



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE DEBATES

2013



Abbreviations used in this report

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Cambodian Nationality Party (CNP)

Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP)

Cambodian People's Party (CPP)

Cambodian Television Network (CTN)

Center for Advanced Studies (CAS)

Khmer Anti-Poverty Party (KAPP)

Khmer Economic Development Party (KEDP)

League for Democracy Party (LDP)

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

National Election Committee (NEC)

National Television of Kampuchea (TVK)

National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) (FCP)

Republican Democratic Party (RDP)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Candidates competing in the 2013 National Assembly election vied for voter support in a series of debates sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) from July 7 to July 20, 2013. The aim of the debates was to have a constructive dialogue of ideas and opinions among current and potential policy makers, so that citizens could judge their options and make an informed choice on election day. Though the debates took place in a tense political environment, and in spite of the bureaucratic challenges and reluctance of some parties to participate at the outset, the program successfully reached this goal. The ruling party and main opposition party were on stage together several times, including on television; more than 16,000 people attended the debates in person; and broadcasts went as planned on numerous media outlets, potentially reaching millions of voters.

Prior to the debates, NDI met several times with the National Election Committee (NEC) and representatives from all officially registered political parties to come to an agreement on the format and rules of the program. These meetings faced numerous delays and complications, and eventually stretched over many weeks, but a consensus was eventually reached. NDI then sponsored a series of one-day debate training seminars to review the format and rules with all participating parties as well as discuss and practice the skills of debate preparation, public speaking, and messaging. These seminars were favorably reviewed by participants, who found the content to be useful and who later made use of many of the skills during the debates themselves.

A total of eight debates were held in five Cambodian provinces—Siem Reap, Kampong Thom, Kampong Cham, Kandal, and Takeo—and broadcast on radio. A total of 22 candidates from five of the eight political parties registered with the National Election Committee (NEC) participated in the provincial debate program.¹ Provincial debates were open for all to attend, and candidates fielded unscripted questions from members of the audience chosen at random, allowing citizens to shape the discussion. In total, the live audience for all provincial debates was 16,101 people, while radio broadcasts reached listeners in approximately 22 of 24 provinces. From July 10 to July 25 (one day before the end of the month-long campaign period), Cambodian voters had the opportunity to listen to candidate debates every day on one of six major radio broadcasters.

In addition to the eight provincial debates, NDI sponsored two nationally televised debates, held in Phnom Penh, which included candidates from six parties. These events were broadcast on National Television of Kampuchea (TVK), the state television station, on Saturday, July 20, and Sunday, July 21, and rebroadcast on July 24 and 25.

Overall, the debates were conducted smoothly and peacefully, with no complaints to the NEC from candidates or parties. The performance of candidates was mixed: some candidates did quite well, offering concrete solutions and memorable messages, while others struggled to define their party's platform or answer basic questions. Furthermore, these debates were relatively sedate and restrained, as participants generally avoided challenging one another on their respective party's records or policies. However, audience members and candidates surveyed after each event overwhelmingly agreed that the debates were fair and respectful as well as important to the democratic process.

¹ All registered political parties were invited to participate.

I. INTRODUCTION

Cambodia has little tradition of political rivals participating in a constructive contest of ideas. There are few opportunities for voters to hear from competing political parties in a public and neutral setting, allowing them to compare varying policies and track records. Further, with the dominance of the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) over domestic media outlets, there is limited space for many parties to share their platforms and ideas with citizens.

NDI's debate program was designed to address these needs—to level the playing field for Cambodian political parties, and to provide better access to a variety of options for Cambodian voters. Previously held prior to the 2003 and 2008 National Assembly elections (as well as commune council elections since 2002), these debates help normalize the concept of political discourse between competitors, enforce accountability, and serve the critical role of allowing citizens to define the issues of importance for each election.

NDI's 2013 National Assembly debates included both provincial debates, held before a live audience and broadcast over the radio, as well as televised debates, filmed in a Phnom Penh studio. In concert with the NEC and political parties, NDI developed a format and guidelines for these debates, and a code of conduct for participants. Moderators with debate experience were chosen to lead each event, and parties and candidates were provided with pre-debate training to help them prepare. This report describes in detail these and other aspects of the debates, and closes with an evaluation based on post-debate surveys and candidate feedback.

II. DEBATE PREPARATION

Though NDI has organized candidate debates in Cambodia since 2002, most recently in 2012 ahead of the commune council elections, the process of establishing the format for debates and securing both party participation and broadcast agreements has not become easier over time. Beginning in May 2013 and lasting for several weeks, NDI met repeatedly with the NEC, party representatives, and TV and radio broadcasters to come to an agreement over the details of the 2013 National Assembly debate program. A consensus was eventually reached that allowed the program to proceed more or less as originally designed, with debates broadcast nationally on both radio and TV and all but one officially registered party participating.

Pre-Debate Negotiations

Program Format and Participation

One of NDI's first steps was to meet with the NEC to discuss the parameters of the debates. The NEC was adamant that 1) all registered parties must be invited to participate (this was in response to NDI's efforts to introduce a threshold, a common practice in democracies in order to serve the interests of voters), and 2) all parties be given equal time. Other details, they said, needed to be agreed to by the parties. However, it remained unclear if NDI was obligated to make certain that all registered parties participated in an equal number of debates. Additionally, the regulations governing private television and radio stations, as opposed to state-owned stations, remained vague. A document released by the NEC subsequent to NDI's initial meeting left these questions unanswered.

Over the course of the next several weeks, NDI encountered numerous difficulties with the NEC. Even clarification on existing laws and regulations could only be given through written correspondence or meetings with the Committee and frequently NEC members would provide contradictory responses to the Institute's questions. NDI ultimately presented several different scenarios for the program and asked for a dedicated liaison that could represent the NEC without calling a meeting of the entire committee.

After initial meetings with the NEC and some of the major political parties, NDI called a meeting of all parties to discuss the debate program at NDI headquarters on May 21. At that meeting, all parties agreed that dividing the parties between two debates in each province was preferable to holding one debate with eight participants. However, not all parties agreed on how the parties would be distributed for each event. The main opposition party, CNRP, took the NDI position that the three parties holding seats in the National Assembly should be on stage together at all events. CPP and some of the small parties disagreed, stating that a lottery would be the fairest way to determine party distribution. Another point of contention was NDI's requirement for women's participation in the program. When it became clear that NDI was firm on the quota for women's participation, one party, the LDP, abruptly left the meeting, dropping out of the program in its entirety.

In subsequent meetings, televised debates began to appear less and less likely, with the CPP suggesting that candidates stand before a camera and read their platforms as they did on NEC programming. At one point, as NDI was negotiating with representatives from National Television of Kampuchea (TVK), CPP backed out of the televised portion of the program altogether, only to retract that position a few days later. Ultimately, after weeks of

negotiation, the CPP agreed to participate in the televised debates, contingent on the following demands:

- NDI would not ask any questions (they originally agreed to NDI questions if given with one week's notice, but insisted the questions must simply ask the parties to explain their policies on an issue);
- No questions could be submitted via Facebook or texting;
- The distribution of parties at each event would be determined by a lottery; and
- Televised debates not be called "candidate debates."

Finally, after a continuous back-and-forth with the parties and the Committee, the NEC granted written permission on June 5 for the program to proceed.

Broadcast Agreements

While contracting with local broadcast partners proved to be relatively trouble-free, most agreements with these vendors were contingent upon the participation of the CPP in the program. Many outlets sought written approval from the NEC for the program (something the NEC was reluctant to provide, and while they did eventually provide written approval, their notice did not give the most ringing endorsement of the program), and outlets with direct relationships to the state (TVK and National Radio FM) required the approval of the Ministry of Information (which did, it should be noted, provide a positive approval letter after some time).

In May, NDI reached out to several television stations, nine in total, in an effort to secure a television broadcast and production partner. NDI's preferred television partner, Cambodia Television Network (CTN), a popular station with a wide viewership, initially expressed great interest in the program. Additionally, in early meetings, their news producer indicated that they had all of the resources necessary to produce a debate, and as long as the CPP were participating, CTN had an interest in partnering with NDI on the program.

Over the course of the next few weeks, however, CTN representatives became difficult to reach. CTN finally admitted that they were unable to partner with NDI on the debate project, citing scheduling conflicts and a lack of resources to dedicate to the program. NDI responded by indicating a flexibility in both schedule and budget, and the possibility of contracting a separate production company to ease the burden on CTN. The CTN producer then responded by saying CTN "would like to cover the elections in [its] own way and not be beholden to anyone."

Following CTN's decision to withdraw from the program, NDI then reached out to the other eight stations again. Only one, TVK, responded. While the process of contracting with TVK was slow, they did produce a quality program that was not edited for content. Even so, there was a continuous possibility of the program being edited or not airing because TVK operated directly under the purview of the Ministry of Information. In this instance, there was no conflict in that regard, but the possibility for censorship or editing issues remains for the future.

Provincial Debates



Candidates from CPP and Funcinpec show their party's ballot numbers at the end of a candidate debate in Sithor commune, Khsach Kandal district, Kandal province.

Due to demands from the NEC and ruling party that all registered parties be allowed to participate in the program (even those with no electoral history), NDI selected a format that would split the number of parties in two (four for each debate), with two debates to take place consecutively in five provinces. Under this format, participating parties would be given equal time and the opportunity to debate at the same venue on the same day. The rationale for this decision was to avoid packing a stage with eight candidates for each debate, which would result in each candidate having less time to speak, draw distinctions between rivals, or present substantive policy proposals. Additionally, Cambodian voters might find the program difficult to follow and there would be a significant risk of the audience losing interest in the program. The NEC and all parties agreed that with too many candidates on stage, all would find it difficult to make substantive remarks and keep the audience's interest. The distribution of parties between the two debates in each province was determined by a lottery that took place at the NDI office on Monday, June 17.

