

**Voter Awareness Impact Survey
in
Kandal and Kampong Speu provinces**

December 3, 2001

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Executive Summary

One specific aim of the this impact survey is to test whether any changes have made in local people's awareness and perceptions since the national survey conducted in 2000. This would be a useful instrument for concerned NGOs to measure which level of success they have obtained from their planned voter/civic education in the pre and post registration period, and furthermore to draw a new voter/civic education campaign for the nearer forthcoming commune elections and onwards. Based on the findings of the survey, the researchers team has included in the report specific recommendations on priority voter/civic education needs and which elements in it that are not enough yet and thus to be taken into account for improvement.

The survey was conducted between 6 and 26 September, 2001 and consisted of a random, representative sample of 200 in-person interviews with Cambodian voting-age people selected in Kampong Speu (72 interviews) and Kandal (128 interviews) provinces. This research study was commissioned by The Asia Foundation and conducted by the Center for advanced Study. The questionnaire was renewed on the base of the questionnaire formulated in the national survey in 2000. Below are the key findings of the survey, followed by a more detailed explanation of the findings and their implications for recommendations for the forthcoming commune elections drawn on February 3, 2002.

KEY FINDINGS

In comparison with the 2000 baseline survey:

- The local voting-age population has increased in number with regard to get awareness and perception of the function of the commune government and the planning and preparation of the local government elections as the forthcoming commune elections are coming nearer.
- The majority of the local voters are still hopeful for a happy future of their country and desire to choose their own local leaders; otherwise, there is a little difference while they are more confident that the forthcoming local elections will be free and fair.
- Most local voters are positive at almost the same level, about the country's elections and future, thanks to economic and social recovery and political stability and progress, although they think the greatest problem is poverty, followed by natural disaster (mainly flood) and deteriorating economy.
- Almost the same, many local voters say that people in their areas can express freely their ideas of politics.
- Prior to the forthcoming commune elections, the increased local population seems to be proud of saying the priority role of the local commune government if comparing the central government to the local one
- In fact, most local population refers to the more important role of the local government if comparing to the national government. In addition, the forthcoming commune elections, first in their kind, are likely to encourage the local voters to say a lot of things interesting about the functions of their local government, and many of them are satisfied with the activities it is doing.

- As at the national level, poverty is still the biggest problem followed by natural disaster. Surprisingly, in the impact survey the second largest concern is neither poverty nor economy, but natural disaster.
- The absolute majority of local population has heard about the forthcoming commune elections as the date of the elections is coming nearer. With regard to going to vote in the elections almost all the local voters say they will go.
- There is some increase in the number of those who are confident that the forthcoming commune elections will be free and fair or conduct without cheating.
- Based on the impact survey, 93.5% of the voting-age population has been registered for the forthcoming local government elections (against in about 83% of the voters registered at national level mentioned by NEC). Remarkably, those who failed to register themselves due to, primarily sickness, old age, but it is important to stress that there are some reasons vis-à-vis irregularities in the registration.
- There is a big difference as the local voters this year know better about how the commune elections will be held than last year (8% saying “don’t know “vs.81%). On the contrary, they think the commune elections will be held by individuals instead of party lists whilst they say the commune chief will be elected by the voters rather than the local council.
- Although the local voters believe the electoral abuses are still widespread they refer to non-partisan monitoring as means of confidence building.
- Whilst the local voters connect democracy with freedom like in the baseline survey, it is important to note that the forthcoming local government elections seem to encourage them to say something about democracy better than before. Still, few people have participated in the political beyond voting and while the political tolerance is still a norm in the community , surprisingly the tolerance at the personal this year is likely to be in progress.
- There is almost no change in the idea of gender leadership, otherwise it is likely that the female local voters seem to be supportive of equal rights for women’s leadership.
- TV, radio and in-person contacts with friends/family and/or through house visits and public meetings are still the most useful medium for voter/civic education.

THE REGIONAL MOOD: Positive Amid Poverty

As in the baseline survey, the local population are hopeful about their country despite the severe problems it challenges. In comparison with the baseline survey, those who say their country is headed in the right direction has increased in 11% (73% vs.69%)

while only 70% (vs.15%) of them are confident of a happy Cambodia in the future while just 15% (vs.3%) are not confident at all. The principal reasons for the optimism are almost the same, beginning with the economic recovery, followed by peace, democracy and service improvement.

With regard to the economic well-being, the impact survey results are almost the same. Despite the economic/social gains, poverty still remains the Cambodia’s greatest problem cited by 38%. Next comes the natural disaster (especially flood, as the fieldwork targeted in Kandal, covered mainly by flooded plains during the wet season) mentioned by 20.5%. Then come economy, crime/drugs, political disputes, infrastructure and water.

Thanks to the latest reconciliation/compromise among all Cambodians factions engaged in civil conflicts, the political atmosphere (especially in the former confrontation areas such as in Am Laing commune, Thpong district, Kampong Speu province) has changed from more serious status to détente. Furthermore there is slightly increase in the number of the local voters who say one can express freely his political opinion in his area (70% vs.66%) although 15% (vs.20%) say they cannot and 15% are unsure. the latter groups tend be non-educated.

COMMUNE GOVERNMENT: Important But Still Little Understood

Prior to the forthcoming commune elections, the local voters tend preferably to the importance of the local government. those who think the commune government influences their lives more than the central government outnumber those with the opposite view by a margin of 52% to 15.5% (vs.47% to 21%). On the other hand, this can be explained by the political factors in the Cambodian traditional culture.

Moreover, the specific pattern of the Cambodian traditional political culture is further highlighted by the fact that almost half of local voters are supportive of the idea of paternalistic characteristics in the local government (as a father and people as children). Meanwhile, the democratic-oriented view of equality for government and people is the same as in the baseline survey (28%) while the number of the local voters who consider the government as a boss and people as workers seems to be slightly increased (17% vs.11%). Perhaps when the commune elections are coming nearer the local population dare to say what you may see around them and there is a remained traumatized thinking of the Khmer Rouge nightmare.

Currently, the local population know better what the local government does (only 12% say “don’t know” vs.25%). Most people express positively their opinions about the activities and control of the local government : 34.5% (vs.22%) for maintaining/building roads, 25.5% (vs.11%) for improving their life, 17% (vs.25%) for resolving disputes; on the contrast there is less negative opinions but it is likely to be increased: corruption and bad governance cited by respectively 17.5% (vs.7%) and 12.5% (vs.5%).

Like in the baseline survey, most local voters (67.5% vs.63%) say the commune is headed in the right direction while only 18% think it is headed in the wrong direction. Of those who see their community going in the right direction, 32.6% (vs.32%) say it is thanks to economy, 28.1% (vs.24%) to peace, 24.4% (vs.31%) to improved services and interestingly 22.2% (vs.8%) to democratic progress. In one word, the reasons for the optimism at the local level are almost the same at the national level. In addition, 63% (vs.54%) say they are satisfied with the job performance of the commune government, although 34.5% (vs.42%) are not satisfied.

Almost the same at the national level, the principal local problems are poverty cited by 57% (vs.48%), natural disaster by 11% (vs.0%) and economy by 10% (vs.5.5%). Moreover, the 3 second local biggest problems are identical to the 3 first ones.

COMMUNE ELECTIONS: Desire to Choose and Less Doubts About Fairness

The local population desires to vote in the elections if they would be held; even if some people failed to be registered for the forthcoming elections they say they will go to vote. The number of such people is up to 96.5%. Meanwhile, the absolute majority of local voting-age people (96.5% vs.67%) have heard the local elections are coming while just 3% (vs.29%) have not and 0.5% (vs.4%) are unsure. Those who don’t know it are among non-TV viewers or non-radio listeners. But the principal reasons were as follows: choosing leaders (38% vs.43%), civic duty (18% vs.9%) and end corruption (16% vs.18%). So the task for voter education should focus on what

commune governments do in this period onwards. Stimulating people to participate in these elections would not be a priority.

As the commune elections are coming nearer and the political situation of the country in general become much better the number of the local voters who are confident that the forthcoming local elections will be free and fair has considerably increased (57.5% vs.42%) whilst 5% (vs.6%) do not believe and 37.5% (vs.52%) are not sure. With regard to the doubts about fairness, 46.5% (vs.34%) believe there will no cheating, 6% (vs.34%) do not, and 47.5% (vs.54%) are unsure. Nevertheless, the proportion of doubts about cheating in the elections seems to be higher than that of doubts about not being free and fair because some people consider competing between different parties to be free and fair elections although there would be some cheating.

It is likely that the local voters who believe voting in the commune elections will change things for the better is rather lower (big difference: 9% vs.15% and some difference: 16% vs.17%). On the contrast, those who think there will not be any difference have increased (34% vs.15%). This can be explained by the fact that the local population are not fully confident of the future commune council yet: who they are, where they are from, how their activities would be, etc. as this is a new form of the local government, an elected one. Among the more optimistic, the principal changes from the elections are local leadership (48.6% vs.29.6%) and better roads (15.7% vs.13.3%).

VOTER REGISTRATION: Still A Big Issue

In conformity with the impact survey, the majority of local voting-age population has been registered (93.5% vs.86.3% gathered from the official source, in these two provinces and about 83% at national level) for voting in the forthcoming local elections.

Just 6.5% of the local population who failed to register themselves. There were different reasons, but these could be divided in personal causes (33.3% of them referred to sickness, 20% to old age and 6.6% to pregnancy) and those with irregularities in the registration workings (being told to register at difference place/time and no having heard about registration on time with 13,3% each, no proper document and not being allowed to enter and go to registration station with 6.6% each).

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: Election Workings, Confidence Building

It is likely that those who need information about the commune elections coming have reduced (69% vs.89%) whilst 20.5% (vs.7%) say they do not need it. This could be explained that generally, the local population has got enough information for this moment. Meanwhile, only 24% of the local voters (vs.51%) who say “don’t know” about how the voting will work, but there is increasing confusion among the local population with regard to election system: more half of them (53% vs.31%) think the elections will be organized by individuals (instead of party lists). Nevertheless, most people (77% vs.15%) say the commune chief will be selected by the voters (77.5% vs.15%), but interestingly those who are unsure have considerably decreased (8% vs.81%). Remarkably, there is some progress as only 45.5% (vs.75%) who do not know who will organize and run the local elections, while 14% (vs.4%) could find out in the right manner, NEC as in charge of the electoral process. In addition, the number of the local voters who know where to complain have increased in 15% (55% vs.40%) while those who are unaware have reduced (42% vs.56%). Almost no change has been made with regard to whom they would complain when coming any/some of the irregularities during the electoral process in comparison with the baseline survey; and if it happening they referred primarily to the village chief/group chief (26.4%), the commune

chief/government (20%). Next come police, monitors/observers, local election committee with the percentage varying from 13.6% to 8.2%.

there are still widespread concerns about possible election irregularities. Almost half of local voters (49%) say that one or more of 9 specific violations could take place in the areas where they live, while only 30% think none of them will happen (21% are not sure). Remarkably, the most concern during the commune elections will be vote buying (37% vs.24%), instead of media bias (10% vs.35%). This change is in conformity with the current new order of Cambodia's media and the remaining gifts policy made with people. Next come violence (8.5% vs.18%), forced pledges to vote for a party (6% vs.14%), violations of ballot secrecy (6% vs.11%), cheating in the vote count (5.5% vs.17%), threats from officials (5% vs.13%), and official pressure to vote for a party (4.5% vs.12%). The reduction of these last irregularities resulted from Cambodia's political situation in general, tending to détente (despite some cases related to violations of human rights during this electoral process).

The local voters still strongly support a measure to create non-partisan observers monitoring as they believe a kind of confidence building. 63% (including 46.5% are much confident) think the commune elections will be free and fair at the non-partisan observers presence. Moreover, as the commune elections are coming nearer those who have heard of observers presence increased in number (68% vs.42%) while just 18.5% (vs.42%) and 13.5% (vs.6%) are unaware.

The specific target groups for voter education are included mainly the local voters with less than primary school, especially women as well as those with category of age. They should be educated on what the local government does, how it is elected, where people to complain and how people vote in the elections.

CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS: Democracy, Tolerance and Gender

Interestingly, there is some progress with regard to local people's perception and awareness of democracy in comparison with the 2000 baseline survey. Just 43.5% of the local voters who say "don't know" against 69% in the baseline survey. Those who are aware like to associate the concept of democracy with political rights (78.5% of them vs.32%) such as freedom in general, individual freedom, people's rights (38% in total vs.9%), but almost the same for right to vote and other rights concerned (6.5% vs.6%). 7% (vs.4%) connect democracy with economic gains (7% vs.4%) and peace and stability consensus (17% vs.4%); this is thanks to post-conflict economic recovery and current political situation. Nevertheless, it is important to note that those who say "don't know" are not always unaware, there are also those who don't dare to express their own opinion of democratic concept(s) among them as these attitudes are really connected with the harshness of dictator's regime.

Despite some success in democratic process in the latest period, there clearly need for civic education efforts. Those who are in need of civic education are mostly women

(53.6%), poorly educated people (73.5%), young (50%), non-TV viewers (65.4%), non-radio-listeners (48.4%) and non-organization members (47.1%).

As in the baseline survey, some important aspects of a democratic/participatory political culture are still weak in the center region like in others parts of Cambodia. Interest in politics is still low (48% vs.52% and only 17% are very interested) but there is slightly increase in political discussion (those who discuss politics all the time or often: 17% vs.13%). Fear may be one of the factors that reduces the number of people with less/no political interest and discussion. Moreover, personal influence on the commune decision is still weak: more than half of local voters (57.5% vs.63%) think they have little or no influence.

Surprisingly, with regard to the political tolerance, there is almost the same in public.73% (vs.68%) express their tolerance for party meeting; on the other hand, there a big difference, as 88% (vs.31%) show their tolerance at personal level. This may be associated with the present political situation resulted from compromise policy for all different political parties, despite some cases of human rights abuses in this electoral process.

Like Cambodians as a whole, the local population do not accept the political rights for immigrants: over two-thirds (70%) would not allow that immigrants to vote in the forthcoming local elections. This is simply connected with historical factors, traumatized years of internal conflicts with foreign intervention and present-day border and immigration problems.

Finally, gender still emerged as major concern in voting. Although 91.5% (vs.90%) recognize that a woman can be a good commune leader, it is not a surprise that

47% (vs.55%) still believe men are better suited for commune council membership than women and only 50% (vs.41%) think women should be as active as men. Meanwhile, men are said to be better educated, more knowledgeable about politics, more intelligent (76.5% vs.74%) accept that women should make their own choice, 20.5% (vs.25%) think men should advise them.

Although there is some progress/improvement in people's perception and awareness of basic democracy and its related consequences. Civic education is still needed, addressed to the specific target /priority groups beyond the forthcoming commune elections. These groups would be women with less complete primary education, women over 35, voters younger than 25, not regular TV viewers. Issues would be the meaning of democracy (as system and at personal level), political interest. However, for all local voters, civic education should focus on political discussion, political participation, political tolerance towards unpopular political parties and at personal level as well, women and political leadership and immigrant rights prior the forthcoming elections and in the post-election period.

VOTER EDUCATION SOURCES AND MEDIA: TV, Radio, and In-Person

Being the most powerful medium in the region as well as in Cambodia as a whole, Television is currently watched by 75.5% or three-fourth of the public (vs.59%) while only 45.5% (vs.49%) are regular radio listeners. Very few voters read newspapers (3.5%) but many rely on word of mouth from friends, family members and neighbors for news. With regards to voting and elections (cited by 44% vs.47%), followed by TV (mentioned by 27% vs.13%) and radio (cited by 11.5% vs.13%).

The priority groups for in-person voter/civic education, defines as those no having access to TV or radio, those with no schooling and women over35> They cannot be reached simply by going through associations or organizations, as 78.5% of the local population do not belong to any, and the mass membership groups that exist are weak, with no category claiming more than 6.5% of the population as members. However, organizations may be able to play an important outreach role to non-members if they are involved in a coordinated campaign. In general, the weakness of civil society associations in the region and in the country as a whole means that NGOs will need to develop targeted outreach programs to ensure that voters outside the reach of the broadcast media have the information they need to participate effectively in the democratic/electoral process.

CONCLUSION: The Campaign Recommendations

Pulling together the various findings of the survey suggests campaign recommendations for voter/civic education in the regional commune elections with

specific messages and targets prior to the commune elections and in the post-election period as well.

With regard to the voter education prior to the local elections, it should focus on the awareness of commune elections, the role of commune government and the secrecy of the vote. There would be specific target groups, namely female voters, voters with less than primary education, voters over/under 36.

Meanwhile, voter/civic education should be included how the elections will work, meaning of democracy, women's independent participation, tolerance of all parties and encouraging interest in politics for all local voters, especially women with less than primary education, women over 35, voters younger than 25 and non-TV viewers.

In post-election period, the voter/civic education campaign should focus on democratic participation in local government institutions. This would include involvement with government, elections campaign and civil society bodies, political discussion, tolerance (of unpopular parties and at personal level) and women and political leadership.

Introduction

This report presents the findings of opinion research conducted this year in comparison with those in the 2000 baseline survey. With regard to concerned NGOs and other institutions this would be a useful thing to measure/evaluate what level of success would be achieved in the voter and civic education campaigns drawn between the pre and post registration periods for the forthcoming commune elections scheduled for February 3, 2002.

- *The National Mood*
- *Local Issues and Governance*
- *Attitudes towards the Commune Elections*
- *Voter Registration*
- *Voter Education Needs*
- *Civic Education Needs*
- *Voter Education Sources and Media.*

It conducts with a summary of the proposed campaign plan, and has appendices with media and demographic data, and frequency questionnaire.

Methodology

The quantitative survey was conducted in September 6-26, 2001 involving 200 in-person interviews of a representative random sample of the population living in Kampong Speu and Kandal provinces.

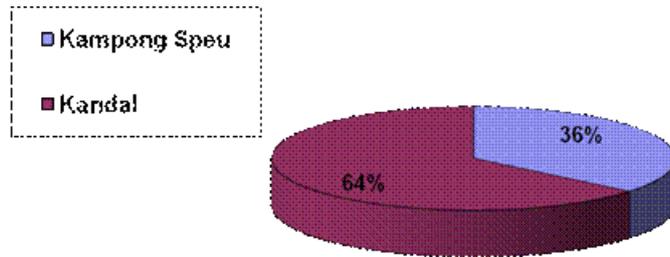
The fieldwork was conducted by a group of researchers from the Center for Advanced Study (CAS), comprised of Mr. Sou Ketya (MA), Mr. Souk Narin (MA), Mr. Hun Thearith (BA), and Ms. Mak Sophea (BA), while the data entry and the write up were made by the CAS senior researchers group. Meanwhile, this study was gradually assisted by Dr. Hean Sokhom, (CAS Director).

