stories in the top five, compared to 55.7 per cent for radio key.

⁵ Please note: Kampong PDI did not produce any governance process stories.

Table 16: Placement of Radio Governance Process Stories

Radio type	Radio outlet	Governance process		Total
		Top five	Outside five	
Radio key	RNK	21 (91.3%)	2 (8.7%)	23 (100%)
	WMC	19 (86.4%)	3 (13.6%)	22 (100%)
	FM103	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
	RFA	54 (49.1%)	56 (50.9%)	110 (100%)
	RFI	13 (52%)	12 (48%)	25 (100%)
	ABC RA	10 (34.5%)	19 (65.5%)	29 (100%)
	Subtotal radio key	117 (55.7%)	93 (44.3%)	210 (100%)
	Radio relevant	Sarika	29 (74.4%)	10 (25.6%)	39 (100%)
Kampong Cham PDI		12 (48%)	13 (52%)	25 (100%)
Battambang PDI		6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9 (100%)
Kampot PDI		.	.	.
Siem Reap PDI		8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
Subtotal radio relevant		55 (67.9%)	26 (32.1%)	81 (100%)
Total			172 (59.1%)	119 (40.9%)	291 (100%)

Base: Governance process radio stories (n=291); radio key (n=210); radio relevant (n=81); (Row percentages)

Average Length of Radio News Stories

Similar to other media, the average length of time radio stations dedicated to governance process stories was higher than for other news formats. Governance process stories averaged 3.22 minutes, compared to 2.09 minutes for governance goal, 2.30 minutes for government related content, and 2.09 minutes for non-governance/ government stories, as shown in Table 17, below.

WMC dedicated more time to governance process stories than other radio outlets, averaging 4.14 minutes per story, which constitutes a considerable amount of time for a radio news story. RFA also dedicated considerable time to both governance process and goal stories, which averaged 4.08 and 4.12 minutes per story, respectively.

A few radio outlets dedicated more time to governance goal stories over other story formats including RFA, Kampong Cham PDI and Battambang PDI, however, most dedicated the majority of time to governance process news items.

Governance process and goal stories were consistently given more time during broadcasts, suggesting there is a higher level of importance and depth of coverage attached to these story types over non-governance stories.

Table 17: Average Length of Radio News Stories (mm:ss)

Radio type	Radio outlet	Governance process	Governance goal	Non-governance/ government	Government related	Overall average
Radio key	RNK	2:33	2:31	1:40	2:18	2:00
	WMC	4:14	3:11	2:45	3:22	3:08
	FM103	2:33	.	2:46	.	2:46
	RFA	4:08	4:12	3:28	3:34	3:48
	RFI	1:57	.	1:40	1:56	1:46
	ABC RA	2:50	.	1:10	2:10	1:41
	Overall average radio key	3:34	3:13	2:14	2:38	2:35
	Radio relevant	Sarika	3:39	3:19	2:49	3:35	3:18
Kampong Cham PDI		2:04	2:11	1:54	1:50	1:55
Battambang PDI		2:39	2:53	1:14	0:51	1:24
Kampot PDI		.	.	1:34	1:55	1:46
Siem Reap PDI		2:42	.	1:58	2:41	2:13
Overall average radio relevant		2:56	2:22	1:59	2:19	2:14
Overall average		3:22	2:51	2:09	2:30	2:28

Base: Radio straight news stories (n=1,484); radio key (n=955); radio relevant (n=529)

Thematic Focus of Governance Coverage

To analyse the thematic focus of governance coverage three overarching thematic areas were identified including three sub themes. The selected thematic areas were considered significant in the context of Cambodian governance reforms. Given the small number of governance goal stories produced across the sample, only governance process stories were used in the analysis of media outlets.⁶

Themes:

1. **Institutional development** – in the public sector, institutional development represents both the continued evolution and the deliberate reform of state agencies.
2. **State-society relations** – The state’s ability to exercise its core functions (e.g. the production and enforcement of rules; the extraction and redistribution of resources; and the ability to conceptualise and guard the public good). This is not only determined by institutional arrangements, but also by the state’s relationship with society.
3. **Civic engagement** – the sphere where individuals, family, community, and non-state actors interact with each other and with representatives of the state (Cambodia Development Research Institute, 2011).

Sub-themes:

1. **Accountability** – associated with the idea of answerability and responsibility in the exercise of authority by public institutions. Accountability also refers to the ‘mechanisms to report on the usage of public resources and consequences for failing to meet stated objects’ (United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006).
2. **Transparency** – closely associated with accountability, are ‘mutually reinforcing concepts’. Transparency is open, timely, and reliable access to information on public actions, decisions, and performance without which it would be difficult to hold public institutions and officials to account (United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006).
3. **Citizen voice and participation** – refers to the capacity of citizens to express their opinions through a variety of ‘formal and informal channels and mechanisms’ (O’Neil, Foresti, & Hudson, 2007). Citizen voice and participation is also a crucial element in the accountability of public institutions and officials.

⁶ Specific study topics for each thematic area can be seen in Appendix 3, page 80.

Thematic Focus of Governance Process Stories

Most governance process stories reported on themes concerning civic engagement (45.2%), followed by institutional development (28.8%) and, state-society relations (25.9%). There was only a small amount of variation in the thematic coverage between media types, with the exception of TV.

For newspapers, online, and radio, civic engagement was the most reported governance process theme, as seen in Table 18, below. A thematic focus on civic engagement issues accounted for over 40 per cent of coverage in newspapers (43.1%), and over 50 per cent in online (54.4%), radio key (53.3%) and radio relevant (53.1%) outlets. Coverage of institutional development and state-society relations was generally consistent across these outlets.

Conversely, the thematic coverage of TV governance process stories differed significantly to other media types, with most TV coverage (82.8%) centring on institutional development topics. A small percent (15.5%) of TV coverage was dedicated to state-society relations, while civic engagement coverage was almost nonexistent (1.7%) of governance coverage.

Table 18: Thematic Focus of Governance Process Stories

Media type	Institutional development	State-society relation	Civic engagement	Total
Newspaper	57 (25.3%)	71 (31.6%)	97 (43.1%)	225 (100%)
Online	8 (11.8%)	23 (33.8%)	37 (54.4%)	68 (100%)
TV	48 (82.8%)	9 (15.5%)	1 (1.7%)	58 (100%)
Radio key	53 (25.2%)	45 (21.4%)	112 (53.3%)	210 (100%)
Radio relevant	19 (23.5%)	19 (23.5%)	43 (53.1%)	81 (100%)
Total	185 (28.8%)	167 (26%)	290 (45.2%)	642 (100%)

Base: Governance process stories (n=642); (Row percentages)

The sub-thematic focus of governance process stories showed a similar pattern across media types as the overarching thematic focus listed above (Table 18). Newspapers, online, radio key and radio relevant were again consistent in their coverage, with those media types dedicating most of their coverage to citizen voice and participation with a civic engagement focus, (newspaper-37.8%; 51.5, 51.9 and 48.1 per cent, respectively).

TV was again the outlier, covering this topic in only 1.7 per cent of their stories. In the vast majority (72.4%) of coverage, TV outlets reported on accountability issues in institutional development. While other media outlets also dedicated a substantial amount of time and space to this issue, coverage did not reach over 20 per cent.

Most governance process coverage was on citizen voice and participation (49.2%), followed by accountability (36.7%), with only 14.1 per cent reported on transparency issues overall, as seen in Table 19, below.

Table 19: Sub Thematic Focus of Governance Process Stories

Media type	Institutional development			State-society relations			Civic engagement			Total
	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	
Newspaper	24 (10.7%)	29 (12.9%)	4 (1.8%)	44 (20%)	14 (6.2%)	12 (5.3%)	8 (3.6%)	4 (1.8%)	85 (37.8%)	225 (100%)
Online	5 (7.4%)	2 (2.9%)	1 (1.5%)	19 (27.9%)	1 (1.5%)	3 (4.4%)	2 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	35 (51.5%)	68 (100%)
TV	42 (72.4%)	6 (10.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (5.2%)	2 (3.4%)	4 (6.9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.7%)	58 (100%)
Radio key	33 (15.7%)	14 (6.7%)	6 (2.9%)	25 (11.9%)	8 (3.8%)	12 (5.7%)	3 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	109 (51.9%)	210 (100%)
Radio relevant	11 (13.6%)	6 (7.4%)	2 (2.5%)	13 (16%)	3 (3.7%)	3 (3.7%)	3 (3.7%)	1 (1.2%)	39 (48.1%)	81 (100%)
Total	115 (17.9%)	57 (8.9%)	13 (2%)	105 (16.4%)	28 (4.4%)	34 (5.3%)	16 (2.5%)	5 (0.8%)	269 (41.9%)	642 (100%)

Base: Governance process stories (n=642); (Row percentages)

Thematic focus of Governance Goal Stories

Across most media types, the thematic focus of most (72%) governance goal stories was centred on effectiveness issues. Consistent across most of the media, effectiveness issues consistently accounted for the highest percentage of coverage for newspapers, online, TV and radio key, with the only exception being radio relevant stations. For radio relevant, most (40%) governance goal coverage focused on sustainability issues, followed by equity (30%), while effectiveness topics only accounted for 20 per cent of radio relevant coverage – much lower than the average across other media types.

For newspapers and online, the proportion of coverage focussing on effectiveness accounted for 82.9 and 85.7 per cent of their coverage, respectively, while the entire (100%) thematic coverage of TV goal stories focused on effectiveness topics.

Overall, only a small amount of the thematic focus was on sustainability (14.6%) and equity issues (11%) across all media types, with the exclusion of radio relevant, as highlighted in Table 20, below.

Table 20: Thematic Focus of Governance Goal Stories

Media type	Effectiveness	Equity	Sustainability	Other	Total
Newspaper	29 (82.9%)	1 (2.9%)	5 (11%)	0 (0%)	35 (100%)
Online	12 (85.7%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	0 (0%)	14 (100%)
TV	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
Radio key	8 (53.3%)	4 (26.7%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	15 (100%)
Radio relevant	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	10 (100%)
Total	59 (72%)	9 (11%)	12 (14.6%)	2 (2.4%)	82 (100%)

Base: Governance goal stories (n=82); (Row percentages)

Newspaper

Thematic Focus of Newspaper Governance Coverage

Newspapers reported most on civic engagement issues (43.2%) in governance process coverage, compared to 31.5 per cent for state-society relations and 25.4 per cent for institutional development. Newspapers displayed a relatively even distribution of thematic coverage, with most outlets following a similar trend overall. Citizen voice and participation, as part of civic engagement, was the most covered sub theme, accounting for 37.8 per cent of coverage for all newspapers. This was followed by accountability in state-society relations (20%) and accountability in institutional development (12.9%), shown in Table 20, below. Individually, newspapers were mostly consistent in their thematic coverage, showing only small variances in their reporting of different themes and sub-themes. One of these variances was by the Phnom Penh Post. The paper did not produce any content on transparency in state-society relations, while the other three papers dedicated at least 7 per cent of their coverage to the issue (Rasmei Kampuchea-7.1%; Koh Santepheap-7%; Cambodia Daily-10.9%). Similarly, the Phnom Penh Post covered transparency in institutional development issues in only 7 per cent of its coverage, compared to 16.4 per cent for Cambodia Daily, 16.1 per cent for Rasmei Kampuchea, and 12.3 per cent for Koh Santepheap. However, the Phnom Penh Post had greater focus on accountability, both in institutional development and state society relations, compared to other newspapers. Despite these small variances newspaper governance coverage was mostly consistent.