After this format was established, however, there were complications as some smaller parties dropped out of events just prior to them taking place, resulting in a change of format to accommodate requirements for equal time. In the end, five parties participated in the provincial program at one point or another, depending on the provinces in which they were registered to compete as well as their confidence in registered candidates to perform well in a debate. For the details of the format and rules governing the provincial debates, please see Appendix One – Format and Guidelines.

Moderators

Provincial debate moderators were NDI staff with experience moderating either in previous debate programs or NDI's constituency dialogue program. Moderators were given scripts and timelines (depending on the number of candidates participating, the length of debates varied),

and instructed to deviate from the scripts only when absolutely necessary. Moderators were also instructed on how to rephrase audience questions on sensitive issues, or when questions were directed at only one candidate.

The moderators' main responsibility was to ensure that the debate followed the agreed-upon format, adhered to time allotments, and that there were no breaches of the code of conduct. Moderators also were charged with ensuring that the audience did not interfere or improperly interact with candidates and that behavior and etiquette rules were followed. Moderators were instructed to call on audience members seated in different areas of the venue and to make their best efforts to ensure age and gender balance. If an audience member was unable to formulate a question and was simply making a statement, the moderator could interrupt and ask for a question. Moderators also had the authority to interrupt candidates or audience members if they exceeded their time allotments.

Behavior and Etiquette Rules

Participating parties all agreed to a code of conduct for the debates, which helped to clarify any misunderstandings about the process or allegations of bias. The code was designed to prevent personal attacks or insults during the debates, and urged participating candidates to focus on programs and policies. Candidates and audience members were allowed to be critical of the policies of the government, political parties or other candidates, but were not permitted to make personal allegations or insults on individuals or use offensive language. All participating candidates were required to sign the code of conduct prior to taking part in a debate (see Appendix Two – Code of Conduct).

Women's Participation

Parties participating in multiple debates were required to meet a quota of female candidate speakers: at least two or three, depending on the number of debates in which the party was participating. To help enforce this provision, alternate speakers for women were also required to be women. All participating parties followed this provision.

Participation Agreements

Each party taking part in the program was required to sign a participation agreement (see Appendix Three – Participation Agreement). This document acknowledged that the format for the debate program had been approved by the NEC, and stated that parties agreed with the format of the program. The form also stated that if a party failed to provide a candidate at a debate without notice, NDI would inform broadcast and live audiences that the party agreed to participate, but failed to produce a candidate. Additionally, failure to provide a candidate also meant the party would forfeit their right to file a formal complaint with the NEC.

The participation agreement further stipulated that each candidate speaker would be required to attend a one-day briefing on the rules and guidelines of the debate. These briefings included training sessions on how to prepare and practice for a debate appearance. Finally, the agreement also referenced the women's quota and the need to comply with the code of conduct.

Televised National Debates



From left: moderator Dr. Heng Monychinda, CPP representative Sok Ei San, CNRP representative Kem Sokha, and KEDP representative Huorn Reach Chamroeun at the taping of the first televised debate

As part of the 2013 debate program, NDI hosted two televised national debates in which parties could choose anyone they wished to represent them.² Both debates were produced on Wednesday, July 17, at TVK's studio in Phnom Penh. With the exception of the LDP and RDP, all other parties officially registered with the NEC participated.³ As was the case with the provincial debates, the distribution of parties between the two televised debates was determined by a lottery that took place at the NDI office on Monday, June 17. For details on the format and schedule of the televised debates, please see Appendix One.

National debates adhered to the same format and code of conduct as the provincial debates, with the only significant differences being the make-up of the audience (see below) and time allotted (two-hour maximum).

Audience

Due to space limitations, televised debates were not open to all as were the provincial debates. To ensure fairness, each party was allowed to invite a maximum of 40 supporters to attend the debate in which they were participating and ask questions. Each party was given their own section, and the moderator was tasked with making sure that supporters of each party were allowed to ask the same number of questions. Additionally, unlike the provincial debates, audience members were not allowed to wear, display or distribute partisan materials.

² The CPP insisted that the televised debates not be considered 'candidate' debates but 'national' debates. Ultimately, all participants were candidates.

³ Originally, all registered parties excluding the LDP agreed to participate; the RDP later declined to attend.

Moderator

For the televised debates, NDI presented participating political parties with a list of five potential moderators and asked if they had any objections or preferences. All of the nominees were well known in political circles and had experience moderating debates. No objections or preferences were raised by the parties, and ultimately NDI selected Dr. Heng Monychinda, Executive Director of Buddhism for Development, who had moderated NDI's 2003 National Assembly Candidate Debate.

Dr. Monychinda ensured that the debate followed the agreed upon format, adhered to time allotments, and that there were no breaches of the code of conduct. He made sure that audience members from all parties were given the opportunity to ask an equal number of questions, and made his best effort to ensure gender and age balance. As with the moderators for the provincial debates, Dr. Monychinda was given a script and timeline, and instructed to deviate from the script only when absolutely necessary. Over the course of the two debates, there were only a few times when he was forced to rephrase a question or ask an audience member for clarification. Following the debates, candidates from both the ruling party (CPP) and main opposition party (CNRP) were complimentary of his performance and there were no complaints from any of the participating parties.



From left: moderator Dr. Heng Monychinda, CNP representative Seng Sokheng, KAPP representative Kravanh Daran, and Funcinpec representative Pho Sothea at the taping of the second national televised debate.

Broadcast Information

To ensure the widest audience possible, NDI embarked on a robust advertising and marketing campaign a full week before radio broadcasts of the provincial debates began. This campaign included:

- Two one-minute promotional spots (one each for radio and TV) that consisted of a conversation between two people on the importance of debates to elections as well as details about the debate broadcasts.

- Two 30-second spots (one each for radio and TV) that announced the program and provided broadcast information.
- NDI Cambodia’s Facebook page, which provided information on the program and informed readers of when they could watch on TV or listen on radio.
- Promotional fliers distributed in provinces prior to debates.
- Press release informing media of the program and when and where they could attend a debate.

Promotional spots aired on each radio station broadcasting provincial debates in a rotation filling 10 minutes per day from July 3 to the final radio broadcast on July 25, for a total of 22 hours of radio advertising during that period. TVK, NDI’s television broadcast partner, aired promotional spots two minutes per day during prime time from July 3 – 9, July 14, and July 16-19, for a total of 24 minutes of television advertising during that period. Both the radio and television advertisements promoted both radio and television broadcasts.

Provincial debates were broadcast on the following radio stations:

- 105.5 FM – VAYO, Phnom Penh (10:00AM – 12:00PM)
- 102.5 FM – VAYO, Sihanoukville (10:00AM – 12:00PM)
- 88 FM – VAYO, Battambang and Siem Reap (10:00 – 12:00PM)
- 106.5 FM – Sarika, Phnom Penh (8:00PM – 10:00PM)
- 95.5 FM – Sarika, Siem Reap (9:00AM-11:00AM)
- 93.5 FM – Mahonorkor (1:00PM – 2:00PM; 7:00PM – 8:00PM)
- 96 FM – National Radio FM (6:30PM – 8:30PM)
- 105 FM – Beehive (10:00AM – 11:00AM)⁴

Because debates ranged from one and a half to two and a half hours, depending on the number of participating parties, broadcast timing varied as NDI could only secure a maximum of two hours per day on any given station. This required shorter debates to be augmented with rebroadcasts of opening statements to fill the two-hour allotment, and longer debates to be split into two broadcasts. To lessen the potential for confusion among radio listeners, NDI developed a series of bridging scripts to inform listeners when a debate ended, what segments were being rebroadcast, and/or when they could listen to the remainder of the event.

The national debates were broadcast on TVK on Saturday, July 20, and Sunday, July 21, from 9:00AM – 11:00AM. The following week, they were rebroadcast on Wednesday, July 24, and Thursday, July 25, from 4:00PM – 6:00PM. Audio from these debates was also broadcast on five of NDI’s six radio broadcast partner stations on Wednesday, July 24, and Thursday, July 25 (for the full schedule, please see Appendix Four).⁵

⁴ Beehive was the only station that would not provide NDI with two full hours of programming per day.

⁵ Because Beehive Radio would only commit to one hour per day of broadcast time, there was not sufficient time to broadcast the television debate on that station prior to the end of the campaign period.

III. CANDIDATE TRAINING

Between June 19 and June 25, NDI hosted a series of one-day debate training seminars for candidate speakers and alternates participating in the provincial debates. The seminars focused on the debate format, the code of conduct, and strategies to practice and prepare for a debate performance. The seminars were all held in Phnom Penh, and debate speakers from all five provinces were required to attend to participate in the program. Participants for the televised debates were not required to attend a full day of training, but were required to meet with NDI prior to the debates to discuss the format and to review and sign the code of conduct.

A total of 60 candidates (20 women) from seven of the eight parties contesting the election attended the training sessions. Individual sessions were organized for the three parties that held seats in the National Assembly at the time, and multi-party sessions were held for the four remaining parties.

Candidate Training Sessions

Number	Party	Location	Date	Female Participants	Total Participants
1	CPP	NDI office	19-Jun-13	5	10
2	CNRP	NDI office	20-Jun-13	3	8
3	FCP	NDI office	21-Jun-13	2	11
4	CNP and KAPP	Cambodiana Hotel	24-Jun-13	7	18
5	KEDP and RDP	NDI office	25-Jun-13	3	13
Total				20	60

The workshop objectives were to:

1. Provide an overview of the debate format, time allotments, and rules, including the code of conduct.
2. Discuss debate preparation, including public speaking tips and tools.
3. Provide practice sessions to give speakers an awareness of time constraints and speaking in public.

Debate Format and Code of Conduct

The first component of the training covered the format of the debate and what speakers could expect on the day of the event. This included the time allotted to each speaker, the different components of each debate, and the role of the moderator (see Appendix One for full details). Additionally, candidates were informed that their podium assignment and the order of opening statements would be determined by a lottery held just prior to the beginning of the debate.