The Sample

Based on the national survey conducted last year in 23 provinces and municipalities of Cambodia, the current survey focused only on regional sample as case study. This impact survey covered a representative sample of 200 in-person interviews randomly drawn in proportion to the voting-age population of Kampong Speu (72 interviews in 7 of 8 districts as Oral excluded is relatively less populated) and Kandal (128 interviews in all of 11 districts) with an error margin of $\pm 2\%$. In this way, every local voter had an equal chance of being interviewed.

Kampong Speu and Kandal are two provinces of the central region (other provinces are Kampong Chhnang, Kampong Thom and Phnom Penh) which are the most populated area with 34% of the national voters. Although both provinces are located nearby the Cambodia's capital they are partly different when talking about the livelihood of population. Mountainous areas where the local population refers mostly to farming on poorly fertile lands specifically cover Kampong Speu. In general, their living conditions are relatively poor, as opportunities for household income generating are not largely provided. On the contrary, in general, the living standard of Kandal population is relatively better thanks to more opportunities and good geographic factors (including land fertility). Furthermore, the people's perception in these provinces is partly different that creates accessibility for us to select a sample.

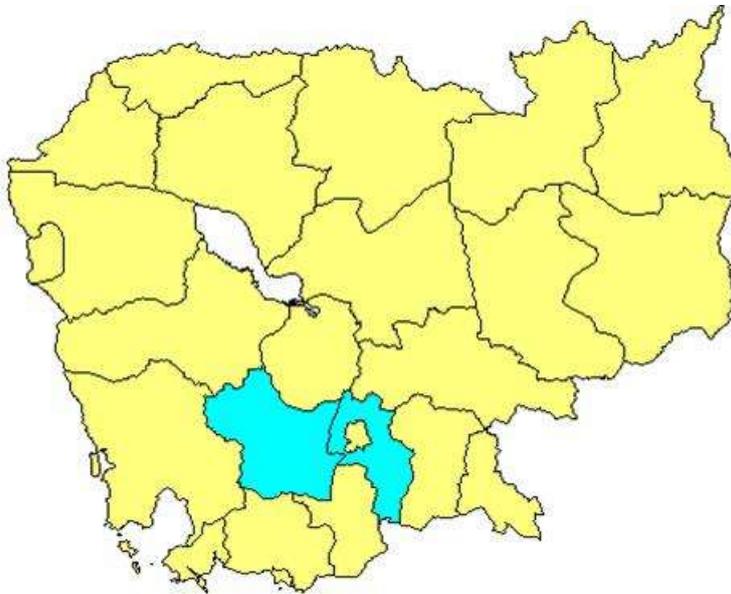
200 INTERVIEWS BY PROVINCES



Surveyed Provinces

1

2



1. Kampong Speu

2. Kandal

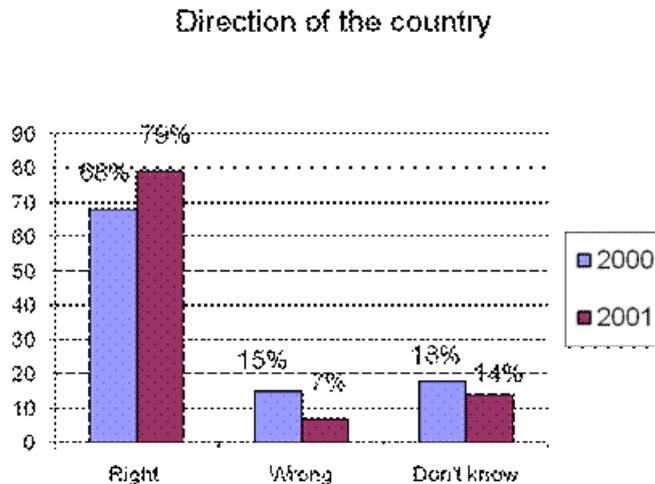
The samples were constructed as far as possible on the basis of demographic survey, using categories of age, gender, and urban/rural based on the composition of the total local population and applied to the sample in each commune randomly selected for the study. In gender terms there is 45% male and 55% female which fit the 1998 census result. But 8% of the local voters were selected in urban areas and 92% in rural areas in proportion to the demographic repartition (but do not match the 1998 census in general). In terms of age 38% of the sample is between 18 and 35, while 62% is over 35. The rural/urban proportion of the current survey (8%) is about the same of the baseline survey conducted last year in the central region (7% for the urban area, excluding Phnom Penh composed of 27% of the population in the region).

	SAMPLE	CENTER	NATIONAL
<i>Gender: Male/Female</i>	45% / 55%	47%/53%	45% / 55%
<i>Area: Urban/Rural</i>	8% / 92%	34%/66%	18% / 81%
<i>Age: 18-35/35+</i>	38% / 62%	41%/59%	50% / 50%

Chapter I

The national Mood

1- Direction of the Country



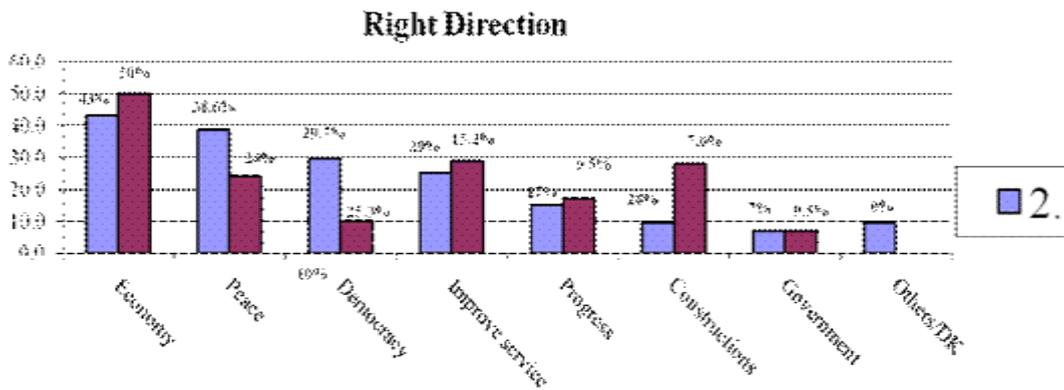
Generally speaking do you think things in Cambodia today are going in the right direction or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? (Q.57)

In response to our question concerning with the direction of the country, 79% of respondent see thing that happens in Cambodia at present goes in the right direction, and only 7 % of them see it goes in the wrong direction, and 14% they do not know whether the country is led to right or wrong direction.

Comparing with the baseline survey, 2000, the feeling that the country goes to the right direction increased, and in the same time the feeling of going in the wrong direction decrease. This finding reveals the optimism among people in the appreciation the economy progress and political development of the country.

Right Direction Reasons

The major reasons to confirm in the right direction are economy, peace, democracy, and improve social services. Almost half of responders (43%) see the economic recovery and growth, development as the main reason to show that country goes in the right way. Peace is seen as a second reason with is cited by 38%. Following economy and peace, democracy and its components is shown by 29.7% of responders. Whereas improving service such as schools and hospitals were mentioned 25.3%. Progress is cited by 15.2% of respondents, and only 7% of them see the government as a reason to show the right direction of the country at present.



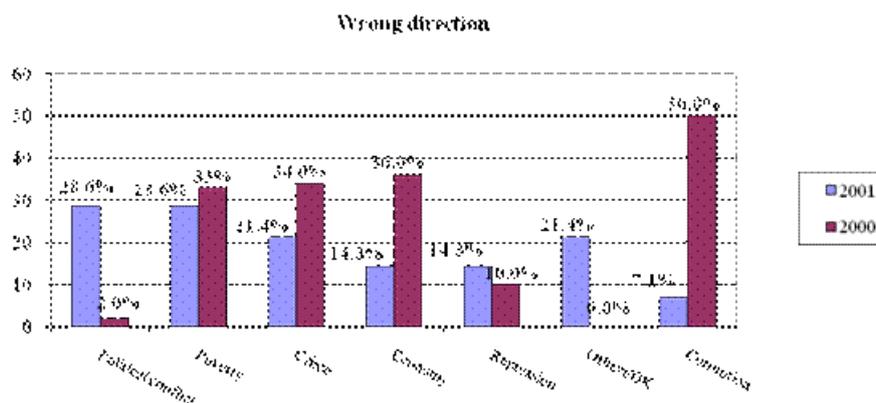
Why do you say that (Q.80) (Two responses allowed, reasons given by 5% or more shown)

Proportional is increased for peace and democracy as the reasons for right direction of the country, especially for democracy comparing with the baseline survey. Meanwhile, the proportional of economy and especially constructions as reasons are decreased.

From this we see that the people feel the process of peace and democratic attitudes, freedom multi-party and political liberation, in the country is progressed. But they do not feel any change in team of the economic development or progress in the country from the baseline ones.

- **Wrong Direction Reasons**

-



The political conflict, poverty, crime and economy were the main reasons for those who see the country goes in the wrong direction. Political conflict and poverty were seen in the same proportion (both 28,6%). Crime is cited by 21,4% and followed by economy and repression problems (both 14,3%). only 7,1% of them see corruption as the main reason to confirm that country goes to wrong direction.

Proportion for poverty, crime and economy are slightly decreased that seen as a wrong reason, and especially corruption which is dramatically decreased from 50% to 7,1% comparing with the baseline result. Surprisingly, but it can be explained that our present survey (impact survey) have been done only in

rural areas, not include Phnom Penh, where their daily activities are almost not involved with public or state officers.

2- Cambodia's Biggest Problems

In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Cambodia? And after that, what is the second biggest problem? (Q.59/60)

Cambodia's Biggest Problems	Q.59/2001		Q.60/2001	
	2001	2000	2001	2000
Poverty/poor salary	38	41	20	3
Natural Disaster	20.5	1	31	1
Economy/lack of market	14.5	13	3.5	2
Crime/drugs	5	8	6	1
Political Disputes	3.5	2	4	2
Infrastructure	2	2	3	6
Water	2	3	2.5	0
Corruption	1.5	4	2	2
Border/Immigration problems	1	2	2.5	1
HIV/AIDS	1	2	0.5	2
Others	3.5	11	7.5	18
No problem	0.5	1	0	1
Don't know	7	13	17.5	16

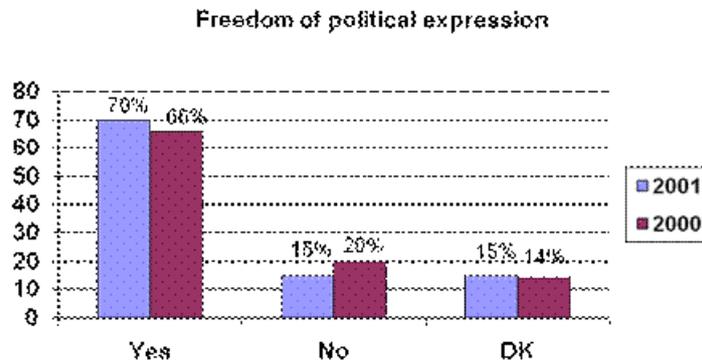
Poverty and natural disaster are the main concerns. 38% of respondents counted poverty, including poor salary, as the biggest problem that happens in our country in the present time. Natural disaster, flood and drought were mentioned by 20.5% of respondents.

Following the poverty and natural disaster, economy and lack of market problems were cited by 14.5% of them. Crime and drugs had been seen as biggest Cambodia's problems only by 5% of respondents, and 3.5% saw political conflict as a biggest problem that we face at present.

The proportion is dramatically changed for the natural disaster as biggest problem that Cambodia faces at present comparing with the baseline survey. It can be explained that the sample location of the current survey were being

suffered by natural disaster during the fieldwork, especially in Kandal province almost everywhere where we went to were being flooded. The other problems are slightly changed comparing with the baseline ones.

3. Freedom of Political Expression



Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the are where you live(Q.55)

Responding to our question concerning freedom of political expression, the majority (70%) of respondents feel free in expressing their political opinion. Only 15% of them feel that they are unable to express their political opinions freely, and also 15% of respondents are not sure whether local people can express their political opinions freely or not (Sig. 0.026).

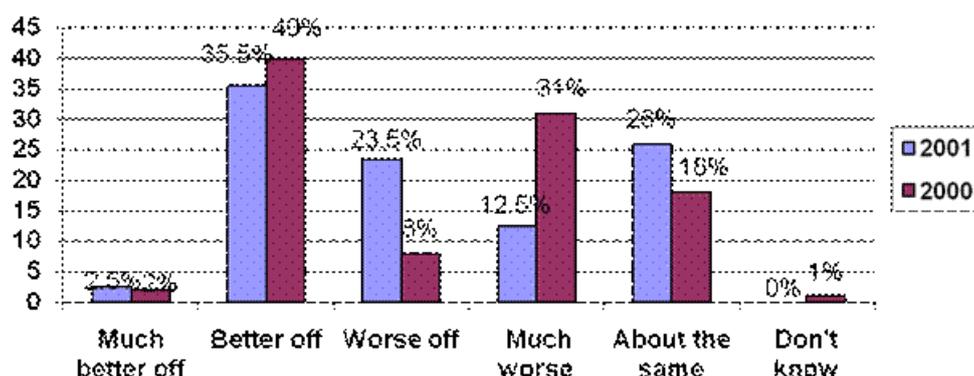
The number of feeling freedom in expression political opinion among respondents is slightly increased comparing with the baseline survey.

Our finding demonstrates that the more educated persons feel freer of political expression in their area. The proportion among those who had studied in lower or higher secondary school is up to 72% mentioned that they were free to express their idea about politics, whereas only 57% of those who never went to school have confirmed that local people have freely expressed their political opinion.

4. Economic Well- Being

Thinking about your own personnel economic situation now compared to two years ago, would you say you are much better off, worse off, much worse, about the same? (Q.68)

Economic Well-Being

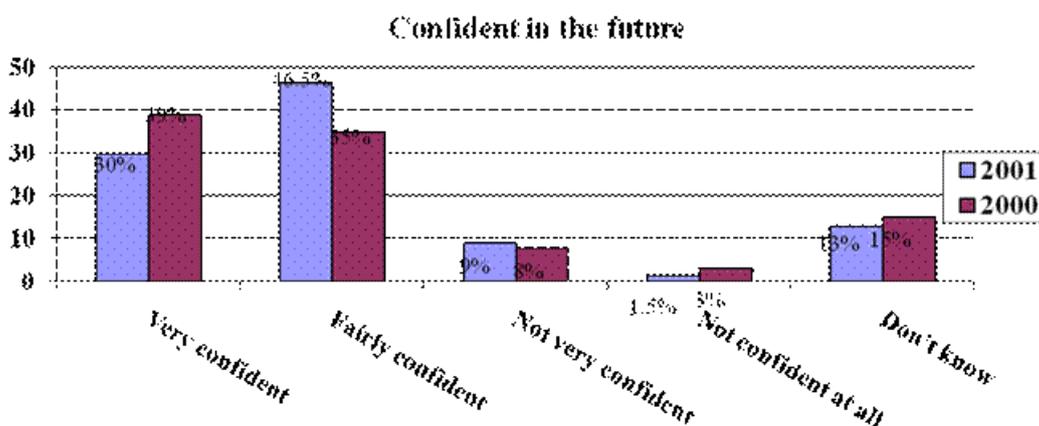


Economy is still a major problem in Cambodia especially for the rural dwellers. 38% of respondents said their living condition is improved (much better off or better off) comparing to two years ago. 26% of them mentioned their economic remains the same, and the others (36%) got worse off and much worse off. The reason why more than half of them remain the same or got worse is due to almost all of them depend only on agricultural products, and their output were majority destroyed by flood and drought, especially in Kandal province. Another reason is that the price of agricultural products is decreased in the past few years due to lack of markets.

The result is a little difference between baseline result and current ones for feeling much better off and better off, but dramatic difference, even total proportion is not so difference, for feeling worse off and much worse.

5. Confident in the Future

How confident are you of a happy future for Cambodia as a whole? (Q.61)



Responding to our question concerning about confident of a happiness of Cambodia in the future, the large majority (85.5%) of them are confident of a happiness of Cambodia in the future. Meanwhile, only 1.5% of responders are not feeling any confident of happiness in the future of Cambodia at all and others 13% are not sure.

Among those who are confident in the future of Cambodia, 30% are very confident, 46.5% are fair confident and the others 9% are not very confident. The vast majority of these confident people, 84%, have also confirmed that our country goes into the right direction. 92% of those who feel very confident in the happiness of the future in Cambodia see the country goes into right direction. 81% of those feeling fairly confident see the country goes in the right direction, and 72% of those who feel not very confident have also confirmed the country going in the right direction.

Proportion is slightly increased for those who are confident of happiness in the future of Cambodia comparing with the baseline result.

This finding shows the correlation between the confidence of the people for the future of the country with the process the development of economy and political condition in our country.