Table 21: Thematic Focus of Newspaper Governance Process Stories

Newspaper outlet	Institutional development			State-society relations			Civic engagement			Total
	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	
Rasmei Kampuchea	6 (10.7%)	9 (16.1%)	1 (1.8%)	12 (21.4%)	4 (7.1%)	3 (5.4%)	2 (3.6%)	1 (1.8%)	18 (32.1%)	56 (100%)
Koh Santepheap	4 (7%)	7 (12.3%)	0 (0%)	12 (21.1%)	4 (7%)	1 (1.8%)	3 (5.3%)	1 (1.8%)	25 (43.9%)	57 (100%)
Phnom Penh Post	8 (14%)	4 (7%)	2 (3.5%)	14 (24.6%)	0 (0%)	5 (8.8%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	22 (38.6%)	57 (100%)
Cambodia Daily	6 (10.9%)	9 (16.4%)	1 (1.8%)	7 (12.7%)	6 (10.9%)	3 (5.5%)	2 (3.6%)	1 (1.8%)	20 (36.4%)	55 (100%)
Total	24 (10.7%)	29 (12.9%)	4 (1.8%)	45 (20%)	14 (6.2%)	12 (5.3%)	8 (3.6%)	4 (1.8%)	85 (37.8%)	225 (100%)

Base: Governance process newspaper stories (n=225); (Row percentages)

Online

Thematic Focus of Online Governance Coverage

Online news providers showed a greater variation in their thematic coverage of governance stories compared to each other and other media types. However, as a theme, civic engagement stories still accounted for most coverage (54.4%), followed by state-society relations (33.8%), and then institutional development (11.8%), as highlighted in Table 22, below.

VOD produced most coverage on citizen voice and participation issues in civic engagement, dedicating the majority (75%) of its coverage to the issue. A stark difference to the level of coverage provided on the same theme by DAP (17.9%). State-society relations accounted for the majority (60.7%) of DAP's governance coverage, but failed to account for a significant percentage of VOD's, dedicating only 15 per cent to the issue.

DAP produced mostly governance process content on accountability in state-society relations, which accounted for 50 per cent of its total coverage. Under the three overarching themes (institutional developed, state-society relations and civic engagement), the most frequently covered sub-theme was citizen voice and participation, constituting 57.4 per cent of coverage, compared to 38.2 per cent for accountability, and only 4.4 per cent for transparency.

Table 22: Thematic Focus of Online Governance Process Stories

Online outlet	Institutional development			State-Society relations			Civic engagement			Total
	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	
DAP	3 (10.7%)	1 (3.6%)	1 (3.6%)	14 (50%)	0 (0%)	3 (10.7%)	1 (3.6%)	0 (0%)	5 (17.9%)	28 (100%)
VOD	2 (5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	30 (75%)	40 (100%)
Total	5 (7.4%)	2 (2.9%)	1 (1.5%)	19 (27.9%)	1 (1.5%)	3 (4.4%)	2 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	5 (51.5%)	68 (100%)

Base: Governance process online stories (n=68); (Row percentages)

TV

Thematic Focus of TV Governance Coverage

Most TV governance process content was produced on institutional development, accounting for 82.8 per cent of overall coverage, highlighted in Table 23, below. The state owned and affiliated stations, TVK and Bayon News, both contributed over 90 per cent (91%; 90.9%, respectively) of their coverage to institutional development topics. CTN produced considerably less on the topic (57.1%), despite it being a large part of its coverage.

TVK and Bayon News broadcast almost the same percentage of content on each thematic area – 91 and 90.9 per cent on institutional development, 9.1 per cent on state-society relations, and no coverage on civic engagement topics. In addition, across all TV stations, CTN produced the only story on civic engagement. CTN also showed slightly more variation in its reporting on governance issues, dedicating 57.1 per cent of coverage to institutional development, 35.7 per cent to state-society relations, and 7.1 per cent to civic engagement. However, little variation was shown in the coverage of governance sub-themes. All outlets produced the majority of their content on accountability in institutional development, with TVK dedicating the most (84.9%) time to the topic, followed by Bayon News (63.6%) and CTN (50%). There was also little variation in sub thematic focus, with accountability constituting 77.6 per cent of sub themes, compared to only 13.8 per cent for transparency and just 8.6 per cent for citizen voice and participation topics.

Table 23: Thematic Focus of TV Governance Process Stories

TV outlet	Institutional development			State-society relations			Civic engagement			Total
	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	
TVK	28 (84.9%)	2 (6.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (9.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	33 (100%)
CTN	7 (50%)	1 (7.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7.1%)	14 (100%)
Bayon News	7 (63.6%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)
Total	42 (72.4%)	6 (10.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (5.2%)	2 (3.5%)	4 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.7%)	58 (100%)

Base: Governance process TV stories (n=58); (Row percentages)

Radio

Thematic Focus of Radio Governance Coverage

Radio stations followed a similar trend in their thematic coverage of governance issues to other media. Civic engagement was the dominant theme, accounting for 53.3 per cent of coverage. Institutional development was the second most covered, constituting 24.7 per cent of coverage, with state-society relations accounting for the least amount of coverage (21.7%).

There was no significant difference between radio key and relevant thematic coverage, as illustrated in Table 23, below. For both radio key and relevant, civic engagement was the most reported theme, comprising 53.3 per cent of radio key coverage and 53.1 per cent radio relevant. Radio key and relevant stations were also closely aligned on the percentage of coverage of institutional development and state-society relations issues, producing 25.2 and 23.5 per cent for institutional development issues, respectively, and 21.4 and 23.5 per cent on state-society relations issues, respectively.

There was a high level of consistency in the sub-thematic focus of different radio outlets. Similar to other media, citizen voice and participation was the most reported sub-theme, constituting 58.8 per cent. Following citizen voice and participation was accountability, which comprised 30.3 per cent of coverage, while transparency issues accounted for only 11 per cent of coverage.

There were also similar levels of consistency between most radio station's thematic coverage. Most stations broadcasted over 40 per cent on citizen voice and participation in civic engagement, including WMC (59.1%), RFA (57.3%), RFI (68%), ABC RA (44.8%), Sarika (56.4%), Kampong Cham PDI (52%), and Battambang PDI (44.4%). The only two radio broadcasters not to dedicate most coverage to citizen voice and participation was RNK and Siem Reap PDI, with both producing most content on accountability issues. RNK produced 60.9 per cent of its coverage on accountability in institutional development and Siem Reap PDI produced 62.5 per cent on accountability in state-society relations.

Table 24: Thematic Focus of Radio Governance Process Stories

Radio outlet	Institutional development			State-Society relations			Civic engagement			Total
	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	Acc	Tran	Voice	
RNK	14 (60.9%)	2 (8.7%)	0 (0%)	4 (17.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (13%)	23 (100%)
WMC	3 (13.6%)	2 (9.1%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	13 (59.1%)	22 (100%)
FM103	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
RFA	12 (10.9%)	5 (4.5%)	2 (1.8%)	10 (9.1%)	6 (5.5%)	10 (9.1%)	2 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	63 (57.3%)	110 (100%)
RFI	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	3 (12%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (68%)	25 (100%)
ABC RA	1 (3.4%)	4 (13.8%)	1 (3.4%)	7 (24.1%)	2 (6.9%)	1 (3.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	13 (44.8%)	29 (100%)
Subtotal radio key	33 (15.7%)	14 (6.7%)	6 (2.9%)	25 (11.9%)	8 (3.8%)	12 (5.7%)	3 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	109 (51.9%)	210 (100%)

Sarika	4 (10.3%)	2 (5.1%)	2 (5.1%)	5 (12.8%)	2 (5.1%)	2 (5.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	22 (56.4%)	39 (100%)
Kampong Cham PDI	4 (16%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	13 (52%)	25 (100%)
Battambang PDI	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (22.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (11.1%)	0 (0%)	4 (44.4%)	9 (100%)
Kampot PDI	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Siem Reap PDI	2 (25%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (62.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
Subtotal radio relevant	11 (13.6%)	6 (7.4%)	2 (2.5%)	13 (16%)	3 (3.7%)	3 (3.7%)	3 (3.7%)	1 (1.2%)	39 (48.1%)	81 (100%)
Total	44 (15.1%)	20 (6.9%)	8 (2.7%)	38 (13.1%)	11 (3.8%)	15 (5.2%)	6 (2.1%)	1 (0.3%)	148 (50.9%)	291 (100%)

Base: Governance process radio stories (n=291); radio key (n=210); Radio relevant (n=81); (Row percentages)

Balance in Governance Reporting

Source attribution and the representation of protagonists and subjects in governance stories are used as indicators of bias and unequal reporting in the media. A source is defined as a person, institution, or organisation that provides information in the story. The attribution of information to a source can be in the form of either a direct quotation or a paraphrased statement. The number of sources and source diversity are important journalistic features because a higher number and greater diversity generally indicates a mixture of opinion, which can lead to greater balance in the coverage of issues. While sources in news stories were defined as providing information to the story, the definition of subjects differed. Subjects were defined as an individual person, organisation, or group of individuals or organisations referred to as a single collective, which the story discusses. Similar to the subject, the main protagonist was defined as the dominant subject in each story. It should also be noted that for source representation that top five categories were selected based on the total number of sources across all media types and therefore may not be the top five categories for each individual media outlet or type. This process was repeated for protagonist and subject sentiment, also, however, only the top three categories were selected for each.

Source representation in Governance Stories

The average number of sources used across different media types was relatively consistent for governance process and goal stories, with newspaper and radio averaging three sources per story, compared to online and TV, which averaged two per story, as highlighted in Table 25, below.

For newspapers, the Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily averaged a higher number of sources per process story (4) than Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap, which averaged only two sources per process story. Similarly, for governance goal stories, the Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily averaged five sources each, compared with only one source for Rasmei Kampuchea and two for Koh Santepheap. Koh Santepheap was the only newspaper to publish articles that did not feature any direct or indirect sources or attribution.

The average number of sources varied for online publications, with VOD averaging three sources per governance process and goal story. DAP averaged slightly less per governance process story (1) and governance goal story (2).

Consistent with other media types, the average number of sources used by TV for governance process stories ranged between two and three. TVK and Bayon News average two per story, while CTN averaged the most, with three. However, this was reversed for governance goal stories, with CTN only averaging one source per story, compared to TVK's three and Bayon News' two.

Given the number of radio stations studied, it was expected that there would be a greater variation in the number of sources used per outlet. However, little variation between radio key and relevant outlets was evident; both averaged three sources per governance process story, with radio key averaging three and radio relevant with two sources per governance goal story.

The state-owned broadcasters – RNK, Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI and Siem Reap PDI – averaged among the lowest for number of sources used per story, with most

using two sources per governance process story. This number was even lower for goal stories, with most state broadcasters averaging only one source per story. Conversely, the community-run stations, Sarika and WMC, averaged four sources per governance process story.

Table 25: Average Sources in Governance Stories

Media type	Media outlet	Governance process			Governance goal		
		Ave.	Max	Min	Ave.	Max	Min
Newspapers	Rasmei Kampuchea	2	5	1	1	2	1
	Koh Santepheap	2	5	0	2	5	0
	Phnom Penh Post	4	9	1	5	7	3
	Cambodia Daily	4	10	1	5	8	1
	Overall average	3	10	0	3	8	0
Online	DAP	1	3	1	2	4	1
	VOD	3	6	1	3	4	2
	Overall average	2	6	1	2	4	1
TV	TVK	2	4	1	3	5	1
	CTN	3	5	1	1	1	1
	Bayon News	2	4	1	2	2	1
	Overall average	2	5	1	2	5	1
Radio key	RNK	2	5	1	2	2	1
	WMC	4	9	1	1	1	1
	FM103	1	1	1	.	.	.
	RFA	3	8	0	4	5	1
	RFI	2	5	0	.	.	.
	ABC RA	3	10	1	5	5	5
	Overall average	3	10	0	3	5	1
Radio relevant	Sarika	4	9	1	3	3	3
	Kampong Cham PDI	2	3	1	1	2	1
	Battambang PDI	2	6	1	1	1	1
	Kampot PDI	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Siem Reap PDI	1	2	1	.	.	.
	Overall average	3	9	1	2	3	1

Base: Sources in governance process stories (n=1,855); sources in governance goal stories (n=204)

Subjects in Governance Stories

Representatives from the National Government appeared most frequently in governance process stories, featuring in over 50 per cent of process (50.8%) and goal (51.2%) stories. Cambodian private citizens were also highly represented in governance stories, and were the most highly represented subject in goal stories, featuring in 63.7 per cent. Private citizens also featured highly in process stories, mentioned in almost 50 per cent (47.2%) of stories, as highlighted in Table 26, below.