The next portion of the seminar focused on the code of conduct. While party representatives had agreed to the document provided by NDI, it was clear that many candidates had not seen the code of conduct prior to the training. All speakers and alternates were given a copy and

the key elements of the document were reviewed (see Appendix Two). Finally, after reviewing the code of conduct, the role and responsibilities of the moderator were covered in depth.

Debate Preparation

Opening and Closing Statements

The segment on debate preparation began with a discussion of opening statements. Candidates were encouraged to prepare statements ahead of time, practice several times to not only ensure that they mention all of their key points, but also to make sure the statement is as close to the two-minute time allotment as possible without going over. Candidates were advised to prepare for their closing statements, but also to leave room for issues that could potentially come up during the debate that they may wish to address in their closing. It was explained that opening and closing statements were opportunities for candidates to talk about anything they wish, and that the statements should include:

- An explanation of the candidate's motivation for running;
- Presentation and repetition of core message;
- A list of priorities, should the candidate be elected;
- Personal or party achievements;
- A plea to voters for their support;
- And an acknowledgement of the audience and other participants.

Issues and Platform

It was explained to speakers that to be viewed as a candidate of substance they needed to demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the most important issues in their province as well as their party's message and platform. Candidates were encouraged to:

- Be aware of the latest developments in local and national news;
- Gain an understanding of the most important issues in their province and form an opinion;
- Evaluate potential solutions;
- Use facts and anecdotes to support their message and platform;
- Make an honest assessment of strengths and weaknesses and be prepared;
- And make an honest assessment of opponents' strengths and weaknesses.

Responding to Audience Questions

Candidates were encouraged to anticipate difficult questions, opposition arguments, and potential criticism. It was explained that if they put some thought into this ahead of time, they could prepare stock responses that addressed criticism about their party or platform and provided detailed solutions to the most important problems. Candidates were also encouraged to develop flash cards or talking points that could be used at the debate to remind them of their party's core message, issues and policies, as well as statistics, anecdotes, and examples that support their arguments.

Preparation on the Day of the Debate

While NDI mandated that candidates arrive at least 40 minutes prior to the start of the debate, speakers were encouraged to arrive early and use that time to:

- Double check format of event,
- Familiarize themselves with staging and audience placement,
- Be ready for the lottery,
- And meet individually with audience and media.

Audience

Candidates were informed that anyone was welcome to attend the provincial debates as long as they were respectful. They were warned, however, that the audience included far more than those attending the event. It was explained that international, national, and local media would be invited, and that the radio broadcasts would reach a far broader audience.

With potentially millions of people listening, candidates were encouraged to identify their target audience (i.e., the group of voters they are trying to reach and convince). It was explained that the candidates were seeking to influence voters who have not made a firm decision. To have an effective debate performance and attract voters, candidates needed to:

- Determine who these voters are (demographic groups, geographic groups, vocational groups);
- Determine the issues that will most likely affect their vote;
- And determine what these voters should remember after the debate.

Impression and Appearance

It was explained to candidates that the debate would be a significant event in the course of the campaign, and how they appeared at this event could have a lasting effect on their political career and their party. It was stated that while the content of their speech was important, how they looked and how they sounded would affect voters' perceptions of them. Candidates were encouraged to act as though there was always a camera or microphone in front of them, and reminded that:

- They should show respect for the other candidates, the moderator and the audience at all times, even if they disagree.
- Their supporters will be counting on a good performance, and their opponents will be looking for blunders.
- Every candidate will be on-the-record with media present.
- This is an opportunity, but also a risk if you are not prepared.

As part of this discussion, candidates were given advice on verbal and non-verbal communication, including: eye contact, attire, posture, and the speed, volume and confidence of their speech.

Message

Candidates were encouraged to learn their party's message verbatim and to practice and repeat it often. They were told that the more often a message is repeated, the more likely it is to be remembered. Candidates were instructed on the use of 'bridge phrases' that will help

them get back to their message should they be distracted by an awkward question, a disruptive audience, or criticism from another candidate:

- Let’s look at this from a general perspective ...
- There is another concern as important as this which is ...
- Let’s not lose the focus on the existing problem ...
- There is another issue closely linked with this one which is ...
- Have you thought about the other perspective ...
- In fact this is not the main issue. The main issue is ...
- This theory is popular, but in fact ...

During the training, candidates also participated in a ‘Message Box’ exercise designed to help them consider all of the arguments and messages that may come up in a debate and make them work in their favor.

<p>Us on Us (What our party says about ourselves)</p>	<p>Them on Them (What our opponents say about their party)</p>
<p>Us on Them (What our party says about our opponents)</p>	<p>Them on Us (What our opponents say about our party)</p>

Video Clips

To reinforce elements of the training, candidates were shown video clips from debates in other countries with simultaneous translation. The clips highlighted the use of anecdotes and statistics in question responses, the importance of being calm and respectful regardless of the circumstances, making a personal connection with the audience, and the potential to be distracted.

Practice Sessions

The final element of the debate training consisted of two practice sessions. In the first, candidate speakers were asked to develop an opening statement. They were given a half-hour to prepare, and then asked to present their statement to the rest of the group as if they were at the debate. The second practice session focused on questions, which were not shared with candidates ahead of time, but asked on the spot as they would be from the audience in an actual debate. The questions NDI asked were related to issues of great importance throughout Cambodia (land and education) and speakers were given two minutes to answer, just as they would in a debate.

IV. DEBATE SUMMARIES

The following summaries describe each debate in detail, including speakers, issues raised, attendance, and any other items of note. While each debate offered a unique opportunity for candidates and voters to interact, many of the same themes appeared across multiple debates in multiple areas. Furthermore, while the debates were completed without any major setbacks or disruptions, the program was not without minor complications from both political parties and audience behavior, as discussed at length below.

Two provincial debates were planned for each location, with the parties divided between the debates based on a lottery. However, following the lottery several parties dropped out of the debates. The LDP chose to withdraw completely from the debates program, citing an inability to meet the women's quota. The RDP chose to pull out of all of the debates except the televised debate. In Siem Reap, the CNP candidate pulled out and in Takeo both the FCP candidate and the KEDP chose to withdraw. The debates are presented below in chronological order.

Siem Reap – July 7, 2013

Participants:

Ke Sovannroth - CNRP

Chhun Channary - KAPP

Peou Savoeun - CPP

Meng Hour - FCP

At the first debate in Siem Reap, 1,426 people (548 women) turned out. In their opening statements, the FCP candidate Meng Hour focused on the role of the monarchy in bringing peace to the country; the KAPP candidate Chhun Channary talked about food, healthcare, jobs and providing for the elderly; the CNRP candidate Ke Sovannroth focused on change and immigration; and the CPP candidate Peou Savoeun talked about the achievements of the party.

Audience questions focused on development, accessibility to the government and transparency, land titling, the growth of foreign aid, the economy (and work migration), and the local matter of the ownership of Angkor Wat.

On nearly every question, the FCP candidate focused on the role of the monarchy and how peace was gained in 1993 through FCP. Rarely did he address the question, other than by saying, "If elected, we'll solve the problem." He often talked about the party's plan or record on certain issues, but offered no specifics or examples. When asked about strengthening the economy, for example, he replied, "When the economy is weak, we need to follow the King's policy."

In response to most questions, the KAPP candidate made a series of far-reaching promises. On education, she talked about providing free education from K-12, lunches, scholarships, transportation and an "American-style" education system. On the economy, she repeatedly referenced a theme that would be repeated by KAPP many times in future debates: bringing 12 billionaires and 140,000 experts⁶ from other countries to develop Cambodia.

⁶ The numbers of billionaires or millionaires and specialists promised by the KAPP changed frequently throughout the following sections because they were often stated differently in each event. As the debates progressed it became evident that the party members were not on the same page on these platform promises.

The CNRP candidate stressed the problems of corruption and land concessions, weaving those themes into several of her answers. She said that the country needed a new leader after 34 years. If elected, she promised CNRP would eliminate corruption, increase salaries, and provide more jobs. She said Angkor Wat should be under the control of the Ministry of Tourism.

The CPP candidate pointed to the large-scale development in Siem Reap as evidence of the party's success on development. He said CPP "built a new country with their own hands" after rescuing it from the Khmer Rouge. He said that short-term land concessions were needed to attract investors and that under the CPP's leadership Cambodia had more schools, greater literacy, stability, and more investment.

In closing statements, the FCP again focused on the role of the monarchy, the CNRP on salaries, the CPP on continuing the path forward, and the KAPP on jobs.

Kampong Thom 1 – July 10, 2013

Participants:

Sik Bunhok - CPP

Yip Hong Sak - KAPP

At the first debate in Kampong Thom province, a total of 1,460 people attended (894 women). The CPP candidate Sik Bunhok, a long-term veteran of the party, began by explaining his background as a law professor at the Royal University and a member of the CPP since 1979. He focused on his personal commitment to the party and to the prosperity of Cambodia. In particular, he emphasized his track record of "having not done anything wrong" since serving as a member of the National Assembly. The candidate from the KAPP, Yip Hong Sak, focused on his party's platform in his opening statements. He explained that his party's emphasis was on providing a higher salary to civil servants in addition to expanding markets for local goods. He also emphasized his party's goal of "giving hope to the poor."

The 13 questions asked by audience members during the debate were remarkably complex. They focused on education policy, the high price of goods and fuel as well as services such as electricity, judicial oversight, unemployment, civil servant wages, private sector employment, the benefits and drawbacks of the upcoming 2015 ASEAN integration, land rights, "brain drain" (particularly among teachers and talented students), infrastructure, the welfare of women and children, and gender equity in the National Assembly.

