UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND EMPTY SPACES: THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNICATING HISTORY AND MEMORY IN POST-GENOCIDE CAMBODIA

A study of the roles of storytelling and radio in educating young Cambodians about the Khmer Rouge regime

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MAY 2007

MASTERS IN COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT
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Preface

Cambodia’s Khmer Rouge regime has been scrutinized and researched from many different perspectives as scholars and academics attempt to unravel and understand the roots of this appalling period in Cambodia’s history. However, politics, ideology and culture aside, this was a human tragedy, inflicted by people and endured by people. The Cambodian people suffered immeasurably during the Khmer Rouge and the long years of war before and since. Many Cambodian colleagues and friends have told me of their experiences during the regime. Even when hearing these stories directly from survivors, I find them almost unbelievable. The forced labour, the summary executions, the lost families, the torture and fear do not sit well with the image of Cambodia as a peaceful Buddhist nation.

Today, Phnom Penh is a modernising capital city. I often try to imagine how it looked in April 1975, as Khmer Rouge soldiers evacuated the city, leaving the sick, the infirm and the elderly by the roadside and exterminating enemies of the revolution. Looking across the vivid green rice paddies that cover rural Cambodia, there is no hint of the crimes against humanity that were committed by the Khmer Rouge in their insane attempt to reset history and re-programme society. Farmers in the countryside continue to plant and harvest rice, just as they did before the Khmer Rouge and for thousands of years before that again. Dusty and ill-kept memorials dot the country but explain nothing. Is it any wonder that young people remark, “if this Khmer Rouge regime really happened, where is the proof?” Unfortunately the bulk of evidence is currently being carried in the heads and hearts of those who lived through it and although they try their best to impart these events to their children, it seems that this is just not enough.

The need to properly preserve, explain and memorialise this most extraordinary history is imperative to ensure that the next generation can understand and come to terms with the Khmer Rouge. Instead however, young people are left wondering about fundamental questions, with little encouragement