Subjects used in governance stories by the Cambodian media overwhelmingly focused on public institutions, and elected or appointed officials. These groups not only accounted for five of the top ten most frequent subjects in governance stories but were also story subjects 761 times in only 642 governance process stories. Similarly, for goal stories, these groups also featured prominently, appearing over 70 times in 82 stories.

Interestingly, in both process and goal stories, the leading Cambodian opposition party was covered more frequently than the current ruling Cambodian political party. However, this may be a result of how the variable was coded. The 'ruling party' and 'the government' were coded as two separate variables. This meant that only when 'Cambodian People's Party' (ruling party) was mentioned was it coded as the ruling party. When 'the government' was referenced, without the specific mention of Cambodian People's Party, it was coded as the government.

Table 26: Subjects in Governance Stories

Governance story type	National gov	Citizens	Provincial gov	Law enforcement	Corporate sector	National or local NGO	Khan admin	Opposition party	Ruling party	Commune admin
Process	322 (50.8%)	299 (47.20%)	219 (34.5%)	152 (24%)	135 (21.3%)	89 (14%)	93 (14.7%)	79 (12.5%)	66 (10.4%)	61 (9.6%)
Goal	41 (51.2%)	51 (63.7%)	16 (20%)	21 (26.3%)	7 (8.8%)	9 (11.3%)	5 (6.3%)	8 (10%)	4 (5%)	7 (8.8%)

Base: Governance process stories with subjects (n=634); governance goal stories with subjects (n=80)

Protagonists in Governance Stories

The main actor featured in governance stories followed a similar pattern to the representation of subjects, seen in Table 26, above. Cambodian private citizens and national government representatives were the main actors in 39.9 and 27.1 per cent of process stories, respectively. From the top ten most frequently appearing actors, public institutions and officials represent a combined 36.8 per cent of the total main actors to appear in process stories. Similarly, in governance goal stories, public institutions and elected or appointed officials were the most frequently represented actors, with national government representatives featured in 45.1 per cent of stories, followed by provincial government officials (15.9%). Again, in goal stories, citizens featured less, representing the main actor in only 13.4 per cent of stories, highlighted in Table 27, below.

Table 27: Protagonists in Governance Stories⁷

Governance story type	Citizens	National gov	Provincial gov	National or local NGO	Professional association	Community Organisation	Law enforcement	Khan admin	Opposition party	Other
Process	256 (39.9%)	174 (27.1%)	52 (8.1%)	25 (3.9%)	16 (2.5%)	15 (2.3%)	5 (0.8%)	10 (1.6%)	8 (1.3%)	30 (4.7%)
Goal	11 (13.4%)	37 (45.1%)	13 (15.9%)	1 (1.2%)	2 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	7 (8.5%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	4 (4.9%)

Base: Protagonists in governance process stories (n=642); protagonists in governance goal stories (n=82)

⁷ The ten most frequently used protagonists are used in this table and therefore do not represent the entire range of protagonists across the sample.

Newspaper

Source representation in Newspapers

Consistent across the Cambodian media, public institutions and officials feature frequently as the most used sources in governance stories. This is also the case when looking at specific newspapers. National government sources were used in more than 30 per cent of governance process stories in all newspapers, to varying degrees. Rasmei Kampuchea used national government officials in 35.7 per cent of their governance process stories, similar to Koh Santepheap (31.6%) and Cambodia Daily (34.5%), while the Phnom Penh Post used national government sources in almost half (49.1%) of their governance process coverage. Provincial government and Khan Administration representatives also featured heavily overall, used in 31.3 and 17.4 per cent of coverage, respectively. Citizens also featured consistently in newspapers, appearing in 47.4 per cent of Phnom Penh Post articles, 39.3 per cent of Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap stories, and 30.9 per cent in Cambodia Daily articles.

Attribution of national or local NGOs was mixed, with Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap used NGO sources in less than 10 per cent of their coverage (Rasmei Kampuchea 3.6%; Koh Santepheap 7%). Conversely, Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily used NGO sources in over 20 per cent of their governance process articles (Phnom Penh Post 28.1%; Cambodia Daily 20%).

Table 28: Source Representation in Newspaper Governance Process Stories⁸

Newspaper outlet	National gov	Citizens	National or local NGO	Provincial gov	Khan admin
Rasmei Kampuchea	20 (35.7%)	22 (39.3%)	2 (3.6%)	15 (26.8%)	13 (23.2%)
Koh Santepheap	18 (31.6%)	22 (39.3%)	4 (7%)	19 (33.3%)	11 (19.3%)
Phnom Penh Post	28 (49.1%)	27 (47.4%)	16 (28.1%)	21 (36.8%)	5 (8.8%)
Cambodia Daily	19 (34.5%)	17 (30.9%)	11 (20%)	15 (27.3%)	10 (18.2%)
Total	85 (37.9%)	88 (39.3%)	33 (14.7%)	70 (31.3%)	39 (17.4%)

Base: Newspaper governance process stories – Rasmei Kampuchea (n=56); Koh Santepheap (n=57); Phnom Penh Post (n=57); Cambodia Daily (n=55)

⁸ Multiple response variables – percentages do not necessarily equal 100%.

Protagonist Sentiment in Newspapers

A large proportion of governance process stories used actors, sources, and subjects from varying public institutions. Looking at how newspapers represented these actors, most were portrayed positively or in a neutral way within governance stories, with only a small percentage portrayed negatively. In Koh Santepheap, national government officials were presented positively in a large majority (72.7%) of governance process stories, while those presented negatively featured in less than 10 per cent of its coverage. Similarly, for provincial government representatives, 50 per cent were presented positively, 40 per cent in a neutral way and only 10 per cent in a negative light. Rasmei Kampuchea and the Phnom Penh Post presented 50 per cent of their coverage of public officials positively in governance process coverage. Rasmei Kampuchea did not cover any national government officials negatively. Cambodia Daily's coverage of national and provincial government representatives was more varied than other papers', with officials portrayed positively and negatively both 36.4 per cent of the time, as highlighted in Table 29, below.

Table 29: Protagonist Sentiment in Newspaper Governance Process Stories

Newspaper outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
Rasmei Kampuchea	50%	0%	50%	55%	15%	30%	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%
Koh Santepheap	72.7%	9.1%	18.2%	63%	11.1%	25.9%	50%	10%	40%
Phnom Penh Post	50%	16.7%	33.3%	44%	12%	44%	66.7%	33.3%	0%
The Cambodia Daily	36.4%	36.4%	27.3%	35.7%	14.3%	50%	25%	0%	75%
Total	52.1%	14.6%	33.3%	51.2%	12.8%	36%	38.5%	11.5%	50%

Base: Protagonists in newspaper governance process stories – Rasmei Kampuchea (n=56); Koh Santepheap (n=57); Phnom Penh Post (n=57); Cambodia Daily (n=55)

Subject Sentiment in Newspapers

The portrayal of subjects in governance stories was more balanced compared to protagonist sentiment. Similar to other media types, sentiment for subjects was predominantly neutral with slight variations in positive and negative representations, between newspapers. For national government subjects, neutral subject sentiment was over 40 per cent (45%-total), negative coverage totalled 28.2 per cent, followed by 26.8 per cent for positive subject coverage. Portrayal of provincial government officials followed a similar pattern to that of national government officials, receiving 43.9 per cent neutral representation, 30.6 per cent negative and 25.5 per cent positive. Citizens were portrayed in a neutral way, marginally less (42%) compared to national government (45%) and provincial government (43.9%).

Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap both presented national government subjects more positively (33.3%; 28.9%, respectively) than negatively (23.1%; 20%, respectively). Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily were the opposite, portraying national government negatively in 32.4 and 32.3 per cent of coverage compared to 25.7 and 22.6 per cent positive coverage, respective-

ly. Governance coverage shows that the non-government affiliated papers, Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily, were more likely to report national government institutions or representatives negatively, compared to the government affiliated papers, Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap.

Table 30: Subject Sentiment in Newspaper Governance Process Stories

Newspaper outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
Rasmei Kampuchea	33.3%	23.1%	43.6%	23.8%	38.1%	38.1%	24.3%	27%	48.6%
Koh Santepheap	28.9%	20%	51.1%	30.6%	24.2%	45.2%	30%	30%	40%
Phnom Penh Post	25.7%	32.4%	41.9%	28.3%	32.1%	39.6%	25.5%	32.7%	41.8%
Cambodia Daily	22.6%	32.3%	45.2%	22.6%	32.3%	45.2%	20%	32%	48%
Total	26.8%	28.2%	45%	27.1%	30.9%	42%	25.5%	30.6%	43.9%

Base: Subjects in newspaper governance process stories (n=1170); Rasmei Kampuchea (n=238); Koh Santepheap (n=294); Phnom Penh Post (n=339); Cambodia Daily (n=299)

Online

Source Representation in Online News Providers

Following a similar trend to that of the Cambodian media in general, online news providers used public institutions and elected or appointed officials as sources most frequently in governance stories. However, at an individual level there are variations between the two online news providers. In VOD's coverage, national government representatives featured in 47.5 per cent of their governance coverage, while only attributed in 17.8 per cent of DAP online articles. However, DAP produced a higher percentage of articles attributing provincial government (25%) and Khan administration (21.4%) officials than VOD which had 15 and 5 per cent, respectively. Non-government sources featured prominently in VOD's coverage with Cambodian citizens used in 65 per cent of stories and national/local NGOs used in 40 per cent. This focus on presenting citizens in governance stories may be due to VOD's predominance of coverage on citizens' voice and participation. Citizens featured prominently in DAP's coverage also, appearing in 35.7 per cent of reporting (though relatively lower than VOD).

Table 31: Source Representation in Online Governance Process Stories⁹

Online outlet	National gov	Citizen	National or local NGO	Provincial gov	Khan admin
DAP	5 (17.8%)	10 (35.7%)	1 (3.6%)	7 (25%)	6 (21.4%)
VOD	19 (47.5%)	26 (65%)	16 (40%)	6 (15%)	2 (5%)
Total	24 (35.3%)	36 (52.9%)	17 (25%)	13 (19.1%)	8 (11.8%)

Base: Online governance process stories – DAP (n=28); VOD (n=40)

Protagonist Sentiment in Online News Providers

In most categories, the main protagonist in process stories was either presented positively or neutrally. Neither online news provider portrayed citizens negatively. DAP portrayed protagonists positively in 44.4 per cent of their coverage, and VOD in 66.7 per cent of theirs. DAP's portrayal of national government officials was mostly positive (66.7%) and, interestingly, no national government officials were presented negatively. DAP's coverage of provincial government officials was much more balanced, with equal coverage given to positive and negative descriptions, which made up 16.7 per cent of coverage for each. VOD's portrayal of national government was more evenly distributed than DAP's, with positive and negative portrayals being even (14.3% each), with the vast majority of VOD's coverage (71.4%) presenting national government officials in a neutral light.

⁹ Multiple response variables – percentages do not necessarily equal 100%.