Summary: The National Mood

Comparison between baseline and current survey results

- * **The number of Cambodian living in the central region, who feels that country is leaded in the right direction, has been increased.**
- * **The principal reasons are almost still the same (economy, peace, democracy, improvement services.), but number of Cambodian seeing peace and democracy, as reasons is dramatic increased.**
- * **The majority of those who said the country goes in the wrong direction still see political conflict, poverty, crime, economy repression as reasons to confirm that the country goes in wrong direction.**
- * **Poverty and economy problems are still seen as the biggest problems that country faces at present. In addition, the number of people who concern with natural disaster, flood and drought is drastically increased.**
- * **The number of people feeling freedom of expression their political opinion is slightly increased.**
- * **Opinion on economy and living condition of those people is not changed, and they still feel pessimism on it.**
- * **There is slightly increase in the number of those who believes in the confidence of the happiness of the future of Cambodia.**

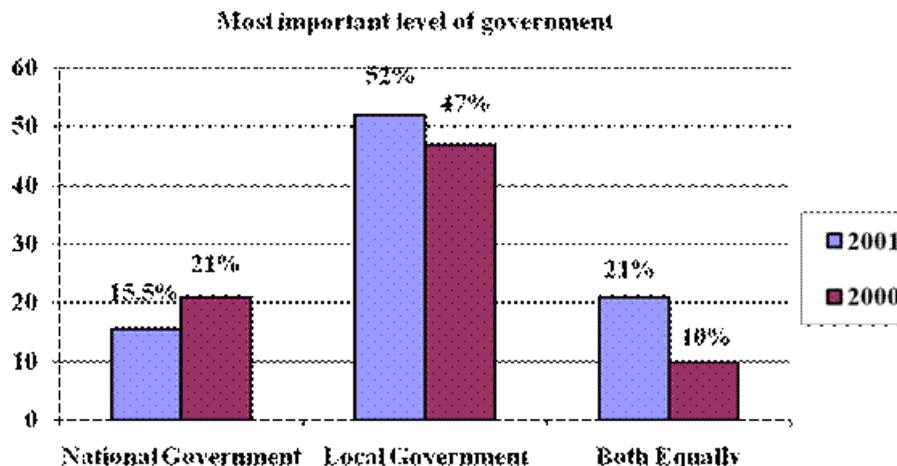
Chapter II

Local Issues and Government

1-

Mos

Most Important Level of Government



Now I am going to ask you a few questions about the local commune government. Tell me, whose decision affects your life more: the national government in Phnom Penh, or the commune government in this town or village? (Q. 13)

More than half of the respondents (52%) feel that the decision of the local government affects on their daily life more than the national government in Phnom Penh. Only 15.5% of them feel the decision of the national government affects on their daily life. 21% of other respondents see the decisions of both national and local government affects on their daily life.

The priority of the local government is still high and also increased comparing with the baseline results. Meanwhile, the numbers of respondents who feel that both governments are importance the same is increased in double comparing with the baseline ones.

2-

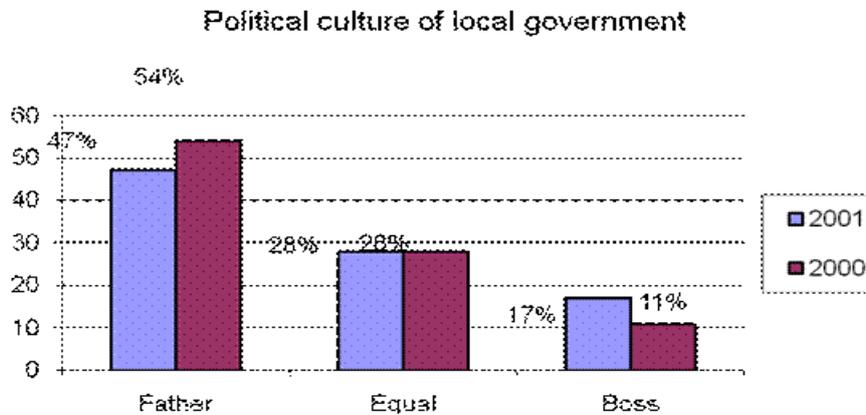
Poli

tical Culture of Local Government

Related with more than half of respondents in the baseline survey think that the local government is most important for their daily life, our survey also reveals that almost half (47%) of respondents considered local government as a father. This reflects that the traditional Buddhism and monarchist cultural patterns still strongly affects on

Cambodians, especially among rural people. 28% of them considered local authority as equality that reflects the orientation characteristics democratic attitude of those respondents. Other 17% considered local government as a boss, which reflects the fearing of dictatorial regimes, especially in genocide regime in the past.

There is very slightly difference opinion that considered local government as a father and as a boss, and there is exactly the same opinion for those who considered local authority as equality comparing with the baseline survey.



Here are some different ways people think about the commune government. Which of these is closest to your view of what the government should be? (Q. 15)

3- Role of Commune Government

4-

Different people have different ideas about what commune governments actually do. How about you? What do you think commune governments do or control? (Q.14)

	2001	2000
Maintain/build road	34.5	22
Help-general/improve our lives	25.5	11
Corrupt/take money/steal money/demand money	17.5	7
Resolve disputes/ mediate conflicts	17	25
Maintain law and order/ maintain security/fight crime/ check for firearms/ arrest thieves	17	18
Organize agricultural activity/dam repairs	14	7
Traditional ceremonies/help in crisis/feed the hungry/help in emergencies	13.5	4
Bad Governance	12.5	5
Partisan/serve one political party	10	2
Maintain/build school	9.5	0
Solve problems/receive complaints	4.5	15
Inequality in solving problems/ distributing gifts	3	0
Give construction permits/ allow building /build pagodas	2	4
Provide health services/education/ fight AIDS	2	2
Protect forest/ control logging	0.5	1
DK	14	25

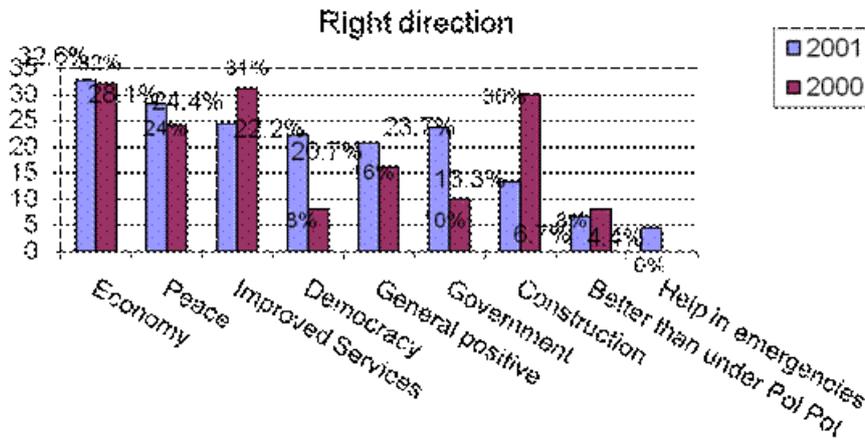
As we already know that the local government is the most important for our respondents. They have seen the most important activities what the local authority has done for development of their commune. 34.5% of them see the local authority has built and repaired road, help in general and improving their life were mentioned 25.5% of respondents. Following, corruption and taking money from local people was seen 17.5% of them. Solve dispute and mediation is cited by 17%. Maintain law, order, and security, fight crime, and check firearms, arrest thieves was mentioned by 17%. The other respondents (14%) have seen local government organise agricultural activity and dam repair, local government involved in assignment traditional ceremonies, help in crisis or emergencies were mentioned by 14%. The other 12.5% of respondents have expressed their opinion that their present government leads with bad governance with regardless in improving people's living condition or developing the community.

The majority of people have positively appreciated the activities that local community is doing at present. The number of respondents who considered local government's role in social development and social services is rapidly increased comparing with the baseline result. But meantime, the number of people that saw their local authority involves in corruption and does not take care of their duty has been increased. The main activities of local government which was considered corruption and bad governance such

as selling public land, unfair distribution of gift during natural disaster or taking money for administrative affairs which increased in the last year.

5- Direction of the Commune

Right Direction



Now let's talk about the commune where you live. Generally speaking, do you think things in your commune today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? (Q.62)

Economy, peace, improved services, democracy were seen as important symbols to show that the commune goes in the right direction. Our survey shows that 32.6% of respondents proved the economy progress as a sign to confirm the commune goes in the right direction. Following, peace and war over were mentioned by 28.1%, and improved services such as schools, hospitals, were cited by 24.4% of respondents.

Other respondents, 22.2%, replied that democracy, political liberalisation, rule of law, is the reason to show the commune goes in the right direction. General positive is cited by 20.7%. Other respondents, 23.7%, confirm their opinion on present government and rulers, and construction is mentioned by 13.3% of respondents.

Proportional of economy, peace, improved services and general positive is slightly increased comparing with the baseline survey. But the opinion on democracy and government as reasons to show the right direction are dramatic changed in accordance with the political development and change in our country as well as fitness the forthcoming of the commune election that push the local authority to take care with their people in order to gain in election.

Wrong Direction

	2001	2000
Corruption	55.5	34
Infrastructure	36.1	31
Poverty	27.8	55
Economy	16.7	27
Crisis/general negative	16.7	8
Repression	11.1	6
Crime	8.3	26
Nepotism	8.3	0
Water shortage	5.5	3
Conflict/violence	5.5	16

Even though the majority (67.5%) of local people have considered the commune goes in the right direction, the other, 18%, respondents were pessimist regarding their opinion about the direction of their commune. And corruption, poor infrastructure in their commune, poverty was the main reasons. More than half, 55.5%, of pessimists cited the corruption is the main reason confirmed the wrong direction in their commune. Poor infrastructure such as bad roads, lack of schools or hospitals, and underdevelopment was mentioned by 36.1% of local people.

Following, the poverty, unemployment is seen by 27.8% of respondents. The other respondents (16.7%) has confirmed their opinion on economic getting worse as a reason to show the wrong direction of their commune, crisis/ general negative is cited by 16.7%, and nepotism is mentioned by 8.3% of other respondents.

Corruption and nepotism is remarkably increased comparing with the baseline ones. It involved in the present activities of some local authorities in selling public land, unfair distribution of gift during natural disaster in the last year.

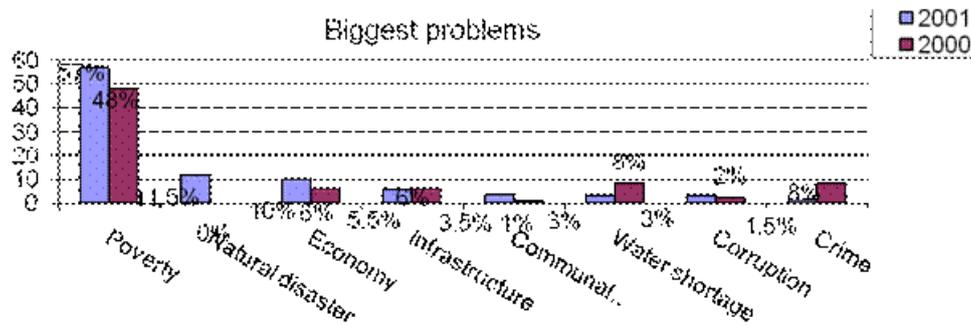
6- Local Biggest Problems

Our impact survey's result demonstrates the opinion of the local people on the biggest problems that their commune faces at present. When the result of the baseline survey indicated that poverty was the most concerned problem for the majority of respondents, the current impact survey shows the increased number of people who see poverty problem in their commune comparing with baseline result from 48% to 57%. There was also the increasing number of respondents who replied their economic condition is still not changed. It is due to the natural disaster, flood and drought. It was

connected to the response on our question on economic well being output and lack of markets for agricultural products in the few last years in our country.

No surprisingly, the number of respondents who concerned with natural disaster has been drastically increased due to our country is faced with flood problem for last two years, and nevertheless our survey were conducted on the time when many places where we went to has being been suffered by flood.

Others biggest problems such as economy, infrastructure, communal government are slightly changed comparing with the baseline ones.



In your view, what is the biggest problem facing your commune? And what is the next biggest problem? (Q. 64/ Q. 65)

Next Problems

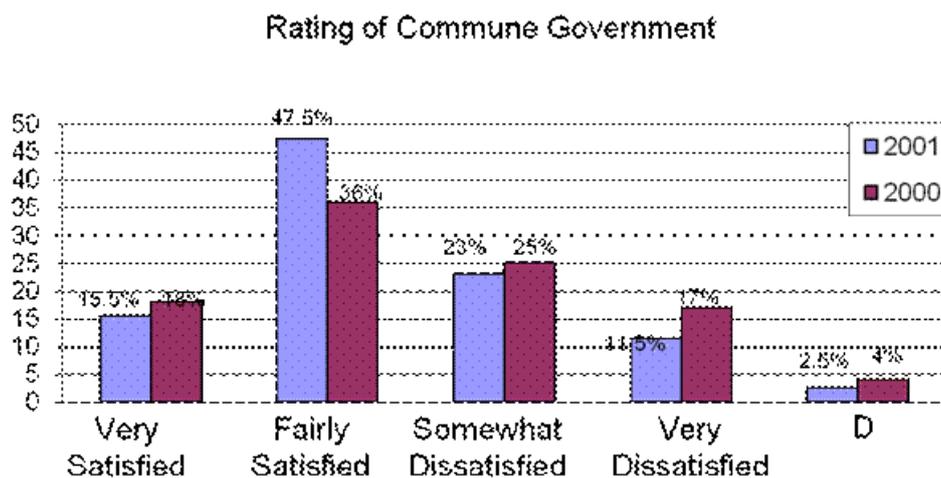
	2001	2000
Maintain/build road	34.5	22
Help-general/ improve our lives	25.5	11
Corrupt/take money/ steal money/ demand money	17.5	7
Resolve disputes/ mediate conflicts	17	25
Maintain law and order/ maintain security/fight crime/ check for firearms/ arrest thieves	17	18
Organize agricultural activity/dam repairs	14	7
Traditional ceremonies/help in crisis/feed the hungry/help in emergencies	13.5	4
Bad Governance	12.5	5
Partisan/serve one political party	10	2
Maintain/build school	9.5	0
Solve problems/receive complaints	4.5	15
Inequality in solving problems/ distributing gifts	3	0
Give construction permits/ allow building /build pagodas	2	4
Provide health services/education/ fight AIDS	2	2
Protect forest/ control logging	0.5	1
DK	14	25

Remarkably, natural disaster became the most concerned second problem and it is dramatic changed comparing with the previous result. It is not surprisingly because our country has been suffered from flood disaster for last two years.

Following, the poverty was mentioned by 13.5% of respondents. The same respondents (both 5.5%) cite economy underdevelopment and poor infrastructure in a commune such as bad road, lack of schools or hospitals as their second concern. All those problems are slightly difference from the baseline survey.

From both surveys (impact and baseline) we have seen that the majority people still point out their local problems on poverty, economy underdevelopment, poor infrastructure such as bad and lack of roads, lack of schools or hospitals. This result appeals to our government should make more efforts to pursued the rural development policy in the manner such as: increase the productivity, formulation the commercial farms and finding out local as well as international markets for their agricultural products. In addition to these problems, natural disaster (flood and drought) became the newest problem that they face for the past few years. This problem has deepened their poverty because it destroyed their output and property.

7- Rating of Commune Government



Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the job the commune government is doing in the area where you live? (Q. 66)

As we have already known, more than half of our respondents considered the local government was the most important. Relatively, the majority of them (63%) said they satisfied with the job the commune government is doing in their area at present, among those 15.5% are very satisfied and other 47.5% are fairly satisfied.

Others respondents (34.5%) have expressed that they do not appreciate the job of the local government doing at present. Among

dissatisfied people, 23% of them are somewhat dissatisfied and the other 11.5% respondents are very dissatisfied. Only 2.5% of respondents are not sure about the present job of their local government.

The number of people who is satisfied with the job of local government is increased comparing with the previous survey. This result reveals us the more attention of local government to the development of their commune and population, and it might connect to the near forthcoming commune election that pushes the local authority to do more efforts to attract their ballots.

Summary: Local Issues and Government

Comparison of the Impact and Baseline Survey Results

- *** Local government is the most important for Cambodian people in their daily life. The number of people who feels like this is increased.**
- *** Almost half of respondents considered local government as a father. This is reflected the monarchist cultural pattern is still strong influence on Khmer community. Unfortunately, the orientation characteristics of democratic attitude of those who considered local government as equality are not changed.**
- *** Maintain/ build roads, and help-general/ improve people's lives were mainly seen as the role of local government is involved at present. This proportional is slightly increased.**
- *** Local people have confirmed the development of economy, peace, stability, improve social services, and democracy progress in their own commune as a symbols to show the right direction of the commune. Peace and democracy were remarkably increased among local people.**
- *** Corruption, poor infrastructure such as bad roads, lack of schools or health services, and poverty are the main reasons for pessimists who saw the commune goes into the wrong direction. Corruption is dramatic changed for the impact survey due to some of local authority sold public land and unfair distribution gift.**
- *** The majority of the local people see poverty as the biggest problem in their own commune. The next problem in local commune is natural disaster that causes to deepen their poverty. This last problem is drastically increased.**
- *** The majority of local people are satisfied with the job that local government is doing. This rate is increased especially for those who are fairly satisfied.**

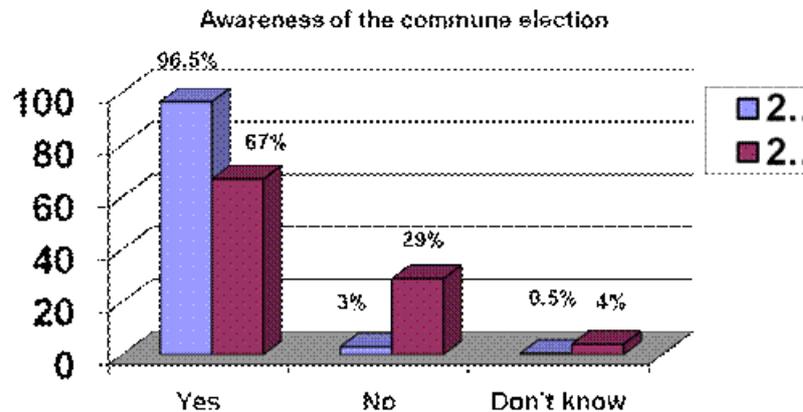
Recommendation:

*** Empowerment or decentralization policy should be extended to local government because it is the most effective figure that deals with daily life of people.**

Chapter III

Attitudes Towards the Commune Elections

1- Awareness of Commune Elections



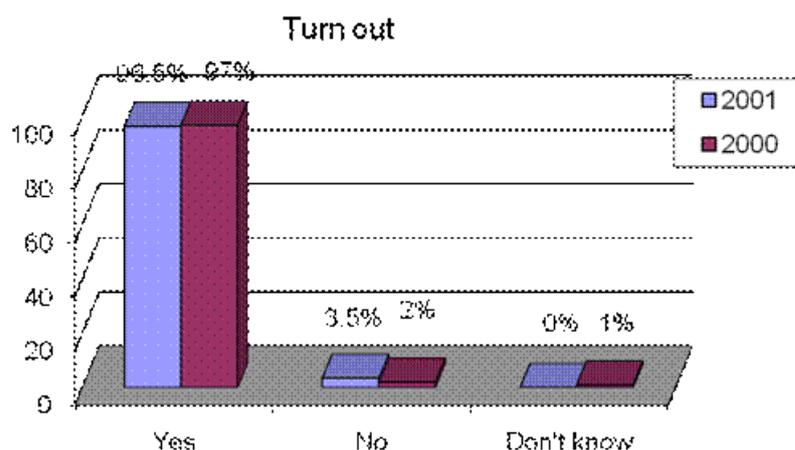
Have you heard anything about commune elections coming? (Q. 16)

Commune elections 2002 are one of the most important political event in Cambodia, showing the commitment of the national government in the process of decentralization. The country is being prepared for this forthcoming political history. The process of registration of the voters as well as for the commune council candidature has been completed. As a result, almost all of our respondents know about the forthcoming commune election 2002. The majority of these respondents, 76%, regularly watch TV. The proportion of elder voters, from 37 to 86 years old, is higher than of those who are younger voters, 18 to 36 years old, which is shown respectively 98% vs.94%.