The KAPP candidate focused on delivering his party's platform, but struggled to answer questions that deviated from this list. He highlighted his party's promise to provide "14,000 foreign specialists" to be deployed throughout the country to provide development expertise. Exactly who these specialists would be or how they would be funded, he could not specify. He made many broad, declarative statements such as "we will provide healthcare to everyone," "we will stop land grabs" and "we will generate jobs in all communes" with few concrete policy proposals. However, he did succeed in making himself relatable and connecting with the audience by using examples from his own life, explaining how he too had struggled with problems such as unemployment and the high price of goods.

The CPP candidate chose to focus on his party's track record of delivering direct services to Cambodians. However, rarely did he address any questions with concrete plans or solutions. He continually reiterated that Cambodia was better off than it was at the end of the war and that the CPP is to be credited for achievements such as meeting their Millennium Development Goal benchmarks, attracting international investment and implementing a land titling scheme for rural Cambodians. He emphasized that the CPP would continue to build schools, roads and hospitals, but did not directly respond to the suggestion of increasing wages for civil servants as a strategy to combat corruption. Lastly, he appeared to take note of one suggestion from the NDI debate trainings, which was to repeat his party's tagline as much as possible: he ended every answer with the CPP's slogan, "a vote for the CPP is a vote for yourself."

One brief conflict arose towards the end of the debate. Throughout the program, the CPP candidate often wasted his allotted time by shuffling his papers and seemingly trying to formulate his answer. In the second-to-last question, the NDI moderator had to cut him off at the end of his two minutes after he had spent a full minute before beginning his response. He then accused the moderator and format of being unreasonable. The moderator explained to him and the audience that this was the policy of the debate that had been agreed upon by all the parties. As this exchange took place during the final question, the debate simply moved on to closing statements.

In their closing statements, both candidates expressed their goodwill to the attendees and restated their party's slogans.

Kampong Thom 2 – July 10, 2013

Participants:

Ben Chantha - CNP

Cheam Channy - CNRP

Sok Visal – FCP

Unfortunately, once the CPP candidate had departed following the first debate, and due to a simultaneous rally being held in the province by CNRP's leader, Kem Sokha, the second debate in Kampong Thom had only 528 attendees (104 women). In his opening statement, the CNRP candidate Cheam Channy discussed his party's policies to raise civil servant wages, provide free healthcare and education and to address border conflicts with Thailand and Vietnam. The FCP candidate Sok Visal focused exclusively on his party's connection to the monarchy and espoused the guidance of the King. The CNP candidate, Ben Chantha, began by apologizing for her party's lack of experience. She then went on to highlight national reconciliation and her party's policies to not confiscate land and to end the death penalty (although Cambodia has not had the death penalty since 1989).

This debate's questions also unfortunately lacked the depth and breadth of the prior debate's topics. The nine questions raised issues such as private sector wage increases, lack on independence in the judicial system, deforestation, party leadership, corruption, international donor funds, party advances since the Khmer Rouge era, the origins of the Khmer Rouge, and "why isn't the ruling party candidate here?" (The NDI moderator responded to the latter question by explaining that the CPP candidate had been at the first debate).

Throughout the debate, the CNRP candidate focused on issues of border security and combating the supposed influence of the Vietnamese in Cambodia. During the first answer

session the moderator had to interrupt him when he began a tirade against “yuon” (a pejorative term for Vietnamese). She explained that using derogatory terms was against the code of conduct (and had been officially banned by the CNRP leadership) and for the rest of the debate he did not use that term. However, he continued to link almost every issue back to how Cambodia's problems can be attributed to the CPP's close relations with the Vietnamese and the alleged increase of illegal immigration. Apart from that, he also emphasized his party's policies aimed at rooting out corruption.

The FCP candidate answered every question with a promise to use the King's guidance to solve problems. He frequently reminded citizens of the “good policies” during the King Father's (recently deceased King Norodom Sihanouk) leadership. Other than making promises to reform the judicial system, few concrete policy proposals were mentioned by the FCP candidate.

The CNP candidate struggled to develop clear responses. Virtually every question was answered with “we will solve this problem by pursuing national reconciliation.” In response to three questions, related to the economy and international relations, she stated that she did not know her party's policies on the topics raised.

In the closing statements the candidates stuck with much of the same. The CNRP candidate criticized Vietnamese influence, the FCP candidate pledged his allegiance to the monarchy and the CNP candidate repeated her commitment to national reconciliation.

This debate was noteworthy for the frequent interruptions due to power outages caused by a generator malfunction, as well as the heavy presence of both military and plainclothes police.

Kampong Cham 1 – July 13, 2013

Participants:

Kuoy Bunroeun - CNRP

Dam Dariny - CPP

The first debate in Kampong Cham, between the CPP and the CNRP, was one of the liveliest debates in any of the provinces. Of 1,332 attendees (557 women) the ratio of party supporters was approximately 50/50. The environment was spirited, yet respectful, and no major conflicts arose. In his opening remarks, the CNRP candidate, Kuoy Bunroeun, raised his party's seven platform points: \$10 for the elderly, \$250 minimum wage for civil servants, \$150 for garment factory workers, government oversight of the price of agricultural products, free health care and equal educational opportunities for all. The CPP candidate, Dam Dariny, focused on the past, emphasizing her party's track record for development and its claims to have liberated Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge on January 7, 1979.

There were a total of 14 questions asked by the audience. A wide demographic range of audience members, from youth to the elderly, many women, and a monk, all asked questions. Issues raised included land disputes, forest and natural resource management, the national budget, extrajudicial violence, immigration and corruption.

The strategy employed by the CNRP candidate was to directly attack the CPP's record on fighting corruption and rule of law. He focused on the government's lack of political will to reform the judicial system and emphasized how corruption continued to hinder effective

development. He also accused the government of dependence on foreign aid and of lack of transparency on the national debt. Lastly, to the enthusiastic support of the CNRP supporters in the audience, he frequently brought up illegal Vietnamese immigration and argued that it was an indication of the CPP's close ties to Vietnam.

The CPP candidate underlined the leadership of Prime Minister Hun Sen and Deputy Prime Ministers Chea Sim and Heng Samrin. Altogether, her focus was on the CPP's record of providing development since 1979. She claimed that land concessions were necessary for industrial development and lauded the CPP for solving land disputes and following the law. When the CPP was accused of accommodating illegal Vietnamese immigrants she reminded the audience that there were many ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia who were legitimate citizens and pointed out that she herself could be mistaken for Vietnamese due to her light skin tone.

In the closing statements the CPP candidate reiterated the importance of January 7, 1979, and praised her party for bringing development to Cambodia. The CNRP candidate focused on a message of “change” and suggested that it was time for the country to move on from a leader who had been in power for 34 years. This evoked a strong response from the CNRP supporters in the audience and the event ended with them chanting “change!”

Kampong Cham 2 – July 13, 2013

Participants:

Prak Chantha - FCP

Hang Yim – CNP

Yin Sivoeun - KAPP

After the candidates from the two largest parties left the debate site, unfortunately so too did most of the audience. As a result, the second debate in Kampong Cham had only 226 attendees (82 women). In his opening remarks, the CNP candidate, Hang Yim, listed off his party's platform, emphasizing their policy of nondiscrimination, especially against members of opposition parties. The FCP candidate, Prak Chantha, spoke exclusively about the history of her party's relationship with the monarchy. Finally, the KAPP candidate, Yin Sivoeun, focused on the high cost of living and discussed how the KAPP's anti-corruption policies would help raise living standards.

The second Kampong Cham debate was severely hindered by the lack of challenging questions. The 15 questions asked were repetitive and few addressed specific policy issues. Topics raised included each party's track records on development, corruption and discrimination, land titles, border disputes (specifically claims on the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc), the high price of goods, requests for infrastructure such as roads and hospitals, and Vietnamese immigration.

The FCP candidate focused on her party's plans to reform the judicial system and to establish a more transparent land titling program. Much like her colleagues in other provinces, she leaned heavily on the FCP's affiliation with the monarchy to legitimize each answer.

The KAPP candidate never deviated from her party platform and focused on her party's plans to combat poverty and develop Cambodia. In particular, she continually repeated the KAPP's promise to bring 13 millionaires and 14,000 foreign specialists to come develop Cambodia.

She also repeatedly raised her party's plan to protect Cambodia's "territorial integrity" by putting all the Vietnamese in "refugee camps" and having them resettled in other countries.

The CNP candidate focused on national reconciliation between ruling party and opposition party supporters and on solving land issues. He often discussed the need for nondiscrimination policies and promised not to discriminate against the people in the audience—for example, by not unjustly confiscating their property—and he promised to widely distribute land titles. He also raised his party's policy to abolish Cambodia's non-existent death penalty several times.

In the closing statements, the FCP candidate reiterated her party's long-term commitment to development in Cambodia and their track record since the early 1990's. The KAPP candidate stated again her party's focus on development initiatives and restated their promise to address illegal immigration with a mass roundup and deportation of ethnic Vietnamese. Finally, the CNP candidate chose to focus on his party's platform of national reconciliation.

Kandal 1 – July 14, 2013

Participants:

Choeum Choeun – CNP

Sin Vannarith – KAPP

With 5,175 people in attendance (including 2,156 women), the first Kandal debate had the largest audience of the debate program. Most of the attendees arrived early to see the CPP and CNRP in the second of the two Kandal debates. This proved beneficial to the CNP and the KAPP, as it provided them with a large audience for their debate.

Both candidates presented in their opening statements an overview of their party's platforms. For CNP this included national reconciliation, eradication of poverty, human rights, economic development and nondiscrimination. For KAPP this included combatting corruption and poverty, providing development expertise, reforestation and immigration.

Audience members asked 10 questions, covering land rights, civil servants' salaries, development, foreign policy (particularly with Vietnam and Thailand), natural disaster management, the maintenance of peace, national unity, the qualifications of each party's candidate for prime minister, judicial corruption, education, general improvement since the Khmer Rouge era, and the voting rights of monks.