Table 32: Protagonist Sentiment in Online Governance Process Stories

Online outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
DAP	66.7%	0%	33.3%	44.4%	0%	55.6%	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%
VOD	14.3%	14.3%	71.4%	66.7%	0%	33.3%	.	.	.
Total	38.5%	7.7%	53.8%	60.6%	0%	39.4%	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%

Base: Protagonists in online governance process stories – DAP (n=28); VOD (n=40)

Subject Sentiment in Online News Providers

There was greater balance in coverage portraying subject sentiment compared to the portrayal of protagonists. The online news providers were more likely to present subjects in a neutral manner, rather than portraying them either positively or negatively. DAP's portrayal of citizens was positive in 22.6 per cent of their coverage, negative 25.8 per cent, and neutral 51.6 per cent. Similarly, VOD's coverage was positive and negative in 21.9 per cent of their coverage, and neutral in 56.3 per cent of their coverage. Neutral representations of government (national and provincial) sentiment was similar for DAP and VOD, accounting for 52.2 and 45.8 per cent for national government and 58.3 and 51.9 per cent for provincial government, respectively. VOD covered negative portrayals of national and provincial government officials at a higher percentage (national government 31.2%; provincial government 29.6%) compared to DAP (national government 13%; provincial government 16.7%).

Table 33: Subject Sentiment in Online Governance Process Stories

Online outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
DAP	34.8%	13%	52.2%	22.6%	25.8%	51.6%	25%	16.7%	58.3%
VOD	22.9%	31.3%	45.8%	21.9%	21.9%	56.3%	18.5%	29.6%	51.9%
Total	26.8%	25.4%	47.9%	22.2%	23.8%	54%	20.5%	25.6%	53.8%

Base: Subjects in TV governance process stories (n=300); DAP (n=120); VOD (n=180)

TV

Source representation on TV

Source attribution for TV was more skewed than other media, with public institutions and officials heavily represented in governance process coverage. National government officials were sources in 84.8 per cent of TVK's governance coverage, 81.8 per cent of Bayon News', and 57.1 per cent of CTN's, highlighting the predilection of using official government sources. Sub-national government officials were also given significant coverage, with provincial government officials featuring in 20.7 per cent of coverage and Khan administration officials in 6.9 per cent of TV coverage. Citizen voices were also strongly represented in CTN coverage (42.9%) but failed to gain significant representation in TVK and Bayon News' coverage, featuring in only 9.1 per cent of stories for respective broadcasters. However, even for CTN, the use of citizen sources was low overall compared to other media. Unlike other media, national/local NGOs failed to gain any significant representation in TV governance stories, only used in 3.4 per cent of stories overall.

Table 34: Source Representation in TV Governance Process Stories¹⁰

TV outlet	National gov	Citizen	National or local NGO	Provincial gov	Khan admin
TVK	28 (84.8%)	3 (9.1%)	1 (3%)	7 (21.2%)	1 (3%)
CTN	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)
Bayon News	9 (81.8%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (9.1%)
Subtotal-TV	45 (77.6%)	10 (17.2%)	2 (3.4%)	12 (20.7%)	4 (6.9%)

Base: TV governance process stories – TVK (n=33); CTN (n=14); Bayon News (n=11)

Protagonist Sentiment on TV

Governance coverage by TV broadcasters showed little variation in the portrayal of the selected protagonist categories. All (100%) TV coverage featuring citizens, and national/provincial government representatives portrayed them positively, as shown in Table 35, below. National/local NGO and professional associations were not featured in any TV broadcast coverage.

Table 35: Protagonist Sentiment in TV Governance Process Stories

TV outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
TVK	100%	0%	0%	.	.	.	100%	0%	0%
CTN	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Bayon News	100%	0%	0%	.	.	.	100%	0%	0%
Total	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%

Base: Protagonists in TV governance process stories – TVK (n=33); CTN (n=14); Bayon News (n=11)

¹⁰ Multiple response variables – percentages do not necessarily equal 100%.

Subject Sentiment on TV

TV stations showed greater variation in the sentiment attached to the subjects found in governance stories than the portrayal of protagonists. Similarly, for protagonist sentiment, the majority of subjects were depicted positively, as seen in Table 36, below. For subjects from national government, 100 per cent of Bayon News coverage was positive. Contrary to Bayon News coverage, all of CTN's coverage was negative. Again, following the same pattern for provincial government subjects, 60 per cent of Bayon News' coverage was positive, with zero per cent of its coverage portraying provincial government officials negatively. TVK's coverage was similar to Bayon News, except presenting national and provincial government negatively in 25 and 8.3 per cent of its coverage, respectively. Meanwhile the majority of subjects that focussed on national and provincial government were portrayed positively by TVK (national government-55%; provincial government-58.3%). CTN was the only channel that consistently provided greater positive subject sentiment for citizens on TV compared to national and provincial government. Despite there being greater balance overall in how subjects were portrayed, especially when compared to the portrayal of protagonists (Table 35), there was still a preference for TV stations to portray government officials positively.

Table 36: Subject Sentiment in TV Governance Process Stories

TV outlet	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
TVK	55%	25%	20%	53.8%	17.9%	28.2%	58.3%	8.3%	33.3%
CTN	0%	100%	0%	60%	33.3%	6.7%	37.5%	50%	12.5%
Bayon News	100%	0%	0%	69.2%	7.7%	23.1%	60%	0%	40%
Total	56.5%	26.1%	17.4%	58.2%	19.4%	22.4%	52%	20%	28%

Base: Subjects in TV governance process stories (n=207); TVK (n=128); CTN (n=45); Bayon News (n=34)

Radio

Source Representation on Radio

Source representation for radio outlets is similar to other media, skewed towards using official government sources in the majority of governance stories. However, given the large number of radio stations studied there is a greater variation on an individual outlet level compared to other media types. Again, national government sources are prominent voices in radio governance stories, although subtle differences are visible between radio key and relevant stations.

National government officials featured in 51.9 per cent of radio relevant stories and 33.7 per cent in radio key. Private citizens also featured strongly in both key (45.7%) and relevant (45.7%) stations coverage. Overall, sub-national officials were attributed less for radio than for other media. Interestingly, even for provincial radio stations Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI and Siem Reap PDI, provincial and Khan officials did not feature prominently, as seen in Table 37, below.

Compared to other radio outlets, the three international broadcasters, RFA, RFI and ABC RA, had greater diversity in their source representation. Private citizens and national or local NGO representatives were used at similar or much higher levels than national, provincial and khan officials. RFA used citizen sources in 56.4 per cent of its governance stories and NGOs in 50.9 per cent. Similarly, for ABC RA, citizens were sources in 51.7 per cent of its stories and NGOs in 34.5 per cent.

The state owned stations, RNK and the four PDIs, varied, but showed a greater use of government sources. This was particularly prevalent with RNK, which used national government sources in 60.9 per cent of its coverage and provincial government officials in 39.1 per cent. Conversely, RNK only used citizens and NGO sources in 8.7 per cent of its coverage, respectively. PDI source attribution also varied, however, with national government officials accounting for the most used sources of information within governance process stories at most stations. Battambang PDI was the only PDI to use a non-government source more frequently, with citizens used in 44.4 per cent of governance coverage, with the next highest source attribution (national government officials) used in 33.3 per cent of its coverage.

Similar to the international broadcasters, the community run stations, WMC and Sarika, showed greater diversity in the attribution of sources and less reliance on official government sources than most other radio stations and media types. WMC used citizens and NGO sources in over half its governance coverage (citizens-54.5%; NGO-50%), while national government officials were sourced at almost half this rate, featuring in only 27.3 per cent of its coverage.

Table 37: Source Representation in Radio Governance Process Stories¹¹

Radio outlet	National gov	Citizen	National or local NGO	Provincial gov	Khan admin
RNK	14 (60.9%)	2 (8.7%)	2 (8.7%)	9 (39.1%)	0 (0%)
WMC	6 (27.3%)	12 (54.5%)	11 (50%)	4 (18.2%)	4 (18.2%)
FM103	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
RFA	30 (27.3%)	62 (56.4%)	56 (50.9%)	24 (21.8%)	20 (18.2%)
RFI	7 (28%)	5 (20%)	9 (36%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)
ABC RA	13 (44.8%)	15 (51.7%)	10 (34.5%)	8 (27.6%)	3 (10.3%)
Subtotal radio key	70 (33.7%)	96 (45.7%)	88 (41.9%)	47 (22.4%)	27 (12.9%)
Sarika	21 (53.8%)	26 (66.7%)	24 (61.5%)	8 (20.5%)	4 (10.3%)
Kampong Cham PDI	13 (52%)	7 (28%)	1 (4%)	4 (16%)	1 (4%)
Battambang PDI	3 (33.3%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)
Kampot PDI	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Siem Reap PDI	5 (62.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0%)
Subtotal radio relevant	42 (51.9%)	37 (45.7%)	26 (32.1%)	14 (17.3%)	6 (7.4%)

Base: Radio governance process stories – RNK (n=23); WMC (n=22); FM103 (n=1); RFA (n=110); RFI (n=25); ABC RA (n=29); Sarika (n=39); Kampong Cham PDI (n=25); Battambang PDI (n=9); Kampot PDI (n=0); Siem Reap PDI (n=8)

Protagonist Sentiment on Radio

There were differences in radio outlets' depictions of protagonists but these differences were not substantial. Radio outlets, more so than other media types, were more likely to portray the national government in a positive manner, rather than communicating negative or neutral representations.

Radio key outlets presented national government representatives positively in 48.8 per cent of their governance coverage, which featured this category of protagonist. In comparison, only 14.6 per cent of these representatives were portrayed negatively and 36.6 per cent neutrally. Radio relevant portrayal was similar but covered national government representatives positively at a higher percentage (64%), with negative portrayals occurring in just over 10 per cent (12%) of coverage overall. It appears likely that state ownership and affiliation with radio relevant stations plays a role in how sources are presented in governance stories.

The state-owned broadcasters – RNK, Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI and Siem Reap PDI – did not portray any government official (either national or provincial government) in a negative light, with the majority of these representatives presented positively. For RNK, national and provincial government representatives were portrayed positively in 91.7 and 100 per cent of their coverage, respectively. Likewise, for PDI, national and provincial government representatives were positively portrayed in the majority of governance coverage, where they featured. For Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, and Siem Reap PDI, national government was positively represented in 80, 50 and 60 per cent of coverage, respectively. Interestingly, the

¹¹ Multiple response variables – percentages do not necessarily equal 100%.

only category of protagonist to usually be negatively portrayed by state-owned broadcasters was Cambodian citizens.

Conversely, the two community stations – WMC and Sarika – were the only broadcasters just as likely, if not more likely, to portray government officials (both national and provincial) negatively as positively. Forty per cent of WMC’s coverage featured national government representatives as negative, with positive representations only comprising 20 per cent of coverage. Similarly, for Sarika, positive and negative portrayals were evenly split, at 50 per cent each.