Only 3% of respondents did not aware the forthcoming commune election that among those who are not so interested in watching TV and listening to radio.

Proportion of people who aware the commune election is drastically increased due to Cambodia now is preparing for this election. Nevertheless the process of registration has been completed in the whole country, and the mass media is widely being propagandised on this issue.

2- Turn Out



Do you think you will vote in this election? (Q. 17)

Connected with the almost all of respondents aware the forthcoming commune election, we also received replies that almost all of them (96.5%) are going to vote in the election, and only 3.5% of other respondents said they will not vote in this election. But 3.5% among those who thought to vote in the forthcoming commune election were not been registered.

The impact and the baseline survey show the similar result for those who are willing to vote in the commune election.

This finding suggests that the voting education should be strengthened on that registration is essential for those who intend to vote.

3- Reasons for Voting

What is the most important reason why you want to vote? (Q.18)

	2001	2000
Choose leaders	38	43
Civic duty	18	9
End corruption	16	18
For peace	7	2
Because everyone does	5	6
Authorities say so	5	9
Freedom	4	2
Better roads/schools	3	2
Vote may make a difference	1	2
To have food security	1	0
For independence	1	0
For justice	1	0
DK	2	1

Almost all of the people who will vote in the forthcoming commune elections expressed their reason for voting. The most notified reasons for impact survey as well as for baseline ones are choosing leaders, civic duty, end corruption. Choosing leaders was mentioned by 38% of respondents, which is slightly decreased comparing with the baseline ones. But at the same time, the number of those who feel voting as a civic duty is increased to 18%, and end corruption is cited by 16% of respondents which is very similar to the previous one. Other 7% respondents have mentioned peace as the most important reason for them to go to the polls which is also increased comparing with the baseline result. They will vote because they see every one does and they was enforced by local authority were cited by the same number (both 5%), and only 4% of other respondents were saying freedom is the reason for their vote.

4. Reason for not voting

What is the most important reason why you may not vote?

	2001	2000
Personal reasons	57.1	9
Don't know how the election will work	14.3	0
Don't support any party	14.3	18
Not being registered	14.3	0

Even though almost all people those intend to vote, but very few people are still not willing to vote in this forthcoming commune election. The most important reason, which was mentioned by 57.1%, that push those people not going to the polls is the personal reasons such as too old or sickness. This reason is dramatic changed comparing with the baseline result.

Following, people do not know how the elections will work was mentioned by 14.3% of those not going to the polls. Those, who said not to support any party that competes for the commune election, were the same number. The other 14.3% of whom who are not going to the polls have confirmed their reason on not being registered for this election.

These finding suggest that the voting education is still needed to the voters on how the process of voting goes.

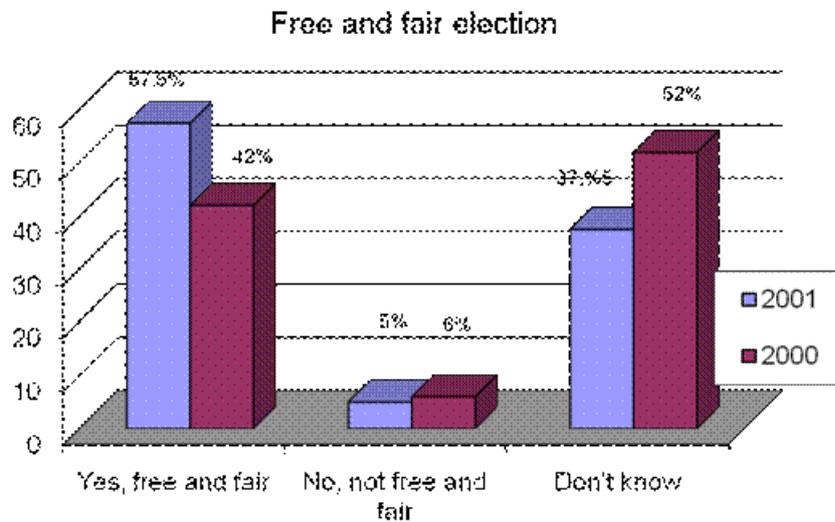
5. Free and Fair Election

Some people think the commune election will be free and fair in your area, some think they will not be, and some are not sure. How about you? (Q. 37)

Free and fair election is the most important thing, because it can be led the country, as our experience shows, into the peaceful and political stability environment as well as the progress in democratic process. It is the most concerned problem that we have to take care in each election.

Our impact survey shows that more than half of our respondents, 57.5%, thinks the forthcoming election will be free and fair. The number enthusiasts on free and fair commune election are increased. At the same the majority of

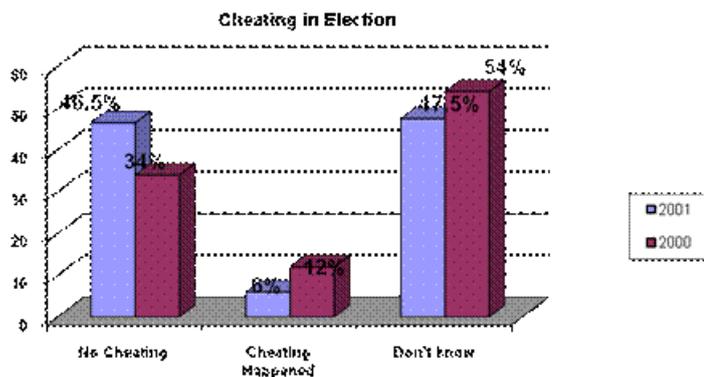
these enthusiasts, 67%, also confirmed that they are freely to express their political opinion at present. Only 5% said the election will be not free and fair, and other 37.5% are not sure about this commune election will be free and fair or not.



Our result reveals that there will need more efforts from government as well as from National Election Committee to build confident to public in the forthcoming commune election in term of democratic attitudes toward each competitive party, fairly game during propaganda time, all competitive parties should the same access to mass media, and especially during counting the ballots.

6. Cheating in Election

Some people think there will be no cheating in the way the election is run, some think



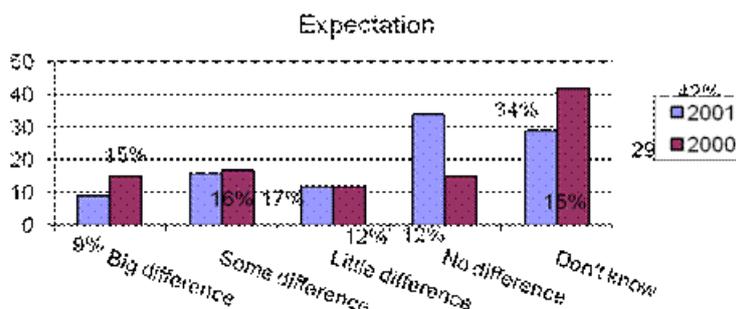
there can be cheating, and some are not sure. Which of these opinions do you agree with? (Q. 38)

Our impact survey demonstrates rapidly changed the opinions of those who think there will not be cheating, and there will be cheating happened in the forthcoming commune election comparing with the baseline survey.

Related with the more than half of people think election will be free and fair, also almost half of them, 46.5%, think that there will not be not cheating in the commune election. Only 6% of respondents have concerned that there will be cheating in the forthcoming election. But at the meantime the greatest number of respondents is not sure concerned with this problem.

This result still shown us the majority of local voters have not yet confidence on the counting on ballots. These finding suggest to the government especially the National Election Committee to do more efforts to show the public how the process of counting is done and how the counting committee is formed.

7. Expectations for the Commune Election



o you think voting in the commune elections will make a big difference, some difference, little difference or no difference at all? (Q. 20)

The voters usually expect some differentiation and changes after any election, generally on leaderships. Our impact result shows that 37% of our respondents expected some changes after the commune election, and among those 9% of respondents expected big difference, some difference was mentioned by 16%, and other 12 % of them hoped a little difference after commune election will be happened in their own commune.

Very similarity number of respondents, 34%, who said that they do not expect any change will happen in their commune after the commune election. And other 29% of our respondents are not sure there is any difference will happen or not after this event.

Unfortunately, The number of optimists on changing after the election in their commune is decreased comparing with the baseline result, and at the same

time the number of pessimists is dramatic increased who think there will not be any change happens in their commune after election.

This is connected, mainly, with the uncertain of which candidates would gain in this election.

8. Changes Expectation

What is the most important thing you expect to change? How long after the election will this takes to happen? (Q. 21/ 22)

	Change expected		Time Frame					
			1 year		1-5 year		5years +	
	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000
All			27.1	41.8	34.3	37.8	1.4	2
Leaders/Commune chiefs	48.6	29.6	26.5	44.8	29.4	37.9	0	0
Better roads	15.7	13.3	36.4	38.5	36.4	38.5	0	7.7
Better general	14.3	16.3	40	18.7	30	62.5	0	0
Fairer / Better conflict resolution	12.8	23.5	22.2	56.5	33.3	17.4	0	0
Less corruption	4.3	5.1	0	40	100	20	0	20
More help in crisis	2.9	9.2	0	55.5	0	44.4	50	0

Change leaders/commune chiefs is the most important expectable change that almost half of respondents, 48.6%, who think change will be happened after the commune election. It is nearly double increased comparing with the baseline ones. It is totally connected to the most important voting reason is to choose leaders. Among these people, 26.5% of them expected this change would be happened within one year after the election. The other 29.5% of respondents expected the change would be happened within from one to five years after the election.

Following the better road expectation to be changed was hoped by 15.5% of our respondents, which is slightly increased comparing with the baseline result. Within one year expectation to change is cited by 36.5% of those who see the better roads as a main change after election. And the same number of respondents has expected the better roads would be change from one to five years after commune election.

Other people have expected better in general that is cited by 14.3% of all respondents will be happened in their commune after the election. This proportion is slightly decreased comparing with the baseline ones. Among those people, 40% of them hoped that this change would be happened within one year, and the other 30% expected the same change would be happened within one to five years after the forthcoming election.

12.8% of all those who have expectation on change have optimism on fairer and better conflict resolution would be happened in their commune after the election which is dramatic decreased comparing with the baseline result. From those we also know that 22.2% of them confirmed that it would be changed within one year, and the other 33.3% have expected to change within one to five years.

Only 4.3%, which is very similar to the baseline result, of respondents have mentioned the changed on less corruption would be happened after the election. And all of them have thought this kind of change could not be changed soon after the election it can be happened only within one to five yeas consequently the commune election.

Summary: Attitudes Towards the Commune Election

Comparison Between Impact and Baseline Survey

- *** Almost all of the local people, who are in the voting age, aware the forthcoming commune election.**
- *** Most majorities of local people think that they will vote in the commune election.**
- *** Choosing leaders, civil duty, end corruption are the most important reasons that push people go to the polls.**
- *** Personal reason such as sickness or too old is the most important issue for minority who is not able to vote in the forthcoming commune election. It contradites with the baseline result that the reason was not support any party.**
- *** Increase number of people, but not majority, who think the forthcoming election will be free and fair.**
- *** Only nearly haft of local people, but more than the previous result, think there is not cheating would be happened during the commune election.**
- *** Increase the number of people (one-third of our respondents) who hopes there are any changes that would be happened consequently the commune election.**
- *** The most important thing that people expected to be changed after the election is a leaders/ commune chief in their commune.**

Recommendation:

- * Information and process of the commune election especially voter education, is still needed among some voters. The most effective sources to inform these issues are by TV and Radio.

- * Election Committee should be independence persons and must be ensured that the election will be free and fair. In order to get this confident any concerns (irregularities) during election campaign should be avoided.

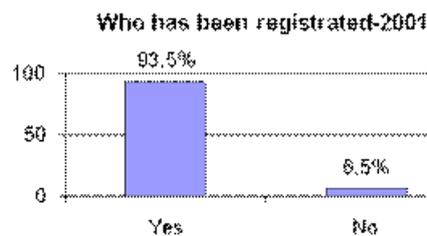
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Chapter IV

Registration Needs

1- Who has been registered?

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in the commune election? (Q. 16).



Registration is one of the most important stages for those who want to vote. Without registration it will not be able to vote. Our survey demonstrates that the majority of those who are about 18 years old are registered for voting in the forthcoming election. This number is seemed higher than the official proportional registered in these two provinces ($\cong 86.27\%$)¹. But it is still 6.5% of respondents that were not registered for the forthcoming commune election.

2- Reasons for not Being Registered

Reasons	Percentage
Told to register at difference place/time	13.3
Did not hear about registration on time	13.3
No proper document	6.6
Not allowed entering or going to registration station	6.6
Sickness	33.3
Too old	20
Pregnancy	6.6

13.3% of not registered respondents said that they were told to register in other places outside their commune residence. The same number of respondents did not hear about registration on time so why they missed the opportunity to register.

Other reasons of those who did not register is that they were not allowed entering or going to registration station which was cited by 6.6% of them, and

other 6.6% have mentioned that lacking of proper document is the reason that prevented them from registration.

Following, personal reasons were mentioned by 59.9% of those who were not being able to register for the forthcoming commune election. Among those, 33.3% are sickness and 20% are too old that they could not go the registration station, and other 6.6% are pregnant that makes them not comfortable to go to the station.

These findings suggest that for other elections in the future, mass media and other information sources should play more important role in providing information on when to register, which documents are required for registration, and where each voter can be registered and should be lasted as long as possible to the registration dates especially to rural people. The National Election Committee should monitor any abnormal cases and to find out any reasons that causes some voter are not allowed to enter to the registration stations.

Summary: Registration Needs

- * **The majority of people are registered for the forthcoming election.**
- * **The abnormal reasons for those who were not able to register are: did not hear the date of registration, were told to go other places, were not allowed to go to the registration station, and did not have proper document.**

Recommendation:

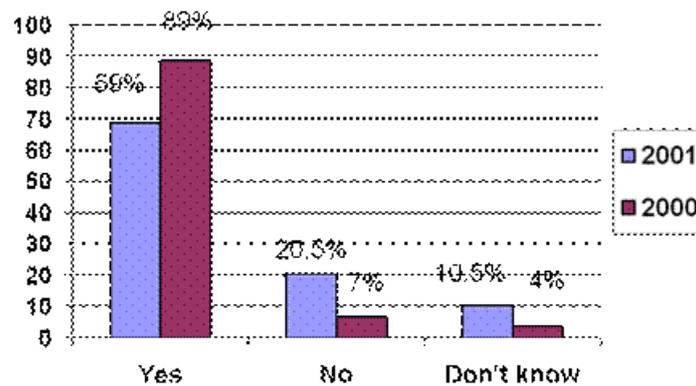
- **It is recommended that non-partisan and independent observers should present during registration in order to avoid the abnormal issues such as not allowing to entering to registration.**
- **Information on how to register is still needed among voters and it is suggested to take as long as possible before the date of registration taking place.**

Chapter V

Voter Education Needs

1- Information

Information

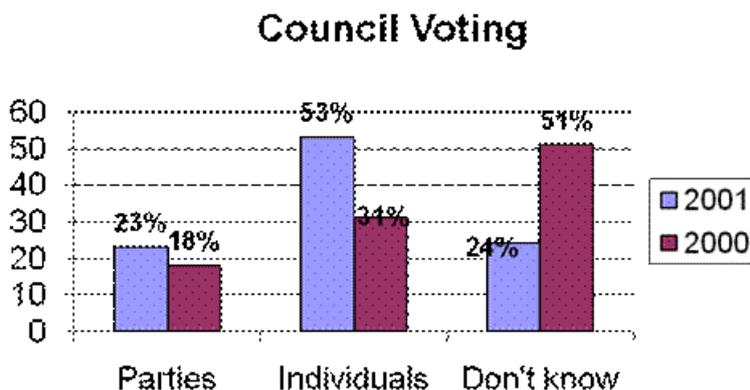


Do you think you need more information about how the commune election will work? (Q.23)

Our impact survey shows the decrease of the proportion of those who need more information on how the commune election will work, but it is still the big number of people that need more information for this election. Our result demonstrates that 69% of our respondents, among them women was 52%, still needed more information on how the process of the commune election will work. The other 20.5% of local people said they have enough information on how the commune election will work, and only 10.5% are not sure whether they need or not more information.

Even though the number of those who did not need more information are drastically increased (7% to 20.5%), our finding suggests to the government, NEC, and other relevant authorities should strengthen information, concerning on all aspects of commune election to the public especially to the rural voters in order that they deeply understand on the election process. The most popular mean to transmit election information is through televisions because our survey reveals that 76% of election information needed people watch TV regularly, radio can be the second source because 46% of them listen regularly. Writing information is seemed not so useful way to be used because 62% of election information needed voters hard to read or impossible to read.

2- Council Voting: Parties or Individuals



Many people are not sure how the voting will work. Do you happen to know whether people will vote for parties or individuals when they choose a council or group of people to head the commune? (Q. 25)

Even though only three months more the commune election will be taken place, the number of respondents who said choosing the chief of commune will be voted for individuals, is drastically increased comparing with the baseline result (53% vs.31%).