Sin Vannarith, the KAPP candidate, highlighted his party's connection with the U.S. and frequently compared the two countries. He suggested that Cambodia could look to the U.S. for guidance in improving its education system, expanding industrial agriculture and investing in new industries (including mineral exploration). He also focused on rooting out corruption through higher wages for civil servants and establishing a politically independent judiciary.

Choeum Choeun, the CNP candidate, deviated from his party's slogan of "national unity and reconciliation" and focused entirely on policy prescriptions. He concentrated on the misuse on international aid and the need to effectively (and transparently) utilize tax revenue. He also was one of the few candidates in this program who moved beyond the "build more schools" response to discuss what specific policies were needed to improve the state of education

itself, including better teacher training and improving textbooks and educational materials. Moreover, this CNP candidate displayed a nuanced understanding of foreign policy, discussing the Paris Peace Accords and issues of territorial integrity, acknowledging Vietnam and Thailand as important ASEAN and trade partners yet emphasizing the need to enforce existing immigration law.

In the closing remarks both candidates repeated their party platforms and thanked the audience for participating.

Kandal 2 – July 14, 2013

Participants:

Aun Pornmoniroth – CPP

Neang Chhayana – FCP

Ou Chanrith – CNRP (forfeit)

The second debate in Kandal had an audience of 4,492 (2,028 women) and ran into challenges before it even began. As described above, a large crowd gathered over the course of the first debate. The vast majority was CPP activists who arrived in trucks en masse, and there was little visible presence of the opposition. However, midway through the first debate, about four dozen people in CNRP campaign gear showed up and started working their way through the crowd. In between the first and second debates, the CNRP candidate alleged that these attendees were not supporters of the CNRP, but CPP members who were planning to interrupt the debate and stage a public defection to the ruling party. The CNRP candidate, Ou Chanrith, made a public scene in front of the entire audience accusing the CPP candidate of “playing tricks” and demanded that NDI forcefully remove them from the venue. When NDI refused, citing freedom of expression and the Institute's impartiality, he chose to back out of the debate. After he dramatically stormed out of the venue, the (predominantly CPP) audience erupted into cheers. NDI was unable to verify his accusations.

Due to the withdrawal of the CNRP, the audience shrunk marginally as most of the CNRP supporters along with the few CNP and KAPP supporters left with their candidates. NDI's local partners who conducted the audience attendance count did so towards the end of the debate. Therefore, because the debates were back to back, the peak of attendance was likely towards the end of the first debate, which is reflected in higher audience count of the first debate.

Consequently, what was likely to be a heated debate between the three most significant parties proceeded with only the candidates from CPP and FCP. The opening statements were on message with the parties' platforms. The FCP candidate, Neang Chhayana, spoke about her party's connection to the monarchy and their “foundation of peace and understanding.” The CPP candidate, Aun Pornmoniroth, chose to highlight the CPP's liberation of Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge and emphasized the party's successes in attracting international investment. Additionally, he praised Prime Minister Hun Sen's guidance and leadership.

The questions for this debate were vague and not policy-based. Almost every question was a variation on “what has your party done for the country?” Audience members used their questions to praise the CPP or attack the CNRP, including one man who came to the microphone to rhetorically ask, “Where is the candidate from CNRP?” Otherwise, general questions related to agriculture, religion and corruption were raised.

Though never the subject of a direct attack by audience members or the CPP candidate, the FCP candidate seemed defensive for much of the debate. She took pains to defend her party's contributions to the foundations of Cambodian democracy, repeatedly bringing up FCP's participation in the Paris Peace Accords. She also discussed the future of agriculture and the role of women in the economy.

The CPP candidate focused heavily on comparisons between the Khmer Rouge years and present day. Almost every answer was framed in the context of how things had improved and how Cambodians owed the CPP a debt for liberating the country. When asked “why the ruling party gives out donations leading up to elections,” he answered that it was the policy of the CPP to “share and help one another” and that “a vote for the CPP was a vote for prosperity and development.”

In the closing statements, the CPP candidate reiterated the party's record on development and praised Hun Sen as a “visionary leader,” restating the party's tagline “if you love, if you trust, if you pity Samdech Hun Sen, please vote CPP.” The FCP candidate, on the other hand, spent part of her closing statement defending the Cambodian Red Cross. She then reemphasized the monarchy connection and encouraged support for the princess (who was the party's candidate for prime minister). At the end, she copied the CPP slogan by proclaiming “a vote for Funcinpec is a vote for yourself.”



Citizens participate in the National Assembly candidate debate in Sithor commune, Khsach Kandal district, Kandal province, on July 14, 2013.

Takeo – July 20, 2013

Participants:

Kun Lum Ang – CNRP

Vath Tum – KAPP

Toun Kim Hong – CNP

Prak Thuch – CPP

In Takeo, there was only one debate (due to the withdrawal of the FCP candidate), attended by 1,462 people (617 women). Among the provincial debates, Takeo was one of the more difficult events due to the unruly audience. The CPP candidate, Prak Thuch, opened by repeating the standard party line that the CPP had liberated Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge and that it was due to the wise leadership of Prime Minister Hun Sen that the country has achieved political stability. The CNRP candidate, Kun Lum Ang, began by going over the party's seven point platform. However, most of the audience loudly talked over her, and she was subjected to a few negative jeers. The KAPP candidate, Vath Tum, stated his party's main platform points and highlighted the need for the three branches of government to be independent of one another. The CNP candidate, Toun Kim Hong, began by apologizing for his lack of experience and then proceeded to recite his party's platform.

Thirteen questions were asked, but few were policy based. Most were vague attacks on the opposition, pointing out how Cambodia has improved since the Khmer Rouge and asking why the opposition had not delivered things like roads and schools. A few questions, however, touched on land concession issues, social welfare, corruption, territorial integrity and agriculture.

The CNRP candidate focused almost exclusively on the government's failure to uphold the rule of law. She pointed to land grabs and extrajudicial violence as examples. She also criticized the NEC's lack of independence and the poor state of the voter list. However, she also frequently accused the government of failing to protect Cambodia's territory from "foreign invaders."

The CNP candidate spent most of the debate defending ideals of democracy and promoting his party's message of political unity and reconciliation. The KAPP candidate tried to keep turning the discussion back to his party's message of economic development. Specifically, he focused on the KAPP's promise to raise salaries for civil servants and factory workers and to work to ease the gap between the wealthy and poor.

The CPP candidate credited his party and Prime Minister Hun Sen with Cambodia's recent economic growth, adding that Cambodia "started from zero" at the end of the war. He also described Cambodia as one of the top economies in the world. When asked why the CPP had not committed to combatting corruption and raising the wages of civil servants, he responded, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." He added that the government would have to cut from other sectors' salaries and pensions to raise salaries of civil servants. He then changed the topic to talk about how the Apsara TV foundation was building houses in Takeo. He frequently told the audience that change would only bring destruction and threatened the audience with a collapse of social order if they voted for a change in leadership.

In the closing statements, the candidates repeated their main debate points. The CNRP candidate called for more transparency and declared that "a vote for the CNRP would be a vote against corruption." The KAPP candidate stuck with his message of promises of higher

wages and more services. The CPP candidate called for the audience to join the “great legacy” of the CPP and to resist calls for change. Unfortunately, as soon as the CPP candidate finished, most of the audience stood up to leave, interrupting the CNP candidate in his final closing remarks. Still, he maintained his composure and reiterated his party's commitment to peace and social stability.



Moderator and candidates at the conclusion of a debate in Sangkat Rokar Khnong, Daun Keo town, Takeo province

Phnom Penh (Televised) 1 – July 17, 2013

Participants:

Sok Ei San - CPP

Kem Sokha - CNRP

Huorn Reach Chamroeun – KEDP

In the opening statements of the first televised debate, the CPP candidate Sok Ei San focused on his party’s successful efforts to develop the country and to protect it from neighboring countries. CNRP vice president Kem Sokha described how CNRP was formed by the Cambodian people for the Cambodian people. He also suggested that the country was moving towards an authoritarian regime so it was now more important than ever to vote for change. The candidate from KEDP, Huorn Reach Chamroeun, focused on his party's economic development platform, describing investment in human resources, agriculture, tourism and development.

As agreed, 15 questions were asked by the audience. These questions addressed party achievements, corruption, foreign debt, immigration and border conflicts, land disputes, economic equality, development, acknowledgement of Khmer Rouge crimes, human rights, unemployment, labor rights and civil servant salaries.

The CNRP candidate's main focus throughout the debate was corruption and its impact on every facet of public life. When discussing land disputes and border issues, he attributed the lack of political will to address these issues to high level corruption. When addressing foreign debt, he acknowledged that Cambodia still needed assistance from international donors, but argued that the debt had escalated due to extensive graft. He highlighted his background as a human rights activist and his experience resolving disputes, suggesting that he would be able to solve these conflicts more effectively and transparently because of this.

The KEDP candidate also focused on corruption, and kept to his party's message of economic development and international cooperation. Specifically, he repeatedly brought up the need to collect tax revenue and utilize it effectively and transparently. Moreover, he stressed the importance of cooperating with international organizations to solve Cambodia's numerous border disputes and conflicts with neighboring countries. However, he frequently struggled to answer questions that asked candidates to describe their track records on issues, mainly because the KEDP was only recently established.

The CPP candidate focused mostly on the CPP's history of facilitating development and emphasized the need to follow existing laws. He downplayed the impact of corruption and the national debt, arguing that the government followed the law and that the issue was not as serious as the opposition portrayed it to be. When discussing his party's poverty eradication goals, he focused on existing data and highlighted the government's success in reaching their MDG benchmarks and reducing the poverty rate to 20 percent. He also described the CPP's "rectangular strategy" of development and told the audience that in the fifth term the party would invest heavily in infrastructure.