Table 38: Protagonist Sentiment in Radio Governance Process Stories

Media type	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
RNK	91.7%	0%	8.3%	60%	20%	20%	100%	0%	0%
WMC	20%	40%	40%	60%	0%	40%	.	.	.
FM103	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
RFA	28.6%	28.6%	42.9%	56.3%	1.6%	42.2%	0%	0%	100%
RFI	20%	0%	80%	50%	0%	50%	.	.	.
ABC RA	60%	0%	40%	58.3%	0%	41.7%	66.7%	33.3%	0%
Subtotal radio key	48.8%	14.6%	36.6%	56.6%	2%	41.4%	62.5%	12.5%	25%
Sarika	50%	50%	0%	40.9%	4.5%	54.5%	50%	0%	50%
Kampong Cham PDI	80%	0%	20%	44.4%	44.4%	11.1%	75%	0%	25%
Battambang PDI	50%	0%	50%	50%	0%	50%	.	.	.
Kampot PDI	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Siem Reap PDI	60%	0%	40%	.	.	.	100%	0%	0%
Subtotal radio relevant	64%	12%	24%	42.9%	14.3%	42.9%	71.4%	0%	28.6%
Total	54.5%	13.6%	31.8%	53%	5.2%	41.8%	66.7%	6.7%	26.7%

Base: Protagonists in radio governance process stories – RNK (n=23); WMC (n=22); FM103 (n=1); RFA (n=110); RFI (n=25); ABC RA (n=29); Sarika (n=39); Kampong Cham PDI (n=25); Battambang PDI (n=9); Kampot PDI (n=0); Siem Reap PDI (n=8)

Subject Sentiment on Radio

The distribution of subject sentiment covered by radio outlets is more evenly distributed across positive, negative, and neutral subject depictions, when compared to protagonist sentiment, seen in Table 39, below. Sentiment towards Cambodian citizens was almost identical between radio key and relevant stations, with 27% per cent of radio key stories that feature citizens portraying them positively, 25 per cent negatively, and 48 per cent neutrally. Likewise, for radio relevant, 25.4 per cent of citizen subjects were presented positively, 27 per cent negatively, and 47.6 per cent neutrally.

Sentiment between protagonists and subjects differ most in their representation of national and provincial government. Unlike protagonist sentiment, where most outlets represented protagonists positively, subject sentiment across radio outlets featured a much higher percentage of negative representations. Radio key outlets’ negative portrayal of governance coverage that featured national government totalled 31.8 per cent, while positive representations only accounted

for 21.8 per cent. Radio was much more likely to present government other than in a positive way, compared to other media. Similarly, for radio relevant outlets, negative portrayals of national government were just under 30 per cent (28.9%), with positive representations only slightly higher, accounting for 30.3 per cent. State broadcasters were also much more varied, compared to protagonist representations. RNK’s coverage of national and provincial government officials was varied with 40 per cent of national government subjects presented positively, 20 per cent negatively and the remaining neutrally. Portrayal of provincial government subjects was similar, with 36.8 per cent being positive and 21.1 per cent negatively. Some of the state owned PDI stations also provided much more varied government sentiment, with Kampong Cham PDI and Battambang PDI both covering provincial government in a negative light in 33.3 per cent of their coverage. Siem Reap PDI represented government officials (national and provincial) solely in a neutral sentiment.

The three international broadcasters – ABC RA, RFI and RFA – were consistent in their coverage of most subjects. Coverage of subject sentiment for these broadcasters was also more evenly distributed across positive, negative, and neutral depictions of subjects.

Table 39: Subject Sentiment in Radio Governance Process Stories

Media Type	National gov			Citizen			Provincial gov		
	+	-	N	+	-	N	+	-	N
RNK	40%	20%	40%	66.7%	8.3%	25%	36.8%	21.1%	42.1%
WMC	23.3%	30%	46.7%	31.6%	26.3%	42.1%	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
FM103	.	.	.	0%	100%	0%	.	.	.
RFA	18.2%	34.3%	47.5%	22.4%	23.9%	53.7%	18.6%	36%	45.3%
RFI	21.2%	33.3%	45.5%	21.1%	31.6%	47.4%	33.3%	22.2%	44.4%
ABC RA	23.5%	29.4%	47.1%	23.3%	26.7%	50%	26.1%	30.4%	43.5%
Subtotal radio key	21.8%	31.8%	46.4%	27%	25%	48%	24.2%	32.2%	43.6%
Sarika	27.1%	33.3%	39.6%	18.8%	37.5%	43.8%	25%	32.1%	42.9%
Kampong Cham PDI	43.5%	26.1%	30.4%	45%	25%	30%	50%	33.3%	16.7%
Battambang PDI	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	16.7%	33.3%	50%
Kampot PDI	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Siem Reap PDI	0%	0%	100%	16.7%	0%	83.3%	0%	0%	100%
Subtotal radio relevant	30.3%	28.9%	40.8%	25.4%	27%	47.6%	25.6%	30.2%	44.2%
Total	24%	31%	45%	26.5%	25.6%	47.9%	24.5%	31.8%	43.7%

Base: Subjects in radio governance process stories (n=1341); RNK (n=86); WMC (n=112); FM103 (n=2); RFA (n=524); RFI (n=113); ABC RA (n=141); Sarika (n=197); Kampong Cham PDI (n=92); Battambang PDI (n=37); Kampot PDI (n=0); Siem Reap PDI (n=37)



Discussion

Many quantitative observations were made into the reporting and coverage of governance issues across the Cambodian media in the two-week period studied. First, there was too little public communication on governance issues in Cambodia. Second, the amount of governance communication varied by media. Third, there was greater in-depth analysis and discussion of governance issues compared to other news items. Fourth, governance news coverage was dominated by official government voices. Fifth, public institutions and elected or appointed officials were predominantly reported in a positive way, as opposed to providing balanced coverage. Lastly, governance coverage focused on citizen voice and participation over accountability and transparency issues.

1. Too little public communication on governance issues

Despite Cambodia's diverse media landscape (approximately 20 Khmer language newspapers, 11 television stations and 160 radio stations), there is still limited governance information provided to the public. This research found governance communication accounted for only 11.6 per cent of overall media coverage. In the highly politicised Cambodian media environment, this suggests there is little time and space dedicated to the effectiveness, transparency and accountability of public officials and institutions. The low reportage of governance issues in the media is significant, as most citizens learn about the activities of government and public officials through the media. If media coverage is absent, the public receive inadequate information on the actions, or inactions, of public institutions and officials (Gordon, 2000). When the media fail to provide sufficient information on governance issues this can translate into a lack of public awareness and discussion between citizens and public officials. This is especially critical at a time in Cambodia of wide-ranging governance reforms.

In addition to the limited coverage of governance issues, the Cambodian media also provided limited information on politically or culturally sensitive governance issues or issues considered socially important. Media coverage of corruption, anti-corruption initiatives, gender, youth, human rights, and environmental issues accounted for less than 5 per cent of all media coverage analysed. With most of the media's coverage unrelated to governance, this leaves the public limited access to important information on the roles, responsibilities, and decisions of public institutions and elected or appointed officials. This lack of coverage on governance was consistent in the research across the sector, with only small variances in coverage. For the most part, media reporting followed a similar pattern, covering non-governance/ government stories at a much higher rate than governance topics. Even in the few governance topics covered, most coverage focused on individuals, family, community, and non-state actor interactions. This left little space for reporting and scrutinising the public sector and the state's ability to exercise its core function.

In the research, stories focusing on non-state actor interactions were covered at almost twice the rate as issues focussing on the public sector and the state's ability to exercise its core function. A lack of critical reflection and scrutiny on the roles, responsibilities, and decisions made by the public sector reduces the public's ability to make informed decisions on issues that affect them and the likelihood of holding elected or appointed officials to account. The lack of media coverage on the public sector, and government actions and responsibilities, was a recurring

theme across the media sector, which suggests the Cambodian people have limited access to information on those who are governing them and the decisions they make.

Ownership and affiliation of media outlets also poses a challenge for the media sector. According to the research, many of the state affiliated or state owned media outlets produced less governance content than their private, community, or internationally owned counterparts. Both Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap, pro-government daily newspapers, produced less governance content than the privately owned Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily. This is significant given the large combined circulation and readership of the two Khmer language papers, especially as their privately owned competitors, Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily, are English language papers.

Similarly, for TV, the state owned TVK and pro government Bayon News both reported governance topics fewer times than the privately owned CTN. Although only non-government affiliated online news providers were studied, it is interesting to note that the local NGO run and more socially focused VOD reported governance topics more than the business focused DAP. Radio stations also followed a similar trend to the wider media sector, but in totality, covered governance topics more than their media counterparts. Most state owned radio stations produced less governance content than the community stations and the international broadcasters. However, as mentioned, the state broadcasters tended to report governance issues more frequently than other media types. Radio, as a medium, was much more likely to report on governance issues than other media types. While this is a positive for the sector, as radio is the most accessible media in the country, the lack of governance coverage, especially from government owned or affiliated stations remains a concern.

Like media governance coverage in general, governance coverage for the CCAP supported PDI stations was generally low, but varied, with one station producing zero governance content and another producing just over 15 per cent. Overall, the four PDI stations averaged just over five (6.4) governance-focused stories each during the two-week period. This provides an opportunity for PDI stations to increase the amount of local and provincial based governance content to increase awareness of governance topics and provide a forum for debate and discussion.

2. Governance communication varies by media but low overall

Media coverage of governance varied by media type and outlet, but not considerably, and was low overall.

Newspapers

Newspapers devoted less than 10 per cent of their columns to governance topics, with coverage consistently low for each outlet. There was not a significant difference between the private English language papers (Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily) and the pro-government Khmer language papers (Rasmei Kampuchea and Koh Santepheap). However, the privately owned papers did produce more governance content. The pro-government dailies – Koh Santepheap and Rasmei Kampuchea – dedicated just over 6 per cent of their coverage to governance issues, which is significant given their large combined national circulation and readership numbers. The pro-government papers did not report extensively on the state's ability to perform its core responsibilities. When public institutions and government officials were featured in governance

articles, they were most likely presented positively (more discussion on this below).

Given newspapers' self-prescribed status for producing content to a higher journalistic standard than other media, it is significant that newspapers dedicated so little coverage to governance issues, while, conversely, dedicating a substantial amount of coverage to non-governance/government topics. Over the two-week study, Phnom Penh Post dedicated less than 10 per cent of its articles to discussing governance issues. It also produced the highest amount of non-governance/government related stories, accounting for over 80 per cent of all its articles. Considering Cambodia Daily and Phnom Penh Post are privately owned and not affiliated with the government, there was a missed opportunity for these papers to produce a higher amount of in-depth coverage on the roles, responsibilities, and decisions of public institutions and elected or appointed officials.

The amount of governance communication did vary by newspaper; however, this variation was not substantial. While ownership and political affiliation appeared to have only a small affect on how governance communication was produced by each paper, readership, circulation, and print language did not appear to play a part in how many governance stories Cambodian newspapers produced.

Online

While the online media landscape was much more diverse in its coverage, it should be noted that only two outlets were assessed in the study. DAP provided far less governance coverage than VOD, accounting for less than 5 per cent of its articles, while VOD covered governance in almost 20 per cent of stories. DAP's coverage focused predominantly on non-governance/government related stories, which made up over two-thirds of its coverage. However, this stark difference may be because of the different focus and readership of each news service. VOD aims to highlight human rights and democracy issues, while DAP predominantly focuses on business and financial topics. Further to this, DAP is also affiliated with the government, which may also affect the amount of governance issues it covers, as this was a common trend across the sector.

The ownership, affiliation, and target readership of the online outlets may have been a factor in the amount of governance coverage produced by each outlet, with VOD, the non government affiliated, privately owned service, producing a significantly higher percentage of governance stories.

TV

Similar to the online media landscape, TV coverage was also diverse. Governance coverage ranged from eight to 18 per cent for the three broadcasters. The state broadcaster, TVK, dedicated just over 13 per cent of its coverage to governance issues. Bayon News, a government affiliated station, dedicated less than 10 per cent of its coverage to governance issues. CTN, the only non-government owned/affiliated TV station in the study, produced the highest percentage of governance content, making up almost 20 per cent of overall coverage. CTN's high governance coverage could be due, in part, to the establishment of news program focused on discussing community related issues.

Interestingly, the state-owned broadcaster, TVK, reported on government-related stories at an

almost equal rate to all other story types, the only media outlet across the sample to do so. It was also the only media outlet to produce a higher number of government related stories than non-governance/government stories across the entire media sector. It is interesting that government related stories made up such a large percentage of TVK's reporting, as these types of stories related to personal stories of public officials or events only and not professional duties, processes or goals. Therefore, the government or political focus of the station's news agenda appears to produce considerable coverage of government reporting, however, this coverage does not translate into governance coverage discussing the government processes and goals.