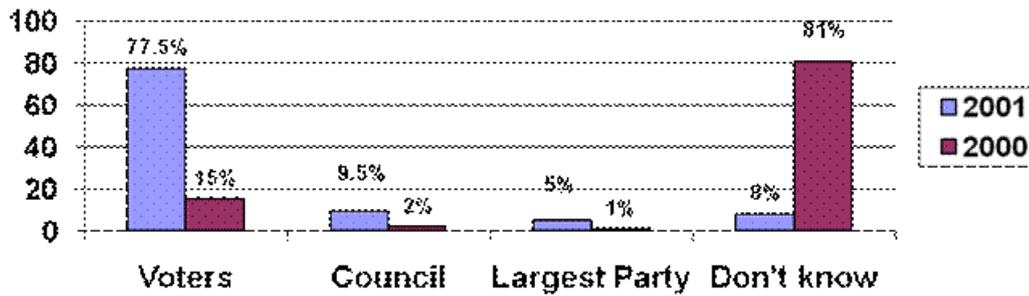
Our impact survey reveals that more than half of our respondents, 53%, confirmed that commune election would be voted for individuals. Unfortunately, this thought is contracted with the reality of what our government and NEC are planning to do. Nevertheless, almost half (49%) of those who said no need any more election information replied that they will vote for individuals, and more than half (56%) of whom who needed more election information has confirmed that they will vote for individual to choose their commune chief.

Our finding shows the weakness of the election information sources and especially the voting education to the public during commune election in our country.

3- Selection of Commune Chief

Many people are not sure how the commune chief will be chosen. Do you happen to know how the commune chief will be selected? (Q. 27)

Selection of commune chief



Only very few our respondents that did not know how the commune chief will be chosen which very contracted with the baseline result (8% vs.81%). The majority of our respondents, 77.5%, have confirmed that the voters will choose the commune chief.

Following, the commune chief will be chosen by Council was cited by 9.5%, and only 5% of respondents have mentioned that the chief will be chosen by largest party.

4- Election Concerns

I am going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the commune election next year. (Q. 31)

	2001	2000
Gifts or payment for votes	37	24
News media bias favoring a party	10	35
Violence against activists or voters	8.5	18
Forcing people to pledge to vote for party	6	14
Finding out how people voted	6	11
Cheating in counting	5.5	17
Threats from officials	5	13
Forcing people to join a party and vote for it	4.5	12
None of these possible	30	34
No response	21	12

Our impact survey shows that half of local voters have expected on any concerns that would happen during the forthcoming commune election. The most important concerning problem that local people have expected for this election is gift or payment for votes, which was mentioned by 34% of them. Comparing with the baseline survey, our present survey reveals the changing opinion concerning election problem that for the baseline, the most important concerning ones was news media bias favouring a party and our present

result, the same concern, was mentioned only by 10%. This concern is very close to the psychology of the Khmer people that before each election they used to receive some gifts or payment from candidates or party representatives.

Following the violence against activists or voters concern is cited by 8.5%. Forcing people to pledge to vote for party and finding out how people voted were mentioned by the same number (both 6%).

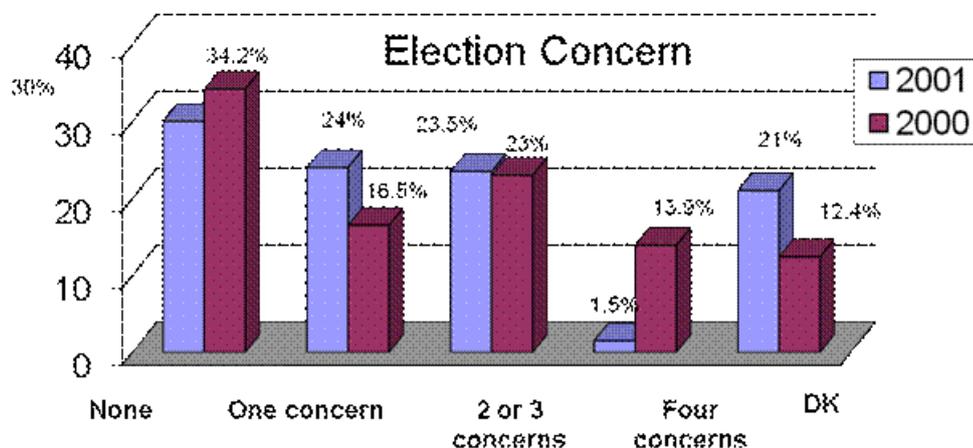
Cheating in counting was mentioned by 5.5% of respondents, 5% of other respondents have expressed their concerned on threading from officials, and only 4.5% of our respondents have expected on forcing people to join a party and vote for it. But almost one-third of our respondents has confirmed their optimism that there will not be any problems happened in the forthcoming commune election.

Except gifts or payment for votes concern, all concerns that we received from our impact survey are decreased comparing with the baseline survey.

This finding suggests to the government and NEC to strengthen the legal concerning the control the spending on each party or candidates during their election campaign, which this problem is very common in our country during election.

5- Number of Election Concerns

Number of concerns about election fairness (Q. 31)



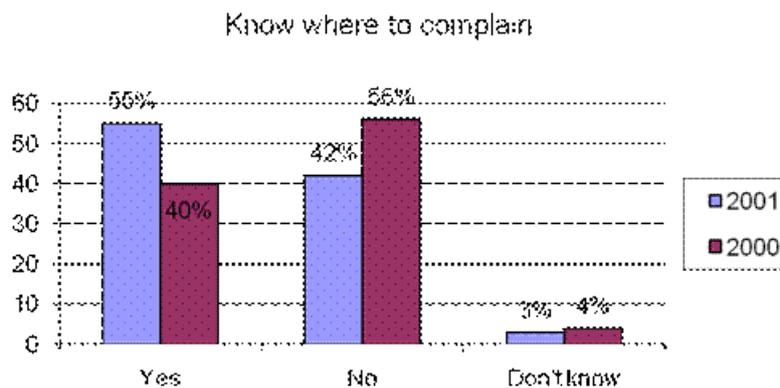
Our impact survey shows slightly the difference (30% vs. 34.2%) from the baseline result for those who did not expect any problem would happen in the forthcoming commune election. The number of people who have expressed one concern in the commune election has been increased from 16.5% to 24% comparing to the baseline result. The same number for those who concerns two or three problems would happen in the election. The number of those

who have hoped more than three problems in this election have been dramatic decreased with the baseline ones (1.5% vs. 13.9%).

These finding suggest to the NEC and other relevant authorities to do more efforts to take away all concerns that have been mentioned in these finding in order to build as well as to gain confidence from the voters.

6- Know Where to Complain

If one of these problems happens in your area in the election, do you know to whom you could complain? (Q. 32)



Complaining during the election is the most difficult part to get answer in our survey. We fell and saw that people were afraid to answer this question, and many times we got answer that **he/she did not dare to complain**. It shows the image of the dictator regimes that our country passed through for many years especially during Pol Pot's regime is still *in the memory of Khmer people*.

Related to the almost half of our respondents have expressed their concerning opinions in the forthcoming commune election, we also get the replies that more than half of them know where to complain when these concern would happen in the commune election. This proportion is increased (55% vs. 40%) comparing with the baseline survey.

But it is nearly half percent too, 42%, of local people still do not know where to complain if they see these problems would happen during the commune election, but it is decreased from 56% to 42% to the previous result. Among these, 51% of them are younger voters whose age is up to 36 years old with having fewer experiences in social activities and at the same time, the opinion of those kind of voters have less influence on local government too (only 16.5%). Nevertheless, 63% of those who do not know where to complain are hardly to read or impossible to read.

Even though more voters know where to complain, our survey shows many people still do not know where to complain. This finding suggest that the

voting education on how to solve the abnormal or complain on any concerns that happen during election campaign should be extended to the public and especially to younger voters and not or lesser education voters.

7- To whom would you complain

	2001	2000
Village chief/government	26.4	39
Commune chief/government	20	20
Police	13.6	7
Monitors/observers	12.7	8
NEC	11.8	13
Local Election Committee	8.2	5
National government	5.5	6
Political Party	0.9	0
News Media	0.9	1

As we have already known, the most important level for the local people is the local government, which means the chief of village or commune. So as a consequence we also get the result that the most important persons that they will complain to if they have seen any concerning problems that happen during election are local chiefs too. Our survey shows that almost half of respondents replied that they would complain to chiefs of village or commune if they will have seen any abnormal problems during the commune election. The chief of village would be complained by 26.4% and the commune chief would be complained by 20% of all respondents.

Following, policeman is the third important person, which was cited by 13.6%, that the local people would look for if they have seen any problems during commune election. Monitors/observers were seen by 12.7% of our respondents, and NEC was mentioned by 11.8% of them.

Other 8.2% local people have seen the local election committee as an important figure that would be informed if they find out any problems during election campaign, and only 5.5% of other responder have mentioned on national government.

Both impact and baseline surveys show the same kind of authority that most popular authority to complain voters' concerns during commune election.

This finding demonstrates that the local government is the most important grassroots authority that can share increasing the confident level of the voters.

8- Who will run the Commune Election

Many people are not sure who will organise and run the local elections. Do you happen to know who will organise and run the election in your commune? (Q. 24)

	2001	2000
Yes, NEC	14	4
Yes, royal government	13.5	10
Yes, commune official	12	3
Yes, village official	4	4
Yes, NGOs	3	1
Yes, CPP	2	0
Yes, all parties	1.5	0
Yes, district/ provincial official	1	0
No	45.5	75
DK	3.5	2

Half of our respondents have the ideas to guess, those who will run the forthcoming commune election which drastically increased, comparing with the baseline survey (51% vs.22%). More number of local people has confirmed that the commune election will be head by NEC, 14%. Other respondents, 13.5%, have cited that royal government will conduct this election, and commune chief was mentioned by 12% of those who has the idea on who will run the forthcoming commune election.

Even though nearly three months more the commune election will be taken place, but still almost half of our respondents, 45.5%, did not know who will organise the commune election. Among these not knowing respondents, 53% of them are almost not interested in politics and 68% of them almost ever or have never discussed political issues in our country.

This finding shows that more election information and voting education in our country should be expended, especially to those who are not so interested in political issues in our country.

9- Coercion and Corruption of Voters

	2001		2000	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
If someone is paid to vote for a party, do you think they must vote for it?	18	67.5	18	65
If someone is forced to join a party, do you think they must vote for it?	12	72	14	72
If someone is forced to pledge to vote for a party, do you think they must vote for it?	11.5	74	12	73

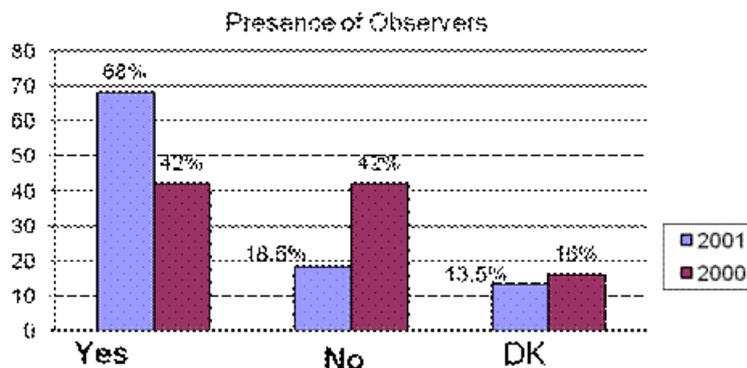
The most majority of Cambodians does not believe in coercion or corruption in the election. Our impact and baseline surveys demonstrate almost the same result concerning in these unfair games.

Only 18% of our respondents believed that if someone were paid to vote for a party, this beneficiary would vote for that giving party or candidate. Following, our survey also reveals that the minority of people, 12%, has confirmed that if someone is forced to join a party, this forced person will vote for this party.

Meanwhile, only 11.5% of our respondents have believed that if someone is forced to pledge to vote for a party, those pledged persons would vote for this pledging party.

This finding demonstrates the proud ideas of our voters as well as for development of democracy and political progress in our country. From this result we hope that buying and forcing during election would be disappeared in the future election in our country, because these methods will be seen as useless for those who used to utilise it. As a result we can get the really democratic atmosphere or fair game in each democratic election in our country.

10- Presence of observers



Have you heard whether there will be non- partisan groups to observe and monitor the elections? (Q. 39)

The majority of local voters (68%vs.42%) have confirmed that the non-partisan observers will monitor in the commune election. On the contrast, those who have not heard of observers have considerably decreased (18.5% vs.42%), while 13.5% (vs.16%) are not sure.

When the forthcoming commune elections will come nearer the local voters are better aware of the presence of non-partisan observers.

This finding suggests that voter education efforts still needs to bring information about these observers to those who have not heard of them.

11- Measures to improve voter confidence

Suppose you saw a non- partisan monitor watching when you go to vote. Would this give you much more, somewhat more, a little more, or no more confidence that the elections will be free and fair? (Q. 40)

Proposed measures	Level of confidence					
	Much more		Somewhat more		Little and no more	
	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000
Non-partisan groups observing and monitoring the elections	46.5	45	16.5	19	31	21

Our survey reveals that the majority of local voters gets confident on their free and fair voting when they see the presence of non-partisan observers during voting which was cited by 63% of our respondents in which 46.5% was much confident and other 16.5% was somewhat more confident. But it still almost one-third of local voters did not see any difference on free and fair voting even there are non-partisan observers during election. The result between impact and baseline surveys is almost the same for those who would get confident if the non-partisan observers present during election.

This finding reveals the importance of non-partisan observers during election to get confident from voters. But it still suggest to election authority provide more information to voters those do not believe in observers, the usefulness of the neutrality observers during election that can help to make this political game more free and fair. Nevertheless, non-partisan observers should be encouraged and facilitated in order that they can properly commit their duty.

Voter Education Recommendations for Specific Target Groups

Target Groups	Information	Complain	Women make own choice	Political tolerance (Personal)	Secret Ballots
Women< primary school	66%	40%	19%	7%	7%
Woman voters	65%	36%	19%	7%	5%
Voters< primary school	70%	43%	18%	8%	7%
Voters< 36 years old	71%	54%	16%	4%	7%
Voters> 36 years old	68%	36%	23%	10%	6%

Voter education needs should be initially started to the period of the commune election is taken place in order to create more democratic atmosphere and attitude during this historical event.

The specific target groups should be priority given for voter education are: women whose level of education less than primary level (never go or incomplete primary school), women voters, all voters whose education less than primary level, and by age category of voters.

These specific areas include:

- Information on the commune election
- Where and whom to complain
- Gender and election
- Personnel political tolerance
- Secret ballots of the voters.

They are most likely lack of knowledge concerning voter education prior to the forthcoming commune election.

Summary: Voter Education Needs

Comparison Between the Impact and Baseline Result

- * **The majority of voters still need more information on how the forthcoming election will work.**
- * **More than half of local people thought that they would vote for individuals to choose the head of commune.**
- * **The majority of voters confirmed that the commune chief would be selected by voters.**
- * **Half of local voters have expressed their concern during the commune election. Gifts or payment for votes is the most important concern of voters who think there would be any concern during the commune election.**
- * **More than half of voters knows where to complain their concerns during the election. And most of them would go to the chief of village or of commune. But it still many young voters did not know how and where to complain.**
- * **National Election Committee, royal government and commune official were seen as main figures that will organise and run the forthcoming commune election.**
- * **The most majority of voters do not believe the influences of payment or buying to vote, forcing and forcing to pledge are affected on the voter's decision or choice.**
- * **The majority of voters have heard that there will be non-partisan groups to observe and monitor the election. And as a result, their vote confidence on fair and free is increased.**

Recommendation:

- **Voting information and its process is still needed among many voters, especially the younger voters.**
 - **Voter education on voting systems, how to choose the chief of commune, how and where to complain about irregular problem are urgently needed for many voters.**
 - **Non-partisan observers must be presented during election in order to get confident from voters.**
- Voters should learn that voting abuse or buying is not a democratic attitude.**

Chapter 6

Civil Education Needs and Issues

1- Characteristics of a democratic country

If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else? (Q. 48)

	2001	2000
Political Rights	78.5	32
<i>Freedom in general, Individual freedom, Respect of people's rights</i>	38	9
<i>Freedom of expressing ideas, right to organize the meeting</i>	5.5	5
<i>Equal rights, Equality</i>	11	6
<i>Right to vote/stand for candidacy in election, follow the majority</i>	6.5	6
Rule of law	6.5	2
Multiparty	3	1
Other(good idea, justice in general)	8	3
Economic Gains	7	4
<i>Development</i>	3	3
<i>Right to do business</i>	1.5	0
<i>Other(no exploitation)</i>	2.5	1
Peace, Stability consensus	17	4
Peace/no oppression	9	3
Freedom for travelling	3	0
Impartiality/independence	3	1
National reconciliation	2	0
Other	6	4
Don't know	43.5	69

The impact survey reveals that there is some increase in people's perception of democracy (only 43.5% of " don't know " this year against 69% in 2000). As the baseline

survey, democracy is seen as something related to political issue mainly focused on freedoms and liberty rather than self-government. Interestingly, among them 78.8% reported for political rights, 7% for economic gains and 17% for peace, stability consensus, against respectively 32%, 4% and 4% in baseline survey. The principal variation of people's awareness of political rights and peace and its consequence can be explained due to the current political and social situation in the democratic process.

Most local voting-age population who are in need of civic education on this issue are women (53.6%), the poorly educated people (73.5%), young (50%), farmers,

those who are not exposed to broadcast media (TV: 65.4%, radio: 48.4%) or do not belong to organisations (47.1%)

It is important to take in account what the local voters say related to "don't know ". The first group is connected to those who are less/not-educated people when " democracy " seems to be too difficult for them to explain what this term is. The second group refers to local people that dare/hesitate to say something about any concepts of democracy.

2- Political participation

Since the 1993 election have you ever contacted a local commune or national governmental official about some problems, issues, or matters of concern to you? (Q.49). Have you ever worked as a volunteer for any political party of candidates, helping in their campaign or as a party agent in an election campaign in 1993 or 1998? (Q.51).