In the closing remarks, the KEDP candidate appealed to the religious sentiments of the audience and urged them to trust Buddha and vote for the KEDP. The CNRP candidate delivered his closing by listing his party's qualifications to lead the country, including high morality, courage and resources. He also promised a two-year term limit for the post of prime minister. The CPP candidate focused on his party's achievements and promised the viewers that the CPP would continue to provide development. Lastly, he argued that Cambodia was going in the right direction and therefore there was no need to change the leadership.

Phnom Penh (Televised) 2 – July 17, 2013

Participants:

Kravanh Daran - KAPP

Seng Sokheng - CNP

Pho Sothea – FCP

In his opening statements, CNP candidate Seng Sokheng emphasized the importance of using Buddhism to guide public policy. He stressed the need to solve border and land disputes peacefully. KAPP leader Kravanh Daran laid out his platform, promising 12 millionaires to provide Cambodians interest free loans, 40,000 specialists for 130,000 villages, and \$200,000 USD for every village in Cambodia. FCP candidate Pho Sothea focused on unity and reconciliation and implored the viewers not to let the results of the election come between them.

The 15 questions asked covered corruption, rural land management, migration and preventing brain drain, education and illiteracy, reduction of foreign aid dependence, immigration and border disputes, promotion of women's rights, the rights of Cambodian domestic workers

abroad, natural resource management, economic development policies, youth unemployment, land concessions, rule of law, political reconciliation, and lastly, care for the elderly.

The KAPP candidate Mr. Kravanh stated that within his first 90 days in office he would “take care of all the people who are hungry,” by using the money of his 12 millionaires. He emphasized taking cues from the U.S., where he had lived for two decades, assuring the audience that he would implement an “American-style” education system. He also promised that he would establish a food coupon system for the poor, as in the U.S. He declared his intention to “chase out the Vietnamese” and put the Vietnamese already living in Cambodia into refugee camps. He sometimes provided off-topic ideas, such as establishing a lunch program for students in response to a question on unemployment.

The CNP candidate spoke of the need for Cambodia to develop its human resources and tied almost every question back to this position. Most questions were answered with “we will increase our expenditure on this issue.” For example, the CNP candidate proposed to address education and health sector issues by funding those sectors more. He also focused intently on incorporating Buddhist principles into governance and frequently referenced the accomplishments of CNP's founder, a well-known monk, who through Buddhist guidance could lead Cambodia “away from the cliff of authoritarianism.”

The FCP candidate emphasized the need for accountability and transparency. He proposed specific vocational training programs and increases in foreign investment to address youth unemployment. Also, when discussing how to improve the education sector, he compared Cambodia's 1.4 percent GDP expenditure on education to Korea and Singapore, where well over 10 percent of their respective GDPs are invested into education. On curbing immigration, he pointed out that his KAPP counterpart was in fact an immigrant in the U.S. He suggested that the immigration law needed to be more effectively enforced and that better enforcement of tax policies could also deter immigration.

In the closing remarks, the FCP candidate declared the party sought to replicate the royal administration under King Norodom Sihanouk. He called on all viewers to reduce “extremism and anger” and urged them to respect all people regardless of political affiliation. The CNP candidate encouraged the audience to vote for CNP to “liberate 15 million people from poverty” and promised to use Buddhist principles to transform Cambodia into a “civilized society.”

The KAPP candidate's final statement is perhaps best provided verbatim: “My message to you is if you want food, health services and employment for all, if you want to eliminate corruption, if you want to grow trees to provide oxygen, if you want to put Vietnamese in refugee camps, if you want free wi-fi for the whole country, vote KAPP. We will bring 12 rich millionaires to provide you loans without interest. You will all have money. Choose number six [KAPP] to solve all your problems.”

V. PROGRAM EVALUATION



An audience member asking a question during the candidate debate in Sithor commune, Khsach Kandal district, Kandal province.

Candidate Debate Training

NDI distributed a questionnaire to participants at the debate training sessions to collect their impressions after the training. Participants were asked about the utility of the training and materials as well as the format and conduct of the sessions themselves. Their answers suggested a high degree of satisfaction with the training and a belief that the workshop provided valuable information.

All of the participants in the candidate training were satisfied with the organization of the training event. Ninety-four percent of participants found the training objectives clear. Seventy-six percent felt that the time allotted for sessions and exercises was adequate, but 24 percent felt that more time should have been allocated for training. Almost all participants, 95 percent, reported being satisfied with the training materials including hand-outs, briefing books and presentations, and 90 percent were satisfied with the quality of interpretation. Eighty-six percent of participants felt that the venue and facilities were appropriate with only two percent considering the venue to be poor. Overall, 93 percent of participants found all sessions on debate useful, while 100 percent found the sessions on debate preparation and effective public speaking useful.

Participants reported the session on debate preparation to be the most valuable, followed by public speaking, the message box exercise, and opening and closing statements. None of the participants felt that it would be useful to add additional skills or topics to the training. All of the participants (100 percent) noted that they were adequately prepared for the debate and all (100 percent) stated that NDI's debate training workshop contributed towards strengthening their capacity and understanding of debate.

The greatest challenge observed by NDI staff during the training was the inability of candidates to deliver clear, concise statements within the time limits. Each party struggled with different aspects of the practice exercises. Some parties found it difficult to address future policy and instead focused on past achievements. Others demonstrated a lack of organization and communication and clearly had not been informed of the debate format by their party representatives. Moreover, all of the candidates in attendance struggled to agree on their party's core message. The smaller parties demonstrated less capacity than the more established parties and had little public speaking experience. None of these candidates was aware of their party's platforms and when given the opportunity to practice speaking in front of a small audience, most could deliver only one or two sentences.

Debates

NDI hired the Center for Advanced Studies (CAS) to conduct surveys of 50 randomly selected audience members immediately after each debate, for a total of 400 respondents. Survey questions ranged from impressions of the debate to whether it had an influence on audience members' electoral decision-making.

Most participants, 85.5 percent, said that the debate treated all candidates fairly and equally. Importantly, 74.3 percent reported that the debate increased their confidence in election fairness in Cambodia. With regard to relevancy, 93.3 percent of respondents said that the candidates spoke to issues that were most important to them and their families. The responses were consistent with NDI's overall observations on the quality of the debates.

In terms of impact on decision-making, a remarkable 79.3 percent of those surveyed reported that the debate changed their opinion of one or more of the political parties or candidates. Further, 43.3 percent of respondents said that the debate would actually have an impact on who they would vote for.

With regard to how participants viewed the candidates' performances; A "clear party message" (34 percent), followed by a "focus on solutions and the future" (15.8 percent), and "smiling, warm body language" (15 percent) most enhanced a candidate's performance. "Demonstration of anger and shouting" (25.8 percent), followed by "no clear party message" (19.3 percent) and "frequent and strong criticism of their opponent" (18.5 percent), most weakened a candidate's performance.

Most attendees surveyed heard about the debate from radio advertisements (21.2 percent), local authorities (19.3 percent), or political parties (16.5 percent). NDI's flyer had some impact, with 12.1 percent of audience members surveyed saying they attended after seeing the flyer. NGOs had less of an impact, with 8.9 percent of those surveyed saying they learned of the debates through NGO announcements. An additional 5.6 percent reported seeing a newspaper ad.⁷ The survey also asked participants how NDI could improve the debates, and 30 percent suggested better event promotion. Other suggestions included more candidate interaction (25.9 percent), although others recommended more audience questions (21.8 percent).

⁷ Since NDI did not place any newspaper advertisements, it can only be assumed that audience members were confused about the flyer, news articles, or political party literature.

CAS also interviewed every participating candidate. All but one of the candidates (96.4%) reported that the debates treated them fairly and respectfully and said that the debates were important to enhancing democracy in Cambodia. A large majority, 81.4 percent said that it enhanced their ability to deliver their message to voters, and 88.4 percent reported that the debates strengthened their skills as candidates. In addition, 81.4 percent of candidates said the debate was “just the right” duration.

The survey data demonstrates the benefits to both voters and candidates of the multiparty debates. Debates provide voters with critical information that aids their decision-making. They also help candidates get their message out and sharpen their campaign skills. The survey results indicate citizens’ hunger for information from parties and candidates and their appreciation of constructive, respectful, and fair exchange of opinions and ideas.

VI. CONCLUSION

Given the dominance of the ruling party over Cambodia's media, NDI's 2013 National Assembly candidate debates provided an important space for candidates of all parties to present their policies and vision, and for voters to learn more about their electoral options. More than 16,000 people attended the debates in person, and broadcasts on radio and television reached potentially millions of voters. Once the program was shepherded through the approval process, the debates were conducted smoothly and peacefully with no complaints to the NEC from candidates or parties. Audience members and candidates overwhelmingly agreed that the debates were fair and respectful as well as important to the democratic process.

The debate project encountered multiple obstacles during the design and planning stages and met with resistance from many stakeholders. Many complications were caused by the Cambodian political environment, which had only grown more restrictive and obstructive in the run up to the election. From the beginning, the NEC consistently tried to undermine the project with regulatory maneuvering to make the project meet their terms or discontinue, and the ruling party introduced numerous requirements for their participation as well.

These continuous delays greatly hindered the technical aspects of moving forward with the program. At one point, it was impossible to go any further with setting a schedule, contracting vendors, preparing local partners, and undertaking a number of logistical tasks because there had been no agreement on format. With agreement among the NEC and all parties only being reached on June 17 (at which point it remained unclear if there would be televised debates), this left less than three weeks for program implementation.

A further complication came from the NEC's mandate that all registered parties be allowed to participate, when, in the end, many did not have the capacity to do so and dropped out of portions of the program. Had NDI known from the beginning that these parties would decline to participate in some events, the program would have been structured differently. Nevertheless, once a format had been agreed upon, the parties and the NEC cooperated with NDI closely.

Candidates reported that they found the debate training useful, and elements of the training were evident in the debates themselves. Candidates used facts and anecdotes, repeated their messages frequently and abided by the code of conduct. All participating candidates stated that NDI's debate training workshop contributed towards strengthening their capacity and understanding of debate.