Radio

Within the sample, Cambodian radio stations contributed the most amount of time to governance issue as a collective, although again, coverage varied by broadcaster. International broadcasters were consistently high reporters of governance issues, as were community radio stations. Consistent with the Cambodian media sector, state run stations produced the lowest amount of governance coverage. However, state owned and operated radio produced more governance coverage than most other media types, state owned or other.

The radio key stations broadcast more governance content on average compared to the radio relevant outlets, although coverage varied within the subgroups. Overall, radio key broadcast just over 18 per cent of governance topics, while radio relevant produced just fewer than 15 per cent.

RFA, recognised for its focus on government and political reporting, dedicated the highest percentage of time to governance, which made up over a third of their news items. Sarika, a community radio station, and ABC RA, an international broadcaster, also produced a high number of governance stories, both dedicating around a quarter of their coverage to the topic. The amount of governance coverage produced by international broadcasters and community based radio stations demonstrates the importance of stations that are independent and unaffiliated with the government, for the regular production of governance content.

State owned radio coverage also varied, but was generally low overall. Coverage ranged considerably, with one PDI station producing no governance content, to another producing just over 15 per cent. Combined, the four PDI stations averaged just over six governance-focused stories each during the fortnight studied. This provides an opportunity for PDI stations to increase the amount of locally and provincially based content that focuses on important governance issues.

3. There is greater depth in governance reporting compared to other news stories

Despite the low overall coverage of governance in the media, when governance stories were reported they, on average, tended to have greater time and space dedicated to them over other news categories (non-government/governance related and government related stories). This was consistent across newspapers, online, TV, and radio. However, despite higher time and space given to governance topics, they did not necessarily feature prominently within their broadcast order or placement within newspapers, online and on radio. TV was the only outlier, with most governance topics broadcast in the top 10 stories during a news segment.

Newspapers did not give substantial preference to governance articles, with the majority appearing in the middle sections of the paper – less likely to appear on the front and back pages or section fronts. However, despite most governance articles appearing in the middle sections of the papers, just over a quarter appeared across the front pages. This does indicate some importance is attached to governance topics.

For the online news providers, there was a mixed placement of governance stories, with VOD placing roughly half its governance stories in the top 10 articles on the site whereas the vast majority of DAP's governance articles appeared outside the top 10. This suggests that online news providers like DAP either do not prioritise governance stories on their site, or strongly prefer topics other than governance in the top 10 stories.

Radio stations consistently broadcast governance issues in the first five stories during news segments studied. There was little variation in the placement of governance issues between the different broadcasters, in relation to ownership and affiliation.

While the placement and ordering of governance issues within respective media outlets does provide some indication of the prominence placed on governance by the media, placement alone is not sufficient in determining the prominence given to governance stories over other news stories.

The amount of time and space given to governance stories appeared to be a more clear indication of the importance attached to governance stories. When governance issues were covered in the media, they were, on average, longer and more in-depth than other story types. Newspapers devoted more column centimetres to governance issues, online more characters, and TV and radio more time. This was consistent across almost all outlets, suggesting that when a governance issue is reported, editors and producers consider it important to the audience.

Most media outlets dedicate more time and space to governance issues, however governance issues are almost solely presented in a straight news format. Most media choose to report on events and facts rather than incorporating editorial analysis, opinion or commentary into their coverage. Across the sector, feature stories, opinion and commentary, and interview and discussion stories accounted for less than ten percent of all governance stories. This means that many stories may have missed covering important background information, different angles and aspects of the stories important to explaining why the event happened.

4. Governance coverage dominated by official government voices

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials made up most of the sources, subjects, and protagonists in the Cambodian media's governance coverage. Source representation is an important part of journalism; it helps journalists and editors explain events and tell stories in the news reporting process (Bashri, 2012; Sigal, 1973). However, the extensive use of official government institutions and elected or appointed officials as sources or 'official' voices in news stories was significantly high throughout the media studied. Often, official sources are considered more credible and more influential in news stories and as a result are often highly represented; however, a lack of source diversity can cause bias or one-sided reporting of an issue (Bashri, 2012). The use of government officials and representatives was frequent across the Cambodian media

sector. Public officials were predominantly the most cited source of information, illustrating how dominant official voices are within the media's governance coverage.

Diversity of sources is an important journalistic feature as a higher number of sources and greater diversity often translates to a greater range of voices and opinions being heard and more balanced coverage of an issue. Across the sector, in the majority of governance stories, the sources, subjects, and the main actor were typically government representatives. This becomes more telling if all government levels are combined – national and provincial government, and the Khan and commune administrations. The government was often overrepresented in governance stories, leaving little space for oppositional viewpoints to be heard, other than the official government position. Citizens were also frequently used as sources and subjects, and although it is an important function of the media to provide a voice to citizens, they were typically not in the position to provide genuine informed viewpoints or provide a counter dialogue to government actions or inactions. This lack of official informed oppositional voice to government in the media is significant and needs to be addressed to allow greater debate and discussion to enter into governance dialogues.

The media in Cambodia as a whole overrepresented public institutions and officials in governance stories, however, certain trends appeared in different media types and outlets. For TV, the state-owned TVK and state-affiliated Bayon News produced a vast majority of their stories using government sources and subjects. However, there was a stark difference between the state owned/affiliated stations representation of official voices compared to the privately owned station, CTN, and its use of government sources and subjects. Despite the representation of government officials still being high, the state owned or affiliated stations relied significantly more on official sources and subjects to populate their governance stories. A similar trend was evident for newspapers. However, the government-affiliated newspapers' representation of sources and subjects was not quite as skewed as other media types, in comparison to non-state media, but government representation still showed unequal coverage – over-representing public institutions and government officials.

The prevalence for overusing government representatives as sources and subjects in governance stories was also common throughout the state-owned radio stations. The government stations – RNK, Kampong Cham PDI, Battambang PDI, Kampot PDI and Siem Reap PDI – not only averaged among the lowest for number of sources used per story, but also had the highest amount of government representation in their sources, subjects and protagonists. In contrast, the community-run stations, Sarika and WMC, averaged double the amount of sources and had a much more even distribution of source attribution, subjects, and protagonists within their coverage.

Presenting different views, opinions and positions in the news is an important tenet for quality journalism and is critical for the media to be able to produce balanced accounts of events to the citizenry. Increasing the amount and diversity of sources used in governance stories is essential to presenting balanced and quality content. This is particularly relevant for state-run media, which were consistently using fewer sources and showing less diversity in their use of sources and subjects than other media. This was consistent for PDIs, where there was little variation in the attribution of sources. Official government sources featured heavily in their governance stories, further highlighting the need for more varied and balanced coverage.

Official government sources made up the majority of sources and subjects used in governance stories, highlighting the reliance on government to speak to governance issues. Although Cambodian citizens were also regularly cited in governance news stories, they were not nearly as dominant as sources cited from public institutions or elected or appointed officials.

5. Public institutions and elected or appointed officials mostly reported positively

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials made up the majority of sources and subjects used in governance stories but were also highly likely to be presented positively in the media. Most members of the public learn about the activities of government and public officials through the media. If media coverage is incorrect, misleading, biased or absent, the public receives inadequate information on the actions, or inactions, of public institutions and officials (Gordon, 2000).

The media is important for providing people a diverse representation of views, ideas, and opinions. However, only increasing the number of sources and subjects within a story does not necessarily ensure balanced content. How the subjects and actors are presented within the story and the sentiment that is attached to them also has an effect on the quality of the story and how the audience interprets the key messages.

When looking at the Cambodian media sector as a whole, a similar pattern to the media's use of sources and subjects emerged. Consistently, public institutions and elected or appointed officials were more often presented either positively or neutrally, being much less likely than other groups to be presented negatively. Whether or not an individual outlet was independent of government ownership and affiliation appeared to be a factor in how government officials and stories were represented and reported, but this relationship should not be overstated. Other factors appear to contribute to how government officials and governance issues were represented and covered by the media. Despite the state-run media using a high percentage of government sources and public institutions and officials as the dominant voices in their stories, the prevalence of this was not significantly higher than international, private and community run media. This suggests that bias in the media sector was not only a result of ownership but also an industry-wide trend. Furthermore, community run media and international broadcasters, independent from government, were more likely to be critical of public institutions and officials.

While the main subjects of governance stories presented in the media showed greater variation in the sentiment attached to them, especially for the community and international broadcasters, the portrayal of the main actor often showed a higher level of bias towards positive representations. In most instances across the media, the main actor or protagonist was an elected or appointed official from a public institution. However, unlike subject sentiment, which was somewhat varied, the main protagonists were mostly represented positively or neutrally with only a small number of media organisations presenting protagonists negatively. This was consistent for all subsections of the media including the state-run and affiliated media, international broadcasters, and community media. Although there was some variation in the representation of subjects in governance coverage, the main actor or protagonist was mostly presented positively or neutrally. This suggests that although there might be some criticism of public institutions within the coverage, the media regularly frames public institutions and officials positively. This trend was also consistent in reporting by international and community media, reinforcing the view that bi-

ased coverage is systematic in the industry and not only relates to ownership or affiliation. This may also be an indication of self censorship by Cambodian media outlets.

Presenting diverse topics and sources in news stories is a journalistic tenet that helps to promote different views and opinions (Voakes, et al, 1996). However, because of the media's tendency to over-represent government voices, subjects, and actors, the government appeared to drive most of the narrative around governance issues. Further to this, as most public institutions and elected or appointed officials were represented positively or, in lesser cases, neutrally, a lack of scrutiny and debate of governance issues within the media is highlighted.

6. Thematic coverage of governance issues is too narrow

There was little variation in the thematic coverage of governance issues across the Cambodian media sector. Five topics – crime and security, administrative news, infrastructure, land rights, and social affairs – made up over 60 per cent of all governance topics reported. This consolidation of coverage was also evident not just in governance coverage but all news items, with a noticeable number of topics important for good governance processes receiving little attention. Corruption, human rights, gender, environment, and law and justice issues received less than five per cent of coverage.

Coverage on issues considered politically or culturally sensitive or issues of social importance were scarce in the media. Given the limited choices for how citizens access and receive information other than through the media, this means there was little opportunity for them to hear important information on these issues. A media free of censorship and restriction is needed for the free flow of information and ideas, and is critical for increasing the quality of governance coverage in Cambodia. Presenting a greater amount and diversity of coverage could initiate debate and discussion on important governance issues.

Considerations

The following considerations provide some broad guiding principles for media development initiatives that are informing the design and implementation of activities in Cambodia.

Increase amount and diversity of coverage

For the Cambodian media sector to improve its governance reporting, with the promotion of good governance processes and reforms at its core, a free, pluralistic, and independent media is essential. The media sector needs to increase the amount of governance coverage it produces, especially on radio and television, so the majority of the population are able to access important information, have a safe space to discuss and debate issues, and be exposed to a greater diversity of viewpoints. Radio and TV are key to leading reform, given their higher access rates, and the limitations around access and literacy for newspaper and internet.

Increase oppositional viewpoints in governance coverage

Public institutions and elected or appointed officials dominate the media's coverage of governance. Currently, the government dictates the agenda building process and how issues of governance, accountability, and transparency are framed and presented to the Cambodian population. Although citizens were provided sufficient media time and space in governance issues, greater diversity of other non-public institutions, such as NGOs, academics, private business and international actors, need to be given greater opportunity to freely and openly discuss issues of governance. This includes increasing the amount and diversity of sources cited within governance stories.