Could you ever imagine yourself running for commune council or some other public office in an election? (Q.52)

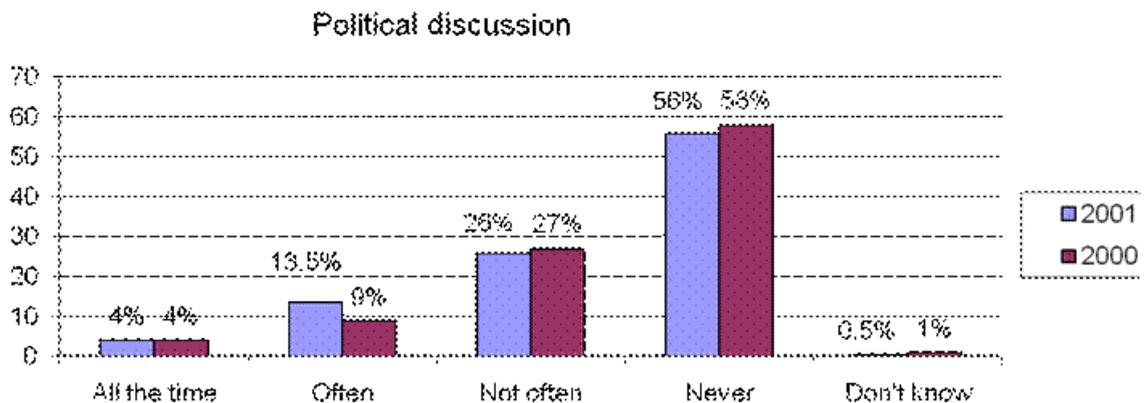
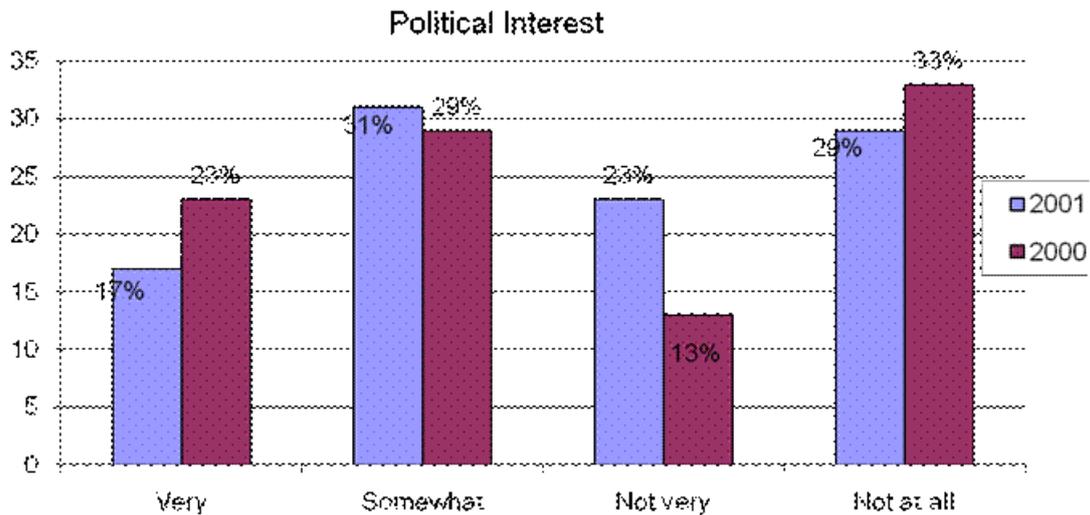
	Yes		No	
	2001	2000	2001	2000
Contact with commune government	30	13	70	87
Contact with national government	0	3	100	97
Contact with national and commune government	4	0	96	100
Worked as volunteer for party/candidate	7.5	9	92.5	91
Would consider running for council/office	14	9	86	91

Local people has increasingly participated in the commune government in comparison with the baseline survey (30% vs.13%) while their contact with national government seems to be poorly made (0% vs. 3%) as Phnom Penh, the principal urban area is out of the impact survey. For their involvement in both national and commune government, it is likely to be influenced by the forthcoming commune elections (4% vs. 0%). Those who have volunteered for a political party or candidate or worked in an election campaign seem to be slightly reduced (7.5% vs.9%) while those who can imagine themselves as a candidate for commune council/other public office have represented 14% against 9% in the baseline survey. This increased percentage of the latter has resulted from the nearer forthcoming commune elections.

3- Political interest and discussion

How interested are you in politics? (Q.53)

How often do you discuss politics with friends? (Q.54)

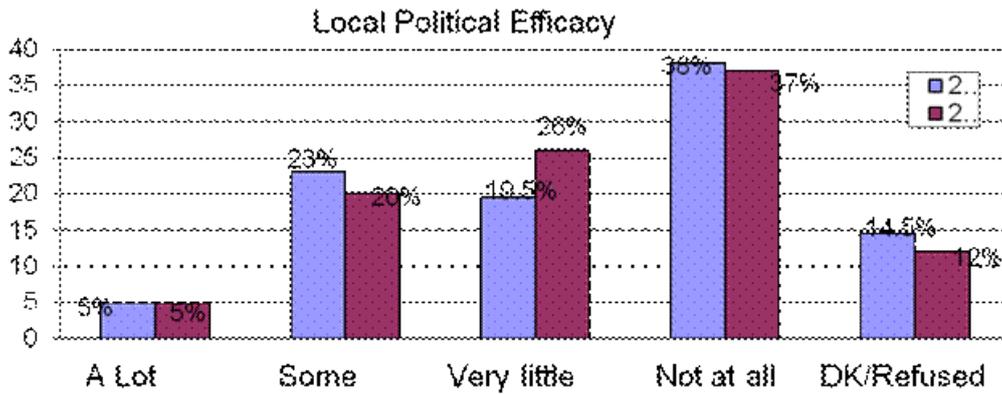


In general, local people have a fairly low level of interest in politics but it seems to be increased in it to compare with the baseline survey for those who are interested somewhat (31% vs.29%), not very interested (23% vs.13%) in politics. In contrast, 29% (vs.33%) say they have no interest at all in the topic. Gender, education, and age are the most powerful influences on interest in politics. The majority of women (53%) have little interest in politics. The same is true for local people over 35 (54%). Probably, this would be associated with those who are not exposed to the media, know nothing about democracy.

As the baseline survey, more than half of local people (56% vs.58%) say never discuss politics with friends and another 26% (vs.27%) do not discuss politics very often. Only 4% and 13.5% (vs.9%) who do it respectively all the time and often. The factor most strongly to political discussion is political interest, followed by the demographic factors and fear of local people.

4- Local political efficacy

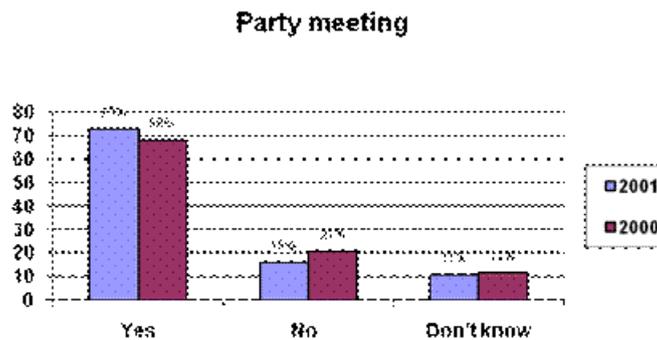
How much influence do you think some like you can have over commune government decisions – a lot, some, very little or none at all? (Q. 50)



There is almost no change between the impact and baseline surveys. Currently, local people feel cut off from commune government and relatively powerless to effect change even in their own commune. More than half of local voters (58% vs.63%) think they have very little or no influence at all over commune decisions, and just 23% (vs.20%) feel they can have some influence over local government decisions, while only 5% (as baseline survey) believe they have enough power to impact decisions.

5- Political tolerance: party meeting

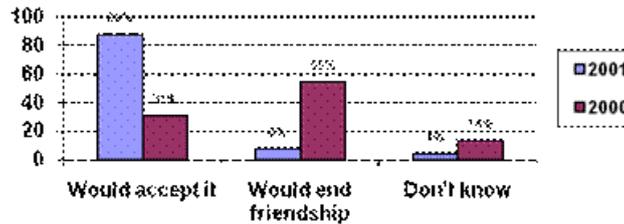
Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meeting in your area? (Q.46)



In comparison with the baseline survey, there is a bit increase in " yes " responses (73% vs.68%) and a slight reduction in negative or " don' t know " answers (respectively 16% vs.21% and 11% vs. 12%). This means that local people express more tolerant attitudes towards different political parties, even unpopular ones with regard to meetings in their area.

6- Political tolerance: personal

Political tolerance: personal

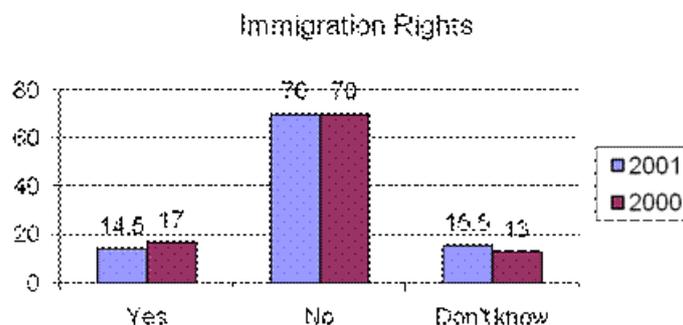


Suppose a friend of yours supported a party that most people did not like. Would you accept that, or would it end your friendship? (Q.47)

There is great difference between the baseline survey and impact survey findings 88% of voters with regard to political tolerance at the personal level accept any of their friends involved in an unpopular political party (vs.31%), while 8% (vs.55%) are associated with ending friendship and 4% (vs.14%) are unsure. Surprisingly, local voters awfully changed their tolerant attitudes towards different political parties in the baseline survey to personal participation in another party in the impact survey. This reveals that the current better political atmosphere in the county where all main different political parties have tended to change from somewhat confrontation to discussions/negotiations may create more possibility for the voters to reduce tension vis-à-vis the tolerance at personal level. Interestingly, this kind of tolerance is much better than that in accepting unpopular parties to be involved in political activities in their community (88% vs.73%).

7- Immigration rights

Do you think that immigrants should be allowed to vote in the local election? (Q. 45)



Almost any change has not been made regarding acceptance for immigrants' rights to be involved in political activities in the baseline and impact surveys. More than two-third of local voting-age population (70%) does not believe immigrants should be allowed to vote, while 14.5% (vs.17%) feel immigrants should have the right to vote and 15.5% (vs.13%) are unsure.

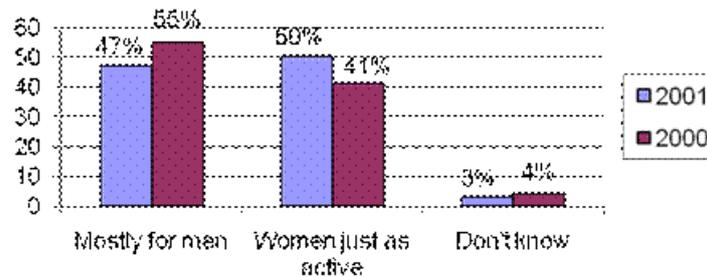
Among the local respondents, it is likely that most men have no tolerant attitudes towards immigration (80%) while women represent only 61.8%. Moreover, the well-educated people seem not to be supportive the immigrant's rights: 82% against 62.3% of those who are with less than complete primary school.

Historical factors, encouraged by the last decades of wars and internal conflicts and the current border and immigration problems might pollute the public opinion of immigrants' rights.

Acceptance of non-Khmer citizens in the political process should be included in the agenda of the civic education within the democratic context for the public in general.

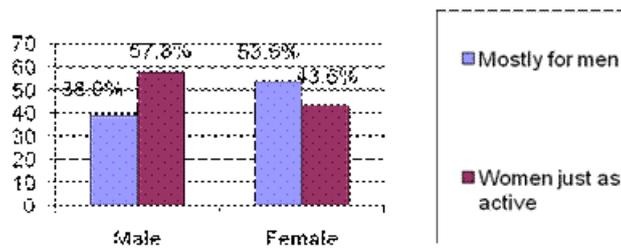
8- Gender and political leadership

Gender and political leadership

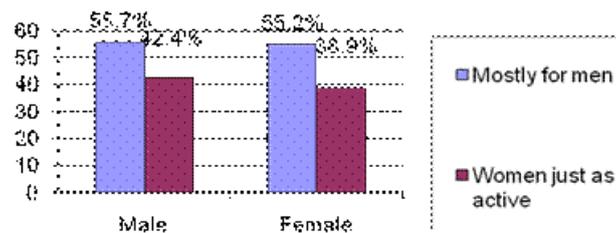


Do you think that commune council members should be mostly men, or do you think that women should be just as active as men in commune council? (Q. 41)

Gender Leadership (2001)



Gender leadership (2000)



This survey reveals that local government is slightly less seen as a man's job in comparison with the baseline survey. 47% (vs.55%) believe male commune council membership are more acceptable, while 50% (vs.41%) think women should be just as active as men on the commune council. Remarkably, this represents the local people's

real perception of gender role in the local government that becomes better from time to time conforming to the present-day society needs.

Somewhat surprisingly, 57.8 % of male voters (vs.43.6 % of female ones) believe women just as active as men in the impact survey but there was almost no gender gap on this question in the baseline survey (42.4% vs.38.9%). This may be explained that the idea of men's more important role in the government has changed: local voters (both sexes) have tendency to be supportive of women's activism.

The voters younger than 25 are mostly supportive of women's equal rights and capabilities in the commune council leadership (68.7%) while just 46.4% of the voting-age population over 35 support this idea. Overall, the feeling that commune councils should be composed mostly of men is deeply rooted in Cambodian society; probably reflecting the Khmer traditional culture mixed up with the military role played by the commune government through decades of war and conflicts. Nevertheless, the voters' perception of empowered women need included in the on-going democratic process results in change in these indicators.

Otherwise, civic education in this field is still in demand, as those who are supportive of women's leadership have not represented the majority yet.

9- Leadership mostly for men : why?

(Asked of respondents who said that political leadership positions should be mostly for men) Why do you say that? (Q. 42)

	2001	2000
Men know more/better educated/better at politics	81.9	57
Politics is nature for men	5.3	1
Women are more emotional/men are calmer	3.2	2
Commune controls militias, police/security	3.2	9
Family/home responsibility	2.1	13
Women talk a lot, so cause many problems	1.1	0
Women are selfish	1.1	0
Men are free from house chores	1.1	0
Don't know	1	3

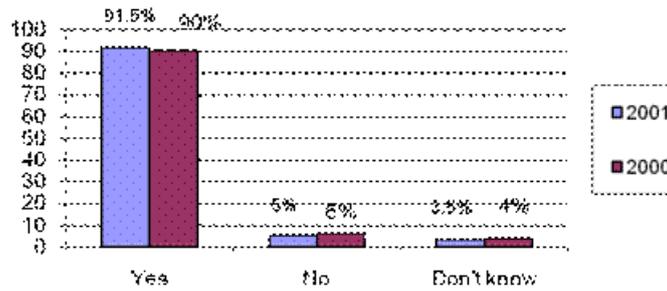
A bit half of the local voters believe that commune councils should be mostly men. Of this group, 81.9% (vs.57% in the baseline survey) say the reason they are supportive of this view is that men know more, are more intelligent, better educated, and better at politics than women.. 5.3%(vs.1%) believe that politics is nature for men. Other reasons include women's emotion (3.2%vs.2%), council's responsibility for security (militia and police) (3.2%vs.9%), and family and home responsibility (2.1% vs.13%).

Promoting acceptance of gender equality in politics will require eliminating the traditional perception in Cambodian society, considering men as better, more intelligent, dynamic, educated.

10- Women as commune leaders

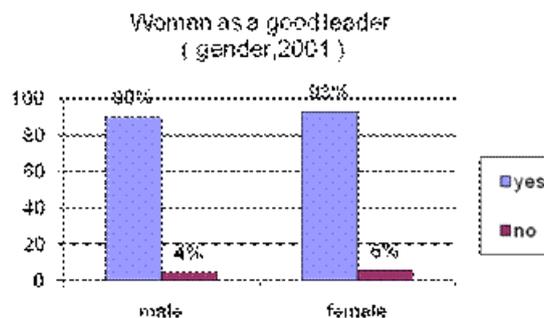
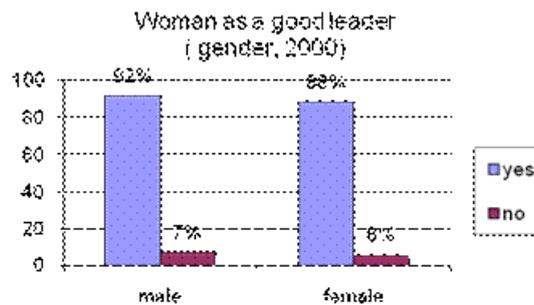
Do you think a woman could be a good commune leader? (Q. 44)

Women as commune leader



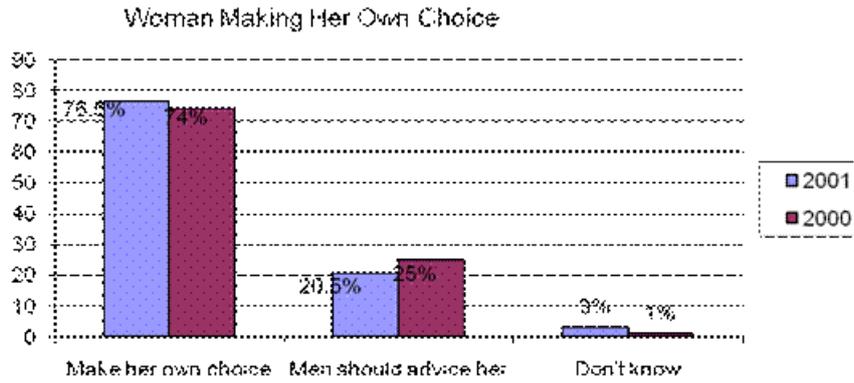
There is almost no difference between the baseline and impact surveys regarding acceptance of women as good commune leaders. 91.5% (vs.90%) of respondents think a woman could a commune leader while 5% (vs.6%) do not agree with this idea and 3.5% (vs.4%) are unsure.

In the baseline survey results men were mostly supportive of women's leadership in the commune council (92% vs.88%), but in the impact survey it is likely that their support of women's commune leadership capabilities are reduced (90% vs.93%). On the other hand, this reveals that women themselves have some progress vis-à-vis their confidence of good women's leadership (93% vs.88%).