All parties, including the ruling party and main opposition party, still have work to do on message development, forming realistic policies on the most important issues, and demonstrating contrast. But in spite of the need for improvement in some areas, audience members praised the opportunity to hear directly from candidates, and debates in each province drew large crowds. The debates were also a success in terms of decorum, with no reports of violations of the code of conduct.

Compared to debates in other countries, these debates would be considered quite tame. Although the code of conduct explicitly stated it was acceptable to challenge the record or policies of another party, candidates missed several opportunities to do that. Interaction was

exclusively between the candidate and the audience, and candidates hardly ever listened intently to, responded to, or challenged something another candidate said.



Candidates from the CPP (left) and KAPP holding hands following a candidate debate held in Prey Tahou commune, Steung Sen district, Kampong Thom province.

The moderators also made the program a success, demonstrating neutrality and professionalism. While there were some minor complaints over inconsequential issues, there were no formal complaints and the television moderator was praised by both of the major party candidates.

The only significant negative occurrence throughout the program was at the provincial debate in Kandal, when the CNRP candidate walked out after several CPP supporters allegedly turned up at the event wearing CNRP shirts, ostensibly to stage an artificial defection of support. The claim was never proven and even if it were, though an underhanded political trick, it would not have violated the Code of conduct. This walkout only served to deny the opposition a critical and rare opportunity to address voters in a high-stakes province, and the entire country on radio.

Overall, the debates provided a unique and critical opportunity for Cambodia to demonstrate the country's ability to have political discourse and disagreement without conflict, violence, or crisis. The parties expressed overall satisfaction with the neutrality and professionalism of the program and NDI. Opposition parties expressed gratitude for the opportunity to address voters through broadcast media, something they would not have been able to do without NDI's debate program. The Institute hopes that these debates can pave the way for more multiparty public discourse in the country and assuage the fears of the government and broadcasters in order to provide the needed space for such dialogue.

APPENDIX ONE: Format and Guidelines for Parties and Candidates

Overview

The format and guidelines of the candidate debates is taken from the National Democratic Institute's constituency dialogue program and from previous debates organized in the country. It allows for controlled and constructive interaction between candidates and their voters. NDI's objective is to focus on the future and voters, and how candidates and political parties plan to deliver for citizens. The debates will demonstrate that while candidates from different parties have different priorities, they can discuss those differences in a productive, cooperative manner that helps voters differentiate between their political options.

Program Components

Provincial Debates

In Siem Reap, all four participating parties will take part in one debate. In the other four provinces, two debates will run consecutively. The distribution of parties between the two debates was determined by a lottery that took place at the NDI office on Monday, June 17. The Siem Reap debate will begin at 8:30 am and will last for 2 hours and 35 minutes. Debates in other provinces will begin at 7:30 am. There will be a 30 minute intermission, and then the second debate will begin. Debates with three parties will last for 2 hours, and debates with 2 parties will last for 1 hour and 30 minutes.

According to the results of this lottery, the schedule will be as follows:

Siem Reap – July 7th, 8:30 a.m.

Public area in front of the Wat Chork Primary School, Pnhea Chey village, Sangkat Svay Dangkom, Siem Reap town in Siem Reap.

KAPP
CPP
FCP
CNRP

Kampong Thom – July, 10th, 7:30 a.m. and 9:30 a.m.

Old Stadium, Kdey village, Sangkat Prek Tahou, Stueng Sen town, Kampong Thom.

First Debate (1 hour and 32 minutes)	Second Debate (2 hours)
CPP	CNP
KAPP	CNRP
	FCP

Kampong Cham – July 13th, 7:30 a.m. and 9:30 a.m.

Nokor Bacheh Krao Pagoda, Chungkok Village, Ampil Commune, Kampong Siem District, Kampong Cham.

First Debate (1 hour and 32 minutes)	Second Debate (2 hours)
CNRP	KAPP
CPP	FCP
	CNP

Kandal – July 14th, 7:30 a.m. and 9:30 a.m.
Sithor Pagoda, Sithor Lech Village, Sithor Commune, Khsach Kandal District, Kandal.

First Debate (1 hour and 32 minutes)	Second Debate (2 hours)
KAPP	CPP
CNP	CNRP
	FCP

Takeo – July 20th, 8:30 a.m.
Ang Metrei Pagoda, Prey Prum Village, Sangkat Rokar Khnong, Daun Keo Town, Takeo.

First Debate (1 hour and 32 minutes)	Second Debate (2 hours)
CNRP	CNP
KAPP	CPP
	FCP

Moderators will be NDI staff people with experience moderating for previous debates and NDI's Constituency Dialogue program. They will also have received specific training in preparation for these debates.

Provincial Debates will run according to the following timeline:

	With 4 Parties	With 3 Parties	With 2 Parties
Moderator introduction	2 min	2 min	2 min
Candidate introductions (2 minutes each)	8 min	6 min	4 min
Audience questions (15 questions; 1 minute to ask question and 2 minutes for each candidate to respond).	135 min	105 min	75 min
Candidate closing (2 minute)	8 min	6 min	4 min
Moderator closing	2 min	2 min	2 min
Total	155 min	121 min	87 min

Televised Debates

In addition to the provincial debates, NDI is also sponsoring two televised debates to be recorded and broadcast during the last week of the campaign. Parties will have the opportunity to send any anyone they wish to represent them during these debates, and all parties officially registered with the NEC have been invited to participate and will be given equal time.

According to the results of the lottery, the schedule will be as follows:

First Debate (2 hours)	Second Debate (2 hours)
CPP	CNP
KEDP	KAAP
CNRP	FCP

Both debates will be recorded on July 17 before a live audience at the TVK studio, and will be broadcast on July 20 and 21 between 9:00 am and 11:00 am. The debates will also be rebroadcast on July 24 and 25 between 4:00pm and 6:00pm

- The audience will be made up of an equal number of participants from each party to ensure fairness.
- The audience will consist of 160 people when there are four parties on stage and 120 people when there are three parties (40 per party).
- Audience members will not be allowed to wear, distribute or display partisan materials at the debate.
- The moderator will be chosen from a list of professionals developed by NDI and agreed to by the parties.

Televised debates will adhere to the following schedule:

	With 4 parties	With 3 parties
Moderator introduction	2 min	2 min
Candidate introductions (2 minutes each)	8 min	6 min
Audience questions (3 questions; 1 minute to ask question and 2 minutes for each candidate to respond)	27 min	21 min
NDI(5 questions; 1 minute to ask question and 2 minutes for each candidate to respond)	45 min	35 min
Audience questions (3 questions; 1 minute to ask question and 2 minutes for each candidate to respond)	27 min	21
Candidate closing (2 minutes for each candidate)	8 min	6 min
Moderator closing	2 min	2 min
Total	119 min	93 min

Notes on Format and Sequence

- Every participant should arrive at the debate venue **no later than 40 minutes before the scheduled start time of the debate**. On arrival please check in with an NDI debate organizer.
- 30 minutes prior to the start of the debate, the moderator will facilitate a lottery draw to determine the order opening comments and podium assignment.
- The debate will start promptly on time with all candidates and the moderator on the stage in their assigned locations.
- The moderator will welcome the live audience, welcome the radio/television audience and explain the rules of the debate. The timekeeper will also be introduced. The moderator will then introduce each candidate by name and political party in the order drawn prior to the debate.
- Each candidate, in the order of the draw, will then be invited by the moderator to make an opening statement of no more than 2 minutes in duration. **Time allocation: 8 minutes (assumes 4 candidates)**.
- The moderator will then seek questions from the audience. An audience member will have a maximum of one minute to ask his\her question. Each candidate will then be provided a maximum of 2 minutes to respond to each citizen question. The order of candidate replies will be rotated equally among the candidates. No candidate is required to respond to any question or to use their full 2 minute time allocation. No

candidate will be allowed to speak for more than 2 minutes in responding to any question. **Time allocation: 9 minutes per question (assumes 4 candidates).**

- There will be no questions from NDI.
- Based on the full use of allocated times and four candidates per debate, in total, candidates can expect a **maximum of 15** questions.
- Near the end of the debate, the moderator will request each candidate, in the reverse order of their opening comments; make a two-minute closing statement. **Time allocation: 8 minutes.**
- The moderator will then close the debate by thanking the candidates, the live audience and the radio/television audience. Candidates are encouraged to shake hands at the end of the debate. **Time allocation: 2 minutes.**

Role of the Moderator

The moderator will ensure that the debate follows the prescribed format and allotted time. The moderator will enforce the code of conduct, ensuring that the audience does not interfere or improperly interact with candidates and that behavior and etiquette rules are followed.

The moderator will call on audience members randomly from those who raise their hands. This will not necessarily be done on a first-come, first-serve basis. He or she will try to draw from people around the venue as well as try to ensure a good gender and age balance.

Every participant from the audience must ask a question, not simply make a statement. If a participant fails to ask a question, he or she will be interrupted by the moderator and asked for a specific question. If the participant fails to do so, the moderator will move on to the next person.

The moderator may rephrase a participant's question to ensure its relevance for all candidates or to frame it as a question related to a policy.

The moderator will interrupt candidates and participants if they exceed their allotted time. The moderator also has the right to interrupt speakers violating the code of conduct. If an audience member is repeatedly disruptive, he or she can be asked to leave the debate.

The moderator will show no preference to any party or position.

Behavior and Etiquette Rules

Prior to the debate, participating candidates will have to agree to a code of conduct. This code can be used to clarify any misunderstanding, confusion about process, and/or allegations of bias. It will also serve to prevent personal attacks and insults during the debates.

Speakers, candidates or audience members, can discuss any issues related to the lives of citizens and can praise or criticize the performance and record of individual candidates, political parties, and government bodies and officials. Speakers cannot make personal insults or allegations against individuals, or use offensive language.