Broaden reporting format beyond straight news stories

Journalists and media organisations need to present more content in different formats. Governance stories would benefit from being covered in feature stories, opinion and editorial pieces, and interviews and discussions similarly, to how it is covered in news stories. Covering stories in this way would allow for greater debate, discussion and opinions to be presented within governance stories. This is particularly relevant for newspapers and online news providers, where the format is better suited to longer, in-depth analysis. For radio and TV to provide more in-depth analysis and discussion on governance issues, the establishment of dedicated governance programming may need to be considered.

Improve legal protection for journalists and enforce the right to free expression and free press

Unevenly applied laws for regulating the media, the constant or perceived threat of physical attacks, and censorship and influence from government all need to be rectified for any substantial changes to occur in the Cambodian media sector. Without guarantees of freedom of expression and a free press, as well as an end to arbitrary enforcement of defamation laws for criticising public officials, journalists will continue to self-censor important information needed to establish good governance processes and inform citizens on important information needed to assess government actions or inactions.

Increase and diversify coverage

Transparency is an issue that received very low coverage across all media types. Transparency is central in promoting institutional effectiveness and should become a greater focus of the media sector. Coverage of important social and institutional information was also low and the media sector should consider increasing its coverage of other important information areas including corruption, anti-corruption initiatives, gender, youth, human rights, and environmental issues.

There was also a distinct lack of media coverage on the effectiveness, equity, and sustainability of governance issues. This means that there was little debate, discussion and awareness on issues including the quality of policy implementation, government commitment to policies, service delivery, equal opportunity to access basic services, and sustainable social development initiatives.

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Annex

Annex 1: Additional Data

Table 40: Level of Analysis

Level of analysis	Measure/Indication
First level of analysis	
Item placement	Newspapers: front page, section front, middle and last.
	DAP online: items are classified by the numbers of order of their appearances on the page within the dates of the period.
	Radio & TV: items are placed based on the numbers of order of their broadcasting in the whole selected programs.
Second level of analysis	
Governance relevance	1. Non-governance/government
	2. Government related
	3. Governance process
	4. Governance goal
Governance primary sub-theme	Refers to the theme that item is concerned with primarily by mentioning it in the lead paragraph and/or headline, and referring to it throughout the context of the entire story
Numbers of sources	A source is a person, institution, or organization to which certain information in the item is attributed. Report how many sources the item has
Sources representation	An item usually has more than one source of information. A source may have more than one form of representation
Third level of analysis	
Subject coded	Each subject is counted once only no matter how many times it is mentioned.
Protagonist of the story	Indicate who is the main subject of the story
Subject sentiment	Indicate whether each subject is mentioned in a (1) positive, (2) negative, or (3) neutral light, based on the context of the story or the issue the subject is involved in the story

Table 41: Data Distribution by Media Outlet

Media type	Media outlet	Total items	Total size/length
Newspaper			Size (cm2)
	Rasmei Kampuchea	905	224003.28
	Koh Santepheap	842	208344.85
	Phnom Penh Post	641	149814.12
	The Cambodia Daily	540	75405.35
	Newspaper total	2928	657567.6
Online			Length (characters)
	DAP	924	3502148585
	VOD	217	1307986133
	Online total	1141	4810134718
TV			Length (hours)
	TVK	246	11.4
	CTN	78	2.01
	Bayon News	134	4.72
	TV total	458	18.13
Radio key			Length (hours)
	RNK	231	10.51
	WMC FM102	151	10.62
	FM103	125	5.76
	RFA	284	24.9
	RFI	223	13
	ABC Radio Australia	127	6.79
Radio (elevant)			Length (hours)
	Sarika FM106.5	154	9.37
	Kampong Cham PDI	179	5.75
	Battambang PDI	58	1.77
	Kampot PDI	87	2.54
	Siem Reap PDI	83	3.06
	Radio total	1702	94.08

Table 42: Date of Data Collection

Media outlet	Collected data	No data	Missing data
CTN (Evening News)	10-day news programs	No broadcast on week-ends of 23-24 and 30-31 August	
Bayon (Evening News)	11-day news programs	No broadcast on Sundays of 24 and 31 August	27 August
TVK (Evening News)	13-day news programs		21 August
RNK	46 news programs	No broadcast of RNK 3pm on weekends of 23, 24, 30, and 31 August	RNK 4pm on 25 August RNK 8am on 26 August RNK 4pm on 28 August RNK 3pm on 18, 19, and 27 August
FM103 (Morning News)	11-day news programs	No broadcast on 20, 21, 31	
Sarika (Morning and Evening News)	19-day news programs	No broadcast on Sundays of 23, 24, 30, and 31 August No morning news broadcast on 18 August	
Provincial Radio		No broadcast of KC on 26, 27, 28 and 29 August No broadcast of BtB on 19th, 23rd, 24th, 29th, 30th, 31st August No broadcast of SR on 24th, 30th, 31st August	
Cambodia Daily, Koh Santepheap, Phnom Penh Post Weekend, Rasmei Kampuchea	12-day publications	Combined publication on weekend of 23, 24 and 30, 31 August	
Phnom Penh Post Khmer	10-day publications	No publication on week-ends of 23, 24 and 30, 31 August	

Table 43: Selected Programs & Broadcast Times for TV & Radio¹²

Media type	Program	Broadcast time	Program	Broadcast time
TV	TVK Evening News	19:00–21:00	CTN Evening News	18:30–19:00
	Bayon Evening News	18:00–18:30		
Radio	RNK Daily News (1)	8:00–8:10	RFA Daily News (1)	5:30–6:30
	RNK Daily News (2)	12:00–12:10	RFA Daily News (2)	19:30–20:30
	RNK Daily News (3)	16:00–16:10	ABC RA Daily News	12:00–13:00
	RNK News Features (4)	15:00–15:10	KC Radio Daily News	16:00–17:00
	WMC Daily News (1)	14:00–14:05	BB Radio Daily News	7:05–7:20
	WMC Daily News (2)	17:00–18:00	KP Radio News (1)	6:00–6:10
	FM103 Daily News	6:00–7:30	KP Radio News (2)	9:00–9:10
	Sarika Morning News	6:00–6:30	SR Radio News (1)	6:00–6:10
	Sarika Evening News	18:00–18:45	SR Radio News (2)	10:00–11:00
	RFI Daily News	17:00–20:00	SR Radio News (3)	18:00–19:00

Table 44: Content & Program Selection¹³

Media type	Weekday		Weekend	
	Week 1 [August 18 – 22]	Week 2 [August 25 – 29]	Weekend 1 [August 23 – 24]	Weekend 2 [August 30 – 31]
Newspapers	(1) The 'main' part of the publication (generally 'Part A'). (2) The supplementary parts (i.e. 'Part B' and 'Part C') are included only when they contain material continuing from 'Part A'. Contains only one main part with different sections.			
Online	(1) All stories in the 'National News' section. All stories that are 'published' (as written on top of each story) on the dates within the timeframe.			
TV	(1) Programs designated as 'news programs' by the broadcaster. (2) Programs broadcast during 'prime time' (based on advertising rates collected in 2009). 'Prime time' for Cambodian broadcasters falls within 11am – 1pm and 5pm – 10pm).			
Radio	Broadcaster designated 'news programs'.			

¹² Some media outlets in the sample rebroadcast their news programs. These programs were excluded from the sample so as not to duplicate the coding of news items.

¹³ Cambodian newspapers are divided on two levels: 'part' and 'section'. Rasmei Kampuchea Daily, for example, comes in three 'parts'. Part 'A' is the main section of the publication, while part 'B' and 'C' are considered 'supplementary' to part A, which are considered to include 'trivial' items on various issues such as arts, sport and entertainment. Part A generally covers news and related news stories.

Annex 2: Limitations

Date collection

Trained coders from the University of Phnom Penh Department of Media and Communication were used to collect and organise the data from the selected media outlets. In the collection of data, a few points should be noted:

- (1) Eight media outlets did not have weekend or Sunday news program or publication.
- (2) Some media outlets did not broadcast on certain weekdays for unknown reasons and as a result, no content was collected for these outlets, see Table 42, Annex 1 for more details).
- (3) A few news programs were missing from the analysis. Whether the data was missing or did not exist, the collected data was weighted prior to analysis, see Table 42, Annex 1 for details).

Annex 3: Codebook

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

[Insert coder name and number]

- (1) Ath Chhunmuoy
- (2) Chouy Chamnap
- (3) Hean Socheata
- (4) Hun Keoveasna
- (5) Nget Kan Davith
- (6) Rin Sokreth
- (7) Mao Chandaly
- (8) Yav Sokhim
- (9) Ket Monny Vathna
- (10) Khuoy MareuDoeb
- (11) Sok Chann

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

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

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

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

- (1) Rasmey Kampuchea Daily
- (2) Koh Santepheap Daily
- (3) Phnom Penh Post
- (4) The Cambodia Daily
- (5) DAP Online News

- (6) VOD Online News
- (7) National Television of Kampuchea (TVK)
- (8) CTN
- (9) Bayon News
- (10) RNK
- (11) WMC FM102
- (12) FM103
- (13) Sarika FM106.5
- (14) Radio Free Asia (RFA)
- (15) Radio France International (RFI)
- (16) ABC Radio Australia
- (17) Kampong Cham PDI
- (18) Battambang PDI
- (19) Kampot PDI
- (20) Siem Reap PDI

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

- (1) TVK Evening News Program (19:00-20:00 Monday-Sunday)
- (2) CTN Evening News Program (17:30-19:00 Monday-Friday)
- (3) Bayon News Evening News Program (17:00 Monday-Friday)
- (4) RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (8:00) (Monday-Sunday)
- (5) RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (12:00) (Monday-Sunday)
- (6) RNK Daily 10-minute news bulletins (16:00) (Monday-Friday)
- (7) RNK 10-minute news feature (15:00) (Monday-Friday)
- (8) WMC Daily News Program (14:00 – 14:05) (Monday-Sunday)
- (9) WMC Daily News Program (17:00 – 18:00) (Monday-Sunday)

- (10) FM103 Daily News Program (6:00 – 7:30) (Monday-Saturday)
- (11) Sarika Morning News (6:00-6:30 Monday-Friday)
- (12) Sarika Evening News Report (18:00-18:45 Monday-Friday)
- (13) RFA Daily News Program (5:30-6:30) (Monday-Sunday)
- (14) RFA Daily News Program (19:30-20:30) (Monday-Sunday)
- (15) RFI Daily News Program (19:00-20:00) (Monday-Sunday)
- (16) ABC Australia Daily News Program (12:00-13:00)
- (17) Kampong Cham Radio Daily News Program (16:00-17:00 Monday-Friday)
- (18) Battambang Radio Daily News Program (7:05-7:20 Monday-Friday)
- (19) Kampot Radio News Program (9:00 Monday-Saturday)
- (20) Kampot Radio News Program (15:00 Monday-Saturday)
- (21) Siem Reap Radio News (6:00-6:09 Monday-Saturday)
- (22) Siem Reap Radio News (8:00-8:13 Monday-Saturday)
- (23) Siem Reap Radio News (10:00-10:08 Monday-Saturday)

5. Date of Publication: Write the date on which the item is published or broadcast. Use this format: DD/MM/YY, for example 18/7/14 for 18 July 2014.

6. Date of Coding: Write the date on which the item was coded using this format: DD/MM/YY, for example 18/7/14 for 18 July 2014.

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

- (1) News: if the item is about an important current event and it is fact-based reporting.
- (2) Feature: if the item is about an event or subject and focused more deeply on certain particularly interesting aspects of the subject other than its currency.
- (3) Opinion/commentary: if the item expresses the opinion and/or analysis of the writer/reporter/anchor/individual on a particular issue. The item attempts to draw a conclusion to convince the audience.
- (4) Interview/discussion: if the item is explicitly structured and presented to the audience as an interview or discussion.

- (5) Vox pop: if it is presented as an independent item consisting of only a quick survey of several ordinary people's short opinion on a topic.
- (6) Advertorial: if the item is written as news or feature but is largely aimed at promoting a product, service or activity of an institution or commercial entity.
- (7) Others (Specify).