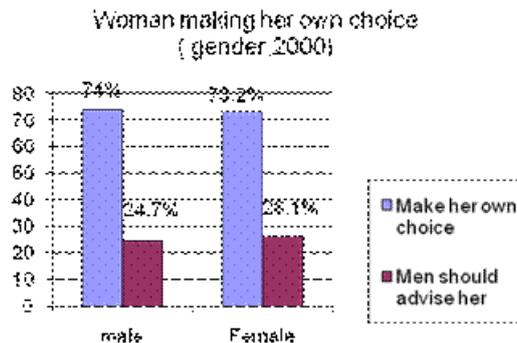
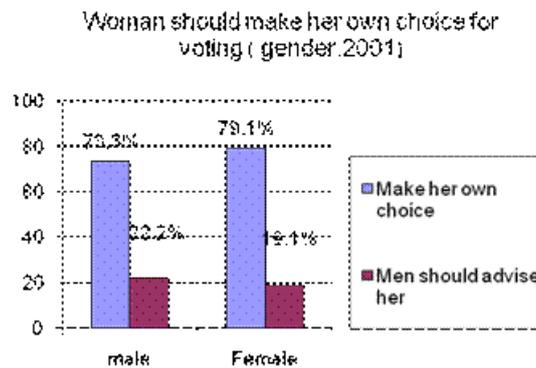


11- Women making their own choice

Do you think a woman should make her own choice for voting, or do you think men should advise her on her choice? (Q. 43)



There is some increase in accepting women to make their own choice for voting. 76.5% of local voters (vs.74%) believe a woman should make her own choice when voting in elections. Still, 20.5% (vs.25%) feel a man should advise her when it comes to voting decisions and 3% (vs.1%) are not sure.



There is almost no difference between the responses given by the local voters in the baseline and impact surveys. Still, 73.3% of male respondents (vs.74%) are supportive of woman making her own choice for voting, while 79% of female voters (vs.73%) believe women should make their own choice. This indicates those female voters' better perception of their own autonomy related to voting in the local elections although current slight decreased figure of male ones.

Civic Education Recommendations for Specific Target Groups

TARGET GROUPS	DON'T KNOW DEMOCRACY CHARAC-TERISTICS	NOT INTERESTED IN POLITICS
Women with less than complete primary education	62.%	37.8%
Women over 35	54.5%	39%
Voters younger than 25	50%	21.9%
Not regular TV viewers	43.5%	34.7%
Average	43.5%	29%

The survey results suggest that the civic education begins with some targeted messages on the basic of democracy despite people better perception and awareness in comparison with the baseline. These messages would include:

- Concept/Characteristics of democracy with meaning of democratic, free and fair elections
- Individual interest in politics-needed component of democracy.

For civic education, the specific target groups should be included women with primary school incomplete, women over 35, voter younger than 25 and not regular TV viewers.

Civic Education Recommendations for all voters

Priority issues for General Civic Education

- Improving participation of local people
- Stimulating political discussion
- Tolerance towards friends, family members, neighbors, colleagues belong to unpopular parties
- Women and political leadership
- Immigrant rights.

In order to improve the local voters' perception and awareness, especially prior the commune elections and in the post election period as well, these messages are still in great demand for civic education.

Summary: Civic Education Needs

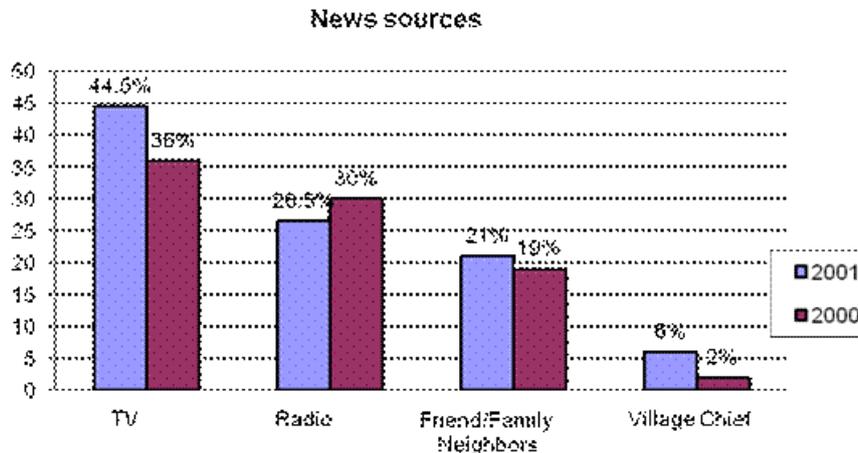
- **In fact, there is still clearly a great need for civic education in Cambodia. Otherwise, in comparison with the baseline survey conducted in the center region, it is important that some progress has been made with regard to people's perception of democracy although they still can't express their opinions about the democratic concepts. On the other hand, the increased local voters are likely to dare to say something about this issue without hesitation.**
- **Almost the same as the baseline survey, few people have participated directly in their government within the elections, the level of political interest is fairly low, and discussion of politics or political issues are proved not frequently. Personal influence on the commune decisions is weak.**
- **With regard to the tolerance of opposing views in a public forum it is likely to be slightly increased. Surprisingly, the tolerance vis-à-vis interpersonal relationship seems to be at high level when the country has started the commune elections with registration and all main different political parties have tendency to détente.**
- **The immigrant's rights are still a pressing problem for the country in general. There is little acceptance of immigrants in the political process.**
- **Overall, those who are supportive of women's leadership have increased in comparison with the baseline survey. On the other hand, although the level of acceptance of equality for women in political leadership is a slightly lower for the male respondents, it is likely that the fervent female believers in women's activism have increased in number. Just a significant minority of both men and women who think men should advise women on whom they should vote for.**
- **Initially, for the specific target groups, the civic education should focus on the meaning of democracy, including free and fair elections, importance of tolerating meeting of different political parties and that of women making their own choice prior the commune elections.**
- **Generally, the civic education should focus on political participation of people beyond voting, political discussion, tolerance of different political parties, gender and political leadership and immigrant rights in the pre-, during and post-electoral period.**

Chapter 7

Voter Education Sources/ Media

This chapter examines sources and media which are needed in the voter and civic education for specific target groups and all voter as well. It can be used in conjunction with the information shown in appendices.

1- Principal news sources - country



How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country? (Q. 7)

No single national news medium is dominant in Cambodia. TV, radio and word of mouth are still all important. TV is a bit more popular cited by 44.5% (against 36% in the baseline) while radio seems to be slightly less attractive by its local users (26.5% vs.30%) and word of mouth has increased in 2% (21% vs. 19%) among local population.

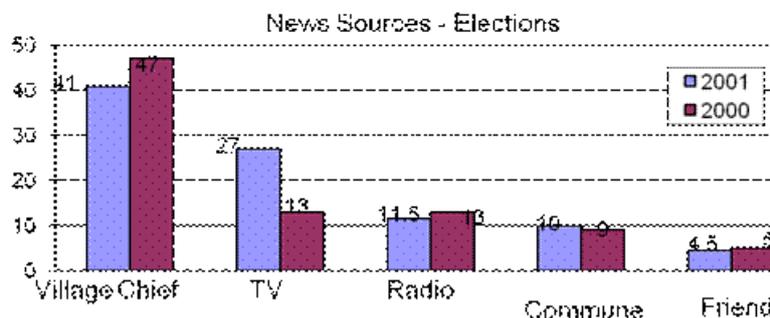
Those most likely to watch TV are better-educated, live in urban areas. Interestingly, TV attracts almost all those who do not listen to the radio, and all of those who read newspapers.

The second main source for the local voters to get information about what is happening in the country is radio. The radio is mostly popular among rural people, those with less/no education.

After TV and radio, comes " word-of-mouth " from friends, family and neighbors. This is connected to women with little or no formal education.

For print media, it is likely to be the main source of information for just of 0.5% of local population (vs.7%), especially in urban areas. The main principal cause of its reduced popularity for the impact survey is not included in it Phnom Penh as main readers of newspapers.

2- Principal news sources – elections



How have you gotten information about registering and voting for elections? (Q. 8)

The local population has remained referred to the village chief when having gotten information about registering and voting for elections although reduction is made by 6% in comparison with the baseline survey.

Moreover, it is likely that broadcast media have played a limited role in disseminating information about registration and voting in elections. There is some increase in number of local voters as TV viewers while radio has lost 1.5% of its customers.

Other main sources of information about elections are commune chiefs, and mouth of words with respectively (10% vs.9%) and (4.5% vs.5%).

3. Regular Media exposure

respondents who use particular medium 3 days per week or more (Q. 3,5,9)

	2001	2000
TV	75.5%	59%
Radio	45.5%	49%
Newspaper	3.5%	15%

In comparing with the baseline survey the number of local voters who watch TV at least three days per week have increased by 16.5% (75.5% vs. 59%) while the non-regular radio listeners have decreased (45.5% vs. 49%). Surprisingly, those who read newspaper regularly have dramatically reduced (3.5% vs. 15%) as Phnom Penh, world of newspaper readers is excluded from the sample.

In one word, the voter and civic education should be oriented towards the real need of specific target groups and all local voters as well in general. TV is the most popular medium, however, radio still presents itself as a useful one for those who have no access to TV and vice versa. Meanwhile, who do not reach broadcast media have to refer to the in-person voter education (meeting, visits, plays, etc.). This education may be realized through the great efforts of concerned NGOs and international community.

4- Organizational involvement

	2001	2000
Death association	6.5	8
Pot association	3	6
Elderly association	3	1
Women association	2	4
Water supply association	2	2
Farmer association	2	2
Youth association	1	3
Teacher association	1	2
Students' parents association	1	5
Writer/journalist association	0.5	0
Student association	0.5	1
Construction association	0.5	3
Others	5.5	3
Don't know	78.5	58

Like Cambodians in the country as a whole, most local population does not belong to any type of organised civic organisations. Surprisingly, the impact survey reveals that 78.5% are not involved in any civil society organisations against 58% in the baseline survey.

Of those who belong to associations (21.5% vs.42%) none attracts more than 6.5% (vs.8%). The most common, at 6.5%, is the death association, followed by the pot and elderly associations (with 3% each) and the associations for women, water supply and farmers (with 2% each). Just 1% has joined each the youth, teacher and students' parents association.

The weak percentage of the local voters' membership in any organization or association reflects the overall poor effectiveness of civil society in the central region and in Cambodia as a whole with regard to supplement the gaps in broadcast voter/civic education coverage.

4- Priority Groups: In-Person Voter Education

Groups where 30.5% or more do not watch TV and 50%, or more do not listen to radio at least 3 days per week (Q 3,5).

	NON/NOT-VIEWERS	RADIO NON-LISTENERS
Voters with No Education	30.5%	50%
Women over 35	62.5%	53.3%

The priority Targets for in-oerson voter Education would be those who cannot have easy access to broadcast voter/civic education. To identify priority groups for this kind of voter/civic education, the survey sets the following criteria: at least 30.5% of the member of the group did not watch TV at all or did not watch TY three or more days a week and at least 50% did not listen to the radio or did not regularly listen to radio. The groups that fit these criteria were:

- Voter with no education—30.5% do not have TV access, 50% lack Radio.
- Women over 35—62.5% cannot be reached By TV, 53.3% lack regular radio access.

- **Summary: Voter Education Source/Media**

- As the baseline survey, the broadcast media (although radio seems currently to be less popular) and word of mouth are all important news sources in the areas.

- The membership in organisations seems to be still limited than in the baseline survey. Still, this is likely to provide an opportunity for voter education.

- With regard to electronic sources for voter education, it may be included TV (with its increased customers) and radio. In particular, older, less educated and rural voters

- could be reached through in-person education.

- Village chiefs are still the most important and popular source for voter education. Moreover, commune chiefs are also widely accepted.

- Weakness of Cambodian civil society organizations may not provide any assistance in additional voter/civic education with effectiveness.

Recommendation

Voter Education Needs

- Information and process of the commune election should be strengthened to voters. The most effective sources to inform these issues are TV and Radio. This part should be paid attention to young voters, less educated voters, and woman voters.
- Education on how and where to complain is urgently needed. Complaining of irregularities should be priority given to young voters whose education level is low, especially to the woman ones.
- Personal political tolerance education should be started to those elder voters whose education is low.
- Voter education on secret ballots should be started to the young voters with low education, and especially to the woman voters.
- Woman making own choice education should be initially disseminated to elder voters with low education, and woman voters whose education is low.

Civic Education Needs

- Civic education on the perception of democracy should be widely acted to the voters, especially the young ones. This perception should be given to the voter with less education level, remarkably woman ones.
- Civic education on involvement in public interests should be given to voters. This kind of education should be initially disseminated to young voters, and especially female voters whose education level is low.
- Political tolerance to all political parties should be disseminated to some voters, especially female voters with low education.

Voter Education Source/Media

- TV and Radio are the most important electronic information sources that should be used to educate or transmit election information and election education.
- The chief of village is the main person that should be initially taken account through which voter information and education can be easily disseminated to voters.

Appendix I

Media Planning Tables

1 / Frequency of watching TV

How many days a week do you watch TV? (Q. 3)

	2001	2000
Every day/ almost every day	66	50
3 or 4 days a week	9.5	9
At least once a week	9.5	12
Less than once a week	2	9
Never	13	20

2 / TV station most often watched

Which TV station do you watch the most often? (Q. 4)

	2001	2000
TV5	60	23
TV9	20.9	25
National TV	10.5	21
TV3	4.7	19
TV11	2.9	4
Bayon TV	0.5	4
Do not remember	0.5	3

3 / Frequency of radio listening

How many days a week do you listen to the radio? (Q. 5)

	2001	2000
Every day/ almost every day	41.5	41
3 or 4 days a week	4	8
At least once a week	5	9
Less than once a week	3	6
Never	46.5	36

4 / Radio station most often heard*Which radio station do you listen to most often? (Q. 6)*

	2001	2000
FM 103	39.6	35
National Radio	20.7	17
FM 105	12.3	18
FM 98	7.5	3
FM 95	6.6	9
APSARA	4.8	5
FM 102	1.9	0
FM 107	0.9	2
FM 88	0.9	0
Do not remember	4.8	4

5 / Frequency of reading newspapers*How many days a week do you read newspaper? (Q. 9)*

	2001	2000
Every day/almost every day	2.5	8
3 or 4 days a week	1	7
1 or 2 days a week	2	12
Less than once a week	8	23
Never	85.5	48
Don't know	1	2

6 / Newspapers read*Which newspaper do you read the most often? (Q. 10)*

	2001	2000
Raksmei Kampuchea	74.1	54
Koh Santepheap	22.2	31
Samleng Yuvachun Khmer	3.7	1

Appendix II Target Group Demographics

1 / Target demographics I *Gender and Age*

Gender	2001	2000
Male	45	45
Female	55	55

Age	2001	2000
Under 25	16	11
25-34	19	29
35-49	36.5	35
50 +	28.5	25

Marital status and Education

Marital Status	2001	2000
Single	11.5	11
Married	88.5	89

Education	2001	2000
Never went to school	28	19
Primary School Incomplete	33	35
Primary School Complete	6	8
Lower Secondary School	23.5	22
Higher Secondary School	9	12
University	0.5	2

2 / Target group demographics II

Occupation

Occupation	2001	2000
Farmer(own land)/tenant farmer	78.4	60
Informal sales/business/market traders	11.4	14
Skilled worker/artisan	4.3	3
Labourer/domestic/unskilled worker	1.6	4
Executive or managerial	1.6	1
Farm labourers(other's land)	1.2	1
Sales or office worker	0.5	6
Professional or technical	0.5	7
Fisherman	0.5	0

Economic Activity	2001	2000
Working	92.5	82
Housewife	3	14
Retired	2	2
Student	1	1
Unemployment	1.5	1

3) Target Group Demographics III

Area Type	2001	2000
City 1 mill	0	27
City 50k - 250k	4	7
Urban < 50k	4	0
Rural	92	66

Provinces		
Kampong Speu	36	15
Kandal	64	29
Kampong Chhnang		12
Kampong Thom		17
Phnom Penh		27

**ambodia Local Election Voter Education Study (Impact Survey)
Survey Questionnaire**

Summary of Results: 200 Respondents

Interviewing Dates: September 06-26, 2001

INITIAL SCREEN: RESPONDENTS MUST BE CAMBODIAN CITIZENS OVER 18

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

I. DEMOGRAPHICS

	2001	2000
56.1. Are you now working to earn money, a housewife, retired, a student, or looking for work?		
Working	92.5	82
Housewife	3	14
Retired	2	2
Unemployment	1.5	1
Student	1	1
Other (specify)	0	0
57.2. IF WORKING: What is your main occupation?		
Farmer (own land) / tenant farmer	78.4	60
Informal sales / business / market trader	11.4	14
Skilled worker/artisan	4.3	3
Laborer, domestic, or unskilled worker	1.6	4
Executive or managerial	1.6	1

Farmer laborers(other's land)	1.2	1
Sales or office worker	0.5	6
Professional or technical	0.5	7
Fisherman	0.5	0
Military / Police	0	1
Herbalist	0	1
9.3.How old are you?		
Under25	16	11
25 - 34	19	29
35-49	36.5	35
50+	28.5	25
II. MEDIA EXPOSURE AND INFORMATION SOURCES		
4.4.How many days a week do you watch TV ?		
Asked of all:		
Every day or almost every day	66	50
Three or four days a week	9.5	9
One or two days a week	9.5	12
Less than once a week	2	9
Never	13	20
Don't know / no response	0	0
4.5. Which TV Station do you watch most often?		
Asked of 174 respondents who watch TV:		
TV5 Royal Army	60	23
TV9	20.9	25
National TV	10.5	21
TV3 Phnom Penh	4.7	19
TV11	2.9	4
Bayon	0.5	4
Do not remember	0.5	3
4.6.How many days a week do you listen to the radio?		
Asked of all:		
Every day or almost every day	41.5	41
Three or four days a week	4	8
One or two days a week	5	9
Less than once a week	3	6
Never	46.5	36
Don't know / no response	0	0

4.7.Which radio station do you listen to most often?		
Asked of 107 respondents who listen to the radio:		
FM103	39.6	35
National radio	20.7	17
FM 105	12.3	18
FM98	7.5	3
FM 95	6.6	9
APSARA	4.8	5
FM102	1.9	0
FM107	0.9	2
FM 88	0.9	0
Do not remember	4.8	4
53.8.How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country?		
Asked of all:		
TV	44.5	36
Radio	26.5	30
Friends and family and neighbors	21	19
Village chief	6	2
Newspapers	0.5	7
Commune chief	0.5	0
Customers	0.5	0
Don't know / refused	0.5	5
53.9.How have you gotten information about registering and voting for elections?		
Village chief	41	47
TV	27	13
Radio	11.5	13
Commune chief	10	9
Friends and family and neighbors	4.5	5
Organization	2	3
Group chief	1	2
Customers	0.5	0
CPP	0.5	0
District election committee	0.5	0
District office	0.5	0
DK	1	5
7.10. How many days a week do you read a newspaper?		
Asked all responders		
Every day or almost every day	2.5	8
Three or four days a week	1	7

One or two days a week	2	12
Less than once a week	8	23
Never	85.5	48
Don't know / no response	1	2
7.11. IF READ NEWSPAPER: Which newspaper do you read most often?		
Asked of 29 respondents who read newspapers:		
Raksmey Kampuckea	74.1	54
Koh Santepheap	22.2	31
Samleang Yuvachun Khmer(Khmer Youth's Voice)	3.7	1
10.12.What is the highest level of school you completed?		
Asked of all:		
Never went to school	28	19
Primary School, incomplete	33	35
Primary School, complete	6	8
Lower secondary school	23.5	22
Higher secondary school	9	12
University	0.5	2
63.13.Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it. (MULTIPLE RESPONSES PERMITTED).		
Death association	6.5	8
Kitchen supplies / Pot association	3	6
Elderly association	3	1
Women association	2	4
Water supply association	2	2
Farmer association	2	2
Youth association	1	3
Teacher association	1	2
Students' parents association	1	5
Construction association	0.5	3
Student association	0.5	1
Writer / Journalist association	0.5	0
Others	5.5	3
None/DK	78.5	58
III. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNAL ELECTION AWARENESS		
26.14.Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about the local commune government.		