Candidate Preparation

Before the debate, candidates must:

- Participate in the debate training provided by NDI for provincial debates. Candidates participating in the televised debates will be required to attend an informational briefing prior to the event;
- Know exact debate location, date, and time;
- Read all debate documents: format and guidelines, code of conduct/candidate agreement, agenda, moderator protocol, and training materials;
- Sign the code of conduct/candidate agreement;
- Prepare opening and closing remarks;
- Arrive at debate 40 minutes before the start;
- Accept the results of the lottery that determines speaking sequence and podium placement;
- And accept the rules of the moderator and allocated time allowances.

APPENDIX TWO: Code of Conduct for Candidates

This code of conduct is an agreement between National Assembly candidates, political parties, debate participants, and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) about the rules of conduct during debates sponsored by NDI. The Code is designed to ensure that all stakeholders comply with the laws and regulations determined by the National Election Committee, and can be used to clarify any misunderstanding, confusion about process, and/or allegations of bias. It will also serve to prevent personal attacks and insults during the debates

Timing

1. Each speaker will be allotted the same amount of time for presenting their ideas and responding to questions, regardless of party affiliation.
2. A timekeeper will be appointed for each dialogue by the moderator. S/he will use a timer to set allocated time.
3. The moderator has the right to interrupt the speaker when his/her time is up and move on to the next speaker.
4. Timing rules will be implemented in the same manner for all speakers, and all speakers agree not to take offense or criticize the moderator for enforcing the rules.

Topics (for candidates and audience)

1. Speakers can discuss any issues that directly affect the lives of citizens in their constituency or the country;
2. Speakers can discuss, praise, and/or criticize the performance and record of candidates, political parties, and government bodies; Speakers can criticize existing laws, policies, and/or regulations.
3. Speakers can discuss the platform and policies of any political party. They may express disagreement and contrast their proposals with those of another speaker or political party.
4. Speakers cannot make personal attacks, make allegations against, or insult specific individuals, whether present or not. There can be no character assaults. People can, however, criticize the performance or record of an individual in the capacity of his/her job responsibilities.
5. Speakers cannot use offensive language, racial slurs, or sexist remarks.
6. The moderator will interrupt and stop any speaker who does not adhere to the above rules. If an audience member is continually disruptive and repeatedly in breach of the rules, they can be asked to leave. Violations of this code will be edited from the radio and television broadcast.

Audience Participation

1. The moderator will review the code of conduct and rules for speakers with all participants.
2. The moderator will explain the rules for questions from the audience.
3. Participants from the audience must ask a question and cannot simply make a statement or comment. He or she will be allowed to set the context, but it must end with a question and cannot exceed the one minute limit. If the participant fails to ask a question, the moderator will move on to the next participant.
4. The moderator has the right to rephrase a participant's question if it is unclear. If a participant makes a request for a specific good or service, the moderator will turn this into a question on related policy.

Overall

The aim of the debates is to have a constructive discussion of ideas and opinions. NDI's objective is to focus on the future and voters, and how candidates and political parties plan to deliver for citizens. The debates will demonstrate that while candidates from different parties have different priorities for the provinces, they can discuss those differences in a productive, cooperative manner that helps voters differentiate between their political options.

The debates are not forums for personal attacks or innuendo.

All participating candidates must understand that while their opponents may disagree with their ideas, describe faults in their positions, or criticize their party, they will not show any retribution, verbal or physical, towards these opponents during or after the debate.

Candidate Agreement

I hereby agree to this code of conduct for NDI's National Assembly candidate debates.

AGREED:

Signature

APPENDIX THREE: Participation Agreement for Parties

NAME OF PARTY:

NAME OF REPRESENTATIVE:

DESIGNATION:

Our party agrees to participate in NDI's 2013 National Assembly Candidate Debate Program according to the attached format which has been approved by the National Election Commission (NEC).

Our party understands that in the event that parties consent to participate, but fail to provide a candidate at a debate, NDI will inform broadcast and live audiences that the party agreed to participate, but failed to produce a candidate. Consenting parties that fail to produce a candidate will have been deemed to have forfeited their right to participate and the right to file a complaint with the NEC on this matter.

We understand that for the provincial debates, consenting parties will be required to provide a list of participating candidates, and those candidates will be required to attend a one-day candidate briefing and training seminar to be held within the period between June 19 and June 25. Parties are required to provide NDI with a full list of debate speakers and alternate speakers to NDI by Monday, June 17. Alternates for female candidates must also be women.

We understand that for the televised debates, parties can choose any representative they wish to act on their behalf. Televised debate participants will be required to attend a briefing to be scheduled prior to the recording of the debate.

We undertake to comply with the debate format, rules and regulations formulated by NDI and the NEC, and we also agree that participating candidates will sign a code of conduct for the program prior to the first debate.

Signature of Party Representative

Date: _____

APPENDIX FOUR: Broadcast Schedule for Debates

DATE	PARTIES	STATION						
		VAYO FM 105.5 (10:00AM – 12:00PM)	Sarika FM 106.5 (8:00-10:00PM)	Sarika FM 95.5 (9:00-11:00AM)	Mohanokor FM 93.5 (1:00-2:00PM; 7:00-8:00PM)	NATIONAL RADIO FM 96 (6:30 -8:30PM)	BEEHIVE FM 105 (10:00-11:00AM)	TVK
7/3		Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (10 min per day; 1 minute spot and 30 second spot to be run in rotation) and run to 7/25	Promotional spots begin (2 min; 2-4 spots per day). 1 minute conversation ad. Spots to be run from 7/3-7/9; 7/14; 7/16-7/19
7/10	CPP, CNRP, FCP, KAPP	Siem Reap segment one (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment one (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment one (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment one (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment one (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment one (1 hr.)	
7/11	CPP, KAPP	Kampong Thom 1 (90 min); Siem Reap segment 2 (30 min)	Kampong Thom 1 (90 min); Siem Reap segment 2 (30 min)	Kampong Thom 1 (90 min); Siem Reap segment 2 (30 min)	Kampong Thom 1 (90 min); Siem Reap segment 2 (30 min)	Kampong Thom 1 (90 min); Siem Reap segment 2 (30 min)	Siem Reap segment 2 (1 hr.)	
7/12	CNP, CNRP, FCP	Kampong Thom 2 (2 hrs.)	Kampong Thom 2 (2 hrs.)	Kampong Thom 2 (2 hrs.)	Kampong Thom 2 (2 hrs.)	Kampong Thom 2 (2 hrs.)	Siem Reap segment 3 (30 min); Kampong Thom 1 (segment 1 – 30min.)	
7/13	CNP, CNRP, CPP, KAPP, FCP	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	Kampong Thom (segment 1– 1 hr.)	
7/14	CNP, CNRP,	Rebroadcast (2	Rebroadcast (2	Rebroadcast (2	Rebroadcast (2	Rebroadcast (2	Kampong Thom	

	CPP, KAPP, FCP	hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all political parties)	segment 2 (1hr.)	
7/15	CNRP, CPP	Kampong Cham 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Cham 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Cham 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Cham 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Cham 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Thom 2 (segment 2 – 1 hr.)	
7/16	KAPP, CNP, FCP	Kampong Cham 2 (2 hours)	Kampong Cham 2 (2 hours)	Kampong Cham 2 (2 hours)	Kampong Cham 2 (2 hours)	Kampong Cham 2 (2 hours)	Kampong Cham Segment (1hr.)	
7/17	KAPP, CNP	Kandal 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kandal 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kandal 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kandal 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kandal 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kampong Cham 2 (1 hr.)	Production of 1 st and 2 nd TV debates
7/18	CPP, CNRP, FCP	Kandal 2 (2 hrs)	Kandal 2 (2 hrs)	Kandal 2 (2 hrs)	Kandal 2 (2 hrs)	Kandal 2 (2 hrs)	Kampong Cham 2 (1 hr.)	
7/19	CPP, CNRP, FCP, CNP, KAPP	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all parties)	Rebroadcast (2 hrs.; segments that include opening and closing remarks to all parties)	Finish Kampong Cham 1 (30 min); begin Kandal 1 (30 min)	
7/20	CPP, CNRP, KEDP, RDP	Radio broadcast of 1 st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio broadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio broadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio broadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio broadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Kandal (segment 1 - 1 hr)	1 st TV debate broadcast (2hrs. 9-11 am)
7/21	CNP, KAPP, FCP	Radio broadcast of 2 nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and	Radio broadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast questions from	Radio broadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and	Radio broadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and	Radio broadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and	Kandal (segment 2- 1hr.)	2 nd TV debate broadcast (90 min); rebroadcast questions from both debates (30

		closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	both debates (30 min.)	closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)		min.) 9-11 am
7/22	CNRP, KAPP	Takeo 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Takeo 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Takeo 1 (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Takeo 1 (90 min); rebroadcast questions to all parties (30 min)	Takeo 1 (90 min); opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min)	Kandal (segment 2 (1 hr.)	
7/23	CNP, CPP, FCP	Takeo 2 (2 hrs.)	Takeo 2 (2 hrs.)	Takeo 2 (2 hrs.)	Takeo 2 (2 hrs.)	Takeo 2 (2 hrs.)	Takeo segment 1 (1hr.)	
7/24	CPP, CNRP, KEDP, RDP	Radio rebroadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio rebroadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio rebroadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio rebroadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Radio rebroadcast of 1st TV debate (2 hrs.)	Takeo segment 2 (1 hr.)	1 st TV debate rebroadcast (4-6 pm)
7/25	CNP, KAPP, FCP	Radio rebroadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	Radio rebroadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	Radio rebroadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	Radio rebroadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	Radio rebroadcast of 2nd TV debate (90 min); rebroadcast opening and closing remarks to all parties (30 min.)	Takeo Segment 3 (1 hr.)	2 nd TV debate rebroadcast (4-6 pm)