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

Newspaper:

- (1) National news or Social news
- (2) Crimes or Social Security or National Security
- (3) Traffic
- (4) Environment
- (5) Business and Economics
- (6) Culture-Education-Health
- (7) Social Activities
- (8) International news or World News
- (9) Entertainment/Lifestyle
- (10) Culture and Arts
- (11) Sports
- (12) Letter to Editor or Op-Ed or Commentary
- (13) Special Report
- (14) Other (Specify)

Online

- (15) National news
- (16) International news
- (17) Economic news
- (18) Arts and sports

Radio

- (19) National news or Social news
- (20) Crime or Social Security or National Security
- (21) Traffic
- (22) Business or Economics
- (23) Social Activities
- (24) International news or World news
- (25) Entertainment or Lifestyle
- (26) Culture and Arts
- (27) Sports
- (28) Education
- (29) Health
- (30) Environment or Science
- (31) Letter to Editor or Op-Ed or Commentary
- (32) Other (Specify)

TV

- (33) National News
- (34) International News
- (35) Sports
- (36) Entertainment and Lifestyle
- (37) Other (Specify)

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

- (1) Crimes and security
- (2) Traffic accidents

- (3) Other accidents
- (4) Political conflicts and affairs
- (5) Corruption/ anti-corruption
- (6) Social affairs
- (7) Law and Justice
- (8) Administrative news
- (9) Land /land right issues
- (10) Investment, Trade, Business and Economic issues
- (11) Human Right
- (12) International cooperation
Infrastructure
- (13) Educational issues
- (14) Environmental issues
- (15) Agriculture and Fishery
- (16) Natural Resources (Forestry, Fishing)
- (17) Health
- (18) Youth/ youth empowerment
- (19) Gender Issues
- (20) Ethnic Issues
- (21) Military
- (22) International/regional issues
- (23) Entertainment and celebrity gossips
- (24) Cultural and artistic issues and religious
- (25) Science/Technology
- (26) Sports
- (27) Others (Specify)

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

- (0) No secondary topic
- (1) Crimes and security
- (2) Traffic accidents
- (3) Other accidents
- (4) Political conflicts and affairs
- (5) Corruption/ anti-corruption
- (6) Social affairs, Employment
- (7) Law and Justice
- (8) Administrative news
- (9) Land /land right issues
- (10) Investment, Trade, Business and Economic issues
- (11) Human Right
- (12) International cooperation
- (13) Infrastructures
- (14) Educational issues
- (15) Environmental issues
- (16) Agriculture and Fishery
- (17) Natural Resources (Forestry, Fishing)
- (18) Health
- (19) Youth/ youth empowerment
- (20) Gender Issues
- (21) Ethnic/Indigenous Issues
- (22) Military

- (23) International/regional issues
- (24) Entertainment and celebrity gossips
- (25) Cultural and artistic issues and religious
- (26) Science/Technology
- (27) Sports
- (28) Other (specify)

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

11B. Story Length for Online: Record the length of the item by counting the “*number of words count in Khmer language*” from the original stories archived as PDF from the online news.

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

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

- (1) Front Page
- (2) Section Front
- (3) Middle
- (4) Last

12B. Item Placement for Online News: For example, online items are classified by the numbers of order of their appearances on the page within the dates of the timeframe. For example, “1” for the top item on the page and “10” for the tenth item.

12C. Item Placement for Radio: Radio items are placed based on the numbers of order of their broadcasting in the whole selected programs. For example, “1” for the first item in the program

and “10” for the tenth item.

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

13. Story Format-Governance Stories: Decide if the item is relevant to governance in Cambodia.

Governance stories reflect on the processes that involve certain actors from different sectors to achieve certain goals. The definitions below highlight the actors, processes and goals that may be reflected in governance stories.

Governance is about **the processes** by which public policy decisions are made and implemented. It is the result of interactions, relationships and networks **between the different sectors (government, public sector, private sector and civil society)** and involves decisions, negotiation, and different power relations between stakeholders **to determine who gets what, when and how**. The relationships between government and different sectors of society determine how things are done and how services are provided (UNDP 2018; A User’s guide to measuring local governance).

Based on the various definitions of governance, stories can be classified into four different categories. The following classifications were developed as part of the previous study and updated for the second content analysis. In addition to this, the following four stories format had been categorized based on the result of discussion on stories format testing among coders for their consensus on governance concept. These four stories format were selected based on the practical testing experiences of two different stories format from both local and international newspaper. These are explained:

- (1) Non governance stories – Overall story does not relate to governance actors, processes or goals.
- (2) Government related story: Personal story related to public officials or events with a focus on the governance actors only and not on the process or goal. Government related stories are not directly identified with governance goals or processes. These stories are **not** governance stories, as they do not necessarily report on governance processes or goals, they are related to personal stories of public officials or events with a focus on the governance actors only and **not professional duties**, the process or goal. These stories are classified as government related stories.

Actor: A story that relates to public officials/institutions at either national or sub-national (local) level that performed actions which are non-governance related.

- (3) Governance story as Process: Overall story related to state-non-state, institutions or events with a focus on the governance actors and their professional duties. Governance as a process highlights the processes by which public policy decisions are made and implemented. It also highlights the operational aspect of governance including the challenges and problem-

atic incidents in delivery of governance.

Actor: A story that relates to state-non state/institutions at either national or sub-national (local) level that performed their professional duties, which are governance related.

Process: That concerns the acquisition and the exercise of their authority over the public policy, public goods, and public services.

- (4) Governance story as Goal: Involves all three elements the actors, processes and goals to report on governance outcomes. Governance as a goal includes the delivery of governance outcomes and impact (or not) as the various actors engage in implementation of governance processes.

Goal: That concerns the development and/or well-being of the country for long-term impact and sustainability.

Therefore, for this variable code the item as:

- (1) Non-governance [end coding here]
- (2) Government related story [see definition in (2), above; and end coding here]
- (3) Governance as process [see definition in (3), above; and continue coding till the end]
- (4) Governance as goal [see definition in (4) above; and continue coding till the end]

Continue coding for stories that fall into category 3 & 4

14A. Governance Primary Sub-theme as Process: Governance themes to be updated as outline below. The governance themes are currently classified under the actor, process and goal interpretations of governance. However, these classifications may not be used in the final codebook database to avoid confusion.

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

- (1) Institutional development – In the public sector, institutional development represents both the continued evolution and the deliberate reform of state agencies. Specific study topics under this theme include:
 - Organic law analysis
 - Implementing decentralisation and de-concentration (D&D) reforms
 - Political economy of sectoral D&D

- State coordination and the public good
- Implementing fiscal decentralisation in a Neo-patrimonial context
- (2) State-Society Relation – The state's ability to exercise its core functions (e.g. the production and enforcement of rules; the extraction and redistribution of resources; and the ability to conceptualise and guard the public good) is not only determined by institutional arrangements, it is also determined by the states relationship with society. Specific study topics/stories under this theme are:
 - Consequences of the electoral systems: the concept of opposition in Cambodian political culture
 - State Responsiveness in a democratic society
 - Leadership in local politics
- (3) Civic engagement – The sphere in which individuals, families, communities, and non-state actors interact with another and with representatives of the state. Specific study topics under this theme are:
 - Concepts of citizens
 - The Rise and role of the middle class
 - Reciprocity between state and society: The foundations of tax system
 - Neo-patrimonialism: Cross cutting themes; (I) the participation of women in institutions as decision-makers; (II) the engagement of women as citizens with the state and its institutions; (III) Capacity of the state to promote gender equality and mainstream gender; (IV) the impact of the hybrid state on gender relations more broadly
- (4) Other (specify)

14A1. Governance Primary Sub-theme as Process: Institutional development

- (1) Accountability
- (2) Transparency
- (3) Citizen Voice and Participation
- (4) Other (specify)

14A2. Governance Primary Sub-theme as Process: State-Society Relation

- (1) Accountability

- (2) Transparency
- (3) Citizen Voice and Participation
- (4) Other (specify)

14A3. Governance Primary Sub-theme as Process: Civic Engagement

- (1) Accountability
- (2) Transparency
- (3) Citizen Voice and Participation
- (4) Other (specify)

14B. Governance Primary Sub-theme as Goal:

- (1) Effectiveness: The quality of policy formulation and implementation, and credibility of government's commitment to policies. For example, success or failure of service delivery to citizens, satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the citizens in accessing quality public services.
- (2) Equity: Equal opportunity to access basic services, resources and to livelihoods.
- (3) Sustainability: Ensuring the development sustainability for social development.
- (4) Other (specify)

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

- (0) No secondary sub-theme
- (1) Accountability
- (2) Transparency
- (3) Citizen Voice and Participation
- (4) Effectiveness
- (5) Social Equity
- (6) Sustainability
- (7) Other (specify)

16. Number of Sources in the Item: A source is a person, institution, or organisation to which certain information in the item is attributed. **Write the number of sources in the item.**

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

- (1) National government or its representative
- (2) Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative
- (3) District/Khan government/administrations or its representative
- (4) Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative
- (5) Law enforcement authority
- (6) Judiciary
- (7) Legislature
- (8) Corporate/commercial entity
- (9) Union
- (10) Academia
- (11) Professional association/group
- (12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies
- (13) Foreign government
- (14) International NGO
- (15) National or local NGO
- (16) Local community / Community-based organization
- (17) Ruling political party
- (18) Opposition political party
- (19) Other political parties
- (20) Common citizen/private individual
- (21) Anonymous

- (22) Other (specify)

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

18A. Number of times each source is quoted directly.

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) National government or its representative
- (2) Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative
- (3) District/Khan government/administrations or its representative
- (4) Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative
- (5) Law enforcement authority or its representative
- (6) Judiciary or its representative
- (7) Legislature or its representative
- (8) Corporate/commercial entity or its representative
- (9) Union or its representative
- (10) Academia/academic
- (11) Professional association/group or its representative
- (12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies or its representative

- (13) Foreign government or its representative
- (14) International NGO
- (15) National or local NGO
- (16) Local community / Community-based organization
- (17) Ruling political party
- (18) Opposition party
- (19) Other political parties
- (20) Common citizen/private individual
- (21) Delegates
- (22) Others (specify)

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

- (1) National government or its representative
- (2) Capital/Provincial government/administrations or its representative
- (3) District/Khan/Municipality government/administrations or its representative
- (4) Commune/Sangkat administration or its representative
- (5) Law enforcement authority or its representative
- (6) Judiciary or its representative
- (7) Legislature or its representative
- (8) Corporate/commercial entity or its representative
- (9) Union or its representative
- (10) Academia/academic
- (11) Professional association/group or its representative
- (12) Donor, development partner or UN agencies or its representative
- (13) Foreign government or its representative
- (14) International NGO

- (15) National or local NGO
- (16) Local community / Community-based organization
- (17) Ruling political party
- (18) Opposition parties
- (19) Other political parties
- (20) Common citizen/private individual
- (21) Delegates
- (22) Others (specify)

22. Subject Sentiment: Indicate whether each subject is mentioned in a (1) positive, (2) negative, or (3) neutral way, based on the context of the story or the issue the subject is involved in the story. The sentiment of the subject whether positive, negative and neutral based on the inter-relationship between the main subject and relevance subjects to the stories. The subject sentiment will also be indicated from reporter's tone to those subjects.

- (1) Positive
- (2) Negative
- (3) Neutral

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

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

24. Photo/Image for Newspaper and online:

24A. Number of photo/images: Write the number of photo/images the item is accompanied with, (for example, 0, 1, 2, 3, etc.).

24B. Description of each photo/image: For each photo/image, describe it in one sentence by using this following format: "WHO is doing WHAT?"