Tell me, whose decisions affect your life more: the national government in Phnom Penh, or the communal government in this town or village?		
Local government	52	47
National government	15.5	21
Both equally	21	10
Don't know	11.5	22
26.15.Different people have different ideas about what commune governments actually do. How about you? What do you think commune governments do or control?		
Maintain / build roads	34.5	22
Help – general / improve our lives	25.5	11
Corrupt / take money / steal money / demand money	17.5	7
Resolve disputes / mediate conflicts	17	25
Maintain law and order / maintain security	17	18
Organize agricultural activity / dam repairs	14	7
Traditional ceremonies	13.5	4
Bad government	12.5	5
Partisan / serve one political party	10	2
Maintain / build schools	9.5	0
Solve problems / receive complaints	4.5	15
Inequality in solving problems/ distribution gifts	3	0
Give construction permits / allow building / build pagodas	2	4
Provide health services / education / fight AIDS	2	2
Protect forests / control logging	0.5	1
DK	14	25
18.16.Here are some different ways people think about the communal government. The first is that		
the people and communal government should be equals, and government should listen to the		
people's criticism. The second is that the communal government should be like a father and the people are like a child he must look after. The third is that the communal government is like a boss and the people are like a worker who must obey.		
Which of these is closest to your view of what the government should be?		

The first view – government and people are equal	28	28
The second view -- government is father	47	54
The third view – government is boss	17	11
Don't know, not sure	8	7
27.17.Have you heard anything about communal elections coming?		
Yes	96.5	67
No	3	29
Don't know/ refused	0.5	4
27.18.The press has reported that local elections to choose commune councils are planned. I		
don't want to know whom you will vote for. But tell me: Do you think you will vote in this election?		
Yes	96.5	97
No	3.5	2
Don't know	0	1
28.19.What is the most important reason why you want to vote?		
<i>Asked of 193 respondents who said they will vote:</i>		
To choose leaders / to participate / it's my right	38	43
/ chance to choose / new commune or village chief		
Civic duty / duty as citizen / democratic obligation	18	9
End corruption / honest leaders	16	18
For peace, not to have conflict / peace for next generation	7	2
Because everyone does / social pressure / we always do	5	6
Because the authorities tell me to / I will be ordered to	5	9
Freedom / equal rights / democracy / majority rule	4	2
Better roads / schools / housing / health care / pagodas	3	2
Vote may make a difference / this election will be different	1	2
To have food security	1	0
For independence	1	0
For justice	1	0
DK	2	1
29.20.What is the most important		

reason why you may not vote?		
Asked of 7 respondents who said they will not vote:		
Personal reasons: too old, sick, against my religion, etc.	57.1	9
Don't know how the elections will work	14.3	0
Don't support any party / candidate 7%	14.3	18
Not being registered	14.3	0
30.21.Do you think that voting in the communal election will make a big difference, some		
difference, little difference, or no difference at all?		
Asked of all:		
Big difference	9	15
Some difference	16	17
Little difference	12	12
No difference at all	34	15
Don't know	29	42
30.22.What is the most important thing you expect to change?		
Asked of 74 respondents who said that voting will make a difference:		
Leaders / council / chief	48.6	29.6
Better roads	15.7	13.3
Better – generally	14.3	16.3
Fairer / better conflict resolution	12.8	23.5
Less corruption 6%	4.3	5.1
More help in crises / emergencies / for poor / with rice	2.9	9.2
People have right to complain in local development	1.4	0
30.23.How long after the election will this takes to happen?		
Immediately to within a month	0	4
A month to within a year	25.3	38
One to two years	21.3	28
Three to five years	13.3	9
Five to ten years	1.3	0
More than ten years	0	2
Don't know	38.7	19
54.24.Do you think you need more information about how the communal		

election will work?		
Asked of all:		
Yes	69	89
No	20.5	7
Don't know	10.5	4
54.25.Many people are not sure who will organize and run the local elections. Do you happen to know who will organize and run the election in your commune? IF YES: Who?		
Yes, NEC	14	4
Yes, Royal / national government	13.5	10
Yes, commune officials	12	3
Yes, village official	4	4
Yes, NGO	3	1
Yes, CPP	2	0
Yes, Different parties / political party /	1.5	0
Yes, district/provincial office	1	0
No	45.5	75
DK	3.5	2
No response	0	2
46.26.Many people are not sure how the voting will work. Do you happen to know whether people will vote for parties or individuals when they choose a council or group of people to head the commune?		
For individuals	53	31
For parties	23	18
Don't know	24	51
54.27.Many people are not sure how the commune chief will be chosen. Do you happen to know How the commune chief will be selected?		
Elected by the voters	77.5	15
By the council	9.5	2
Leader of the largest party	5	1
Don't know	8	81
IV. REGISTRATION		
37.28.Have you been registered to vote in the		

communal elections next year?		
Yes	93.5	
No	6.5	
38.29. What is the reason why have you been not registered for the commune election next year? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED)		
<i>Asked of 13 respondents who have not been registered:</i>		
Sickness	33.3	
Too old	20	
Did not hear about registration on time	13.3	
Told to register at difference place/time	13.3	
Pregnancy	6.6	
Not allowed to enter or go to registration station	6.6	
No proper document	6.6	
V. ELECTION FAIRNESS AND LAWS		
31.30. Some people think the communal election will be free and fair in your area, some think it will not be free and fair, and some are not sure. How about you? Which of these opinions do you agree with?		
Free and fair	57.5	42
Not free and fair	5	6
Not sure / maybe / don't know	37.5	52
31.31. I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the communal election next year.		
Think it is possible here next year		
Gifts or payments for votes	37	24
News media bias favoring a party	10	35
Violence against party activists or voters	8.5	18
People being forced to pledge to vote for a party	6	14
Finding out how people voted without their saying	6	11
Cheating in vote counting	5.5	17

Threats from officials to make residents vote for a party	5	13
People being forced to join a party and vote for it	4.5	12
None of these possible	30	34
No response	21	12
35.32.If one of these problems happens in your area in the election, do you know to whom you could complain?		
Yes	55	40
No	42	56
Don't know / refused	3	4
36.33. IF YES: To whom would you complain?		
Asked of 110 respondents who said they knew to whom they could complain:		
Village chief / government	26.4	39
Commune chief / government	20	20
Police	13.6	7
Monitors / observers / NGOs / COMFREL / etc	12.7	8
NEC	11.8	13
Local election committee	8.2	5
National government	5.5	6
Political party	0.9	0
News media	0.9	1
31.34.If someone is forced to join a party, do you believe they must vote for it?		
Asked of all:		
Yes, they must vote for it	12	14
No, they do not have to vote for it	72	72
Don't know / maybe / not sure	16	14
40.35.If someone is forced to pledge to vote for a party, do you believe they must vote for it?		
Yes, they must vote for it1	11.5	12
No, they do not have to vote for it	74	73
Don't know / maybe / not sure	14.5	15
40.36.If someone is paid to vote for a party, do you believe they must vote for it?		

Yes, they must vote for it	18	18
No, they do not have to vote for it	67.5	65
Don't know / maybe / not sure	14.5	17
31.37. Some people think there will be no cheating in the way the election is run, some think there can be cheating, and some people are not sure. Which of these opinions do you agree with?		
No cheating	46.5	34
Cheating can happen	6	12
Not sure / don't know	47.5	54
46.38. Have you heard whether there will be non-partisan groups to observe and monitor the elections?		
Yes, there will be observers	68	42
No, I have not heard of observers	18.5	42
Don't know	13.5	16
46.39. Suppose you saw a non-partisan monitor watching when you go to vote.		
Would this give you much more, somewhat more, a little more, or no more confidence that the elections will be free and fair?		
Much more confidence	46.5	45
Somewhat more confidence	16.5	19
A little more confidence	17	9
No more confidence	14	12
Don't know	6	13
V. GENDER, TOLERANCE, AND DEMOCRACY		
Now I'd like to ask about something else.		
19.40. Do you think that commune council members should be mostly men, or do you think that women should be just as active as men in commune councils?		
Mostly for men	47	55
Women just as active	50	41
Don't know	3	4
70.41. IF MOSTLY FOR MEN: Why do you say that? (OPEN END WITH		

PRE-CODES)		
Asked of 94 respondents who said commune council members should be mostly men:		
Men know more, more intelligent, better educated,	81.9	57
better at politics, better managers, more dynamic,		
women ignorant of politics, know less, can't do things		
Politics is natural / appropriate for men	5.3	<u>1</u>
Women are more emotional, irrational, excitable,	3.2	<u>2</u>
Commune controls militia, police / security	3.2	9
Family / home responsibilities / women's place is home	2.1	13
Women talk a lot , so cause many problems	1.1	0
Women are selfish	1.1	0
Men are free from house chore	1.1	0
Don't know	1	3
19.42. ASK ALL: Do you think a woman should make her own choice for voting, or do you think men should advise her on her choice?		
Asked of all:		
Make her own choice	76.5	74
Men should advise her	20.5	25
Don't know	3	1
19.43.Do you think a woman could be a good commune leader?		
Yes	91.5	90
No	5	6
Don't know	3.5	4
19.44.Do you think that immigrants should be allowed to vote in the local elections?		
Yes	14.5	17
No	70	70
Don't know	15.5	13
52.45.Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area?		

Yes	73	68
No	16	21
Don't know	11	12
53.46. Suppose a friend of yours supported a party that most people did not like. Would you accept that, or would it end your friendship?		
Would accept it	88	31
Would end friendship	8	55
Don't know / Not sure	4	14
A lot of people in Cambodia today are talking about democracy.		
17.47. If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? PROBE: Anything else?		
Freedom in general, individual freedom, respect the people's right	38	9
Equal right , equality	11	6
Peace/ no oppression	9	3
Justice in general, good ideas	8	3
Rule of law	6.5	2
Right to vote/ stand for candidacy in election, follow the majority	6.5	6
Freedom of expression ideas, right to organize meeting	5.5	5
Multiparty	3	1
Development	3	3
Freedom for travelling	3	0
Impartiality/ independence	3	1
No exploitation	2.5	1
National reconciliation	2	0
Right to do business	1.5	0
Other	6	4
Do not the word and understand democracy	43.5	69
21.48. Since the 1993 election, have you ever contacted a local commune or national governmental official about some problems, issues, or matter of concern to you?		
Asked of all:		
Yes, commune government	30	13
Yes, both national and commune government	4	0
Yes, National government	0	3

No	65.5	82
Don't know / no response	0.5	1
21.49.How much influence do you think someone like you can have over commune government decisions? A lot, some, very little or none at all?		
A lot	5	5
Some	23	20
Very little	19.5	26
None at all	38	37
Don't know / refused	14.5	12
21.50. Have you ever worked as a volunteer for any political party or candidates, helping in their campaign or as a party agent in an election campaign in 1993 or 1998?		
Yes	7.5	9
No	92.5	91
21.51. Could you ever imagine yourself running for commune council or some other public office in an election?		
Yes	14	9
No	86	91
21.52. How interested are you in politics? Very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not interested at all?		
Very interested	17	23
Somewhat interested	31	29
Not very interested	23	13
Not interested at all	29	33
Don't know	0	2
22.53. How often do you discuss politics with friends? Almost all the time, often, not very often, or almost never?		
Almost all the time	4	4
Often	13.5	9
Not very often	26	27
Almost never / Never	56	58
Don't know	0.5	1
23.54.Do people feel free to express		

their political opinions in the area where you live?		
Yes	70	66
No	15	20
Don't know	15	14
25.55. Generally speaking, do you think that most people can be trusted?		
Yes	21.5	29
No	74.5	62
Don't know	4	9
VII. MOOD		
11.56. Generally speaking, do you think things in Cambodia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?		
Right direction	79	68
Wrong direction	7	15
Don't know	14	18
11.57. Why do you say that? (TWO RESPONSES ALLOWED)		
POSITIVE (Asked of 158 respondents):		
Economy recovering / getting better / development	43	50
Peace / war over / normalcy / travel	38.6	24
Democracy / political liberalization / many parties / freedom	29.7	10
Improved schools / health care / social services /	25.3	29
Progress / General (positive)	15.2	17
Construction / reconstruction / new buildings / new pagodas	9.5	28
Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party	7	7
Don't know	9.5	0
NEGATIVE (Asked of 14 respondents):		
Political conflict / violence / disputes / disorders	28.6	2
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing	28.6	33
homelessness / begging / child laborers		
Crime	21.4	34
Economy getting worse	14.3	36
Repression / fear / lack of freedom	14.3	10

Corruption	7.1	50
Crisis / general negative	7.1	8
Deforestation	7.1	14
Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure	7.1	14
Rich is still rich and poor is still poor	0.5	0
Prostitute	0.5	0
Government did not deal with the market for the produce	0.5	0
No consistency between higher and lower authorities	0.5	0
I do not know what will happen	17.5	0
11.58.In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Cambodia?		
11.59.And what is the next biggest problem?		
Asked of all:		
Q59Q60		
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing	38/20	41/3
/ homelessness / begging / child laborers		
Natural disaster(flood & drought)	20/31	1/1
Economy (general) , lack of market	14.5/ 3.5	13/2
Crime / drug	5/6	8/1
Political disputes	3.5/4	2/2
Infrastructure	2/3	2/6
Water shortage	2/2.5	3/0
Corruption	1.5/2	4/2
Border/immigration problems	1/ 2.5	2/1
HIV/AIDS	1/ 0.5	2/2
Others	3/7	11/18
No problem	0.5/0	1/1
Do not know	7/17.5	13/16
14.60.How confident are you of a happy future for Cambodia as a whole?		
Very confident	30	39
Fairly confident	46.5	35
Not very confident	9	8
Not confident at all	1.5	3
Don't know	13	15
15.61.Now let's talk about the commune where you live. Generally speaking, do you think things in your commune today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?		

Right direction	67.5	63
Wrong direction	18	18
Don't know	14.5	19
11.62.Why do you say that? (TWO RESPONSES ALLOWED)		
POSITIVE (Asked of 135 respondents):		
Economy recovering / getting better / development	32.6	32
Peace / war over / normalcy / travel	28.1	24
Improved schools / health care / social services /	24.4	31
Government / rulers / leaders / ruling party	23.7	10
Democracy / political liberalization / many parties / freedom	22.2	8
General positive	20.7	16
Construction / reconstruction / new buildings / new pagodas	13.3	30
Better than under Pol Pot	6.7	8
Help in emergency	4.4	0
Don't know	0	4
NEGATIVE (Asked of 36 respondents):		
Corruption	55.5	34
Underdevelopment / poor infrastructure	36.1	31
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing /	27.8	55
homelessness / begging / child laborers		
Economy getting worse	16.7	27
Crisis / general negative	16.7	8
Repression / fear / lack of freedom	11.1	6
Crime	8.3	26
Nepotism	8.3	0
Water shortages / problems	5.5	3
Conflict / violence / disputes / disorders	5.5	16
11.63.In your view, what is the biggest problem facing your commune?		
11.64.And what is the next biggest problem?		
Q64Q65		
Poverty / unemployment / lack of food, clothing	57/13	48/10
/ homelessness / begging / child laborers		
Natural disaster	11.5/30	0/2
Economy	10/ 5.5	6/1
Infrastructure	5.5/	6/9

	5.5	
Communal government	3.5/3	1/1
Water shortage	3/4	8/9
Corruption	3/2.5	2/5
Crime	1.5/4	8/9
Health care	0/4	1/6
Conflict/ violence	1/2	2/2
Opposition	1/1.5	1/1
Education/school	0/2.5	½
Repression	0.5/ 1.5	0/0
Deforestation	0/0.5	0/1
15.65.Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very		
dissatisfied with the job the commune government is doing in the area where you live?		
Very satisfied	15.5	18
Fairly satisfied	47.5	36
Somewhat dissatisfied	23	25
Very dissatisfied	11.5	17
Don't know	2.5	4
16.66.Thinking about your own personal economic situation now compared to two years ago,		
would you say you are much better off, better off, worse off, much worse off or about the same?		
Much better off	2.5	2
Better off	35.5	40
Worse off	23.5	8
Much worse	12.5	31
About the same	26	18
Don't know	0	1
VIII. INTERVIEWER POST-CODES (DO NOT ASK, FILL IN AFTER INTERVIEW)		
64.67.Respondent gender		
Male	45	45
Female	55	55
64.68.Marital Status		
Single	11.5	11
Married	88.5	89
64.69.Ethnicity		
Cambodian	99	95
Cham	0.5	3

Chinese	0.5	1
66.70.Area type		
City over 1 million	0	27
City of 250,000 - 1 million	0	0
City of 50,000 - 250,000	4	7
Urban under 50,000	4	0
Rural	92	66
67.71.Province		
Kandal	64	29
Kampong Speu	36	15
Kampong Chhnang		12
Kampong Thum		17
Phnom Penh		27
72. Type of house		
Formal	99.5	100
Informal in formal area	0.5	0
70.72.Sampling Area		
72.73.Codes: Interview Circumstances		
Respondent Alone	20	37
Respondent + Children	12.5	12
Respondent + Spouse	16	16
Respondent + Other Adults	51.5	43
Respondent + Local Official	0	1
END OF INTERVIEW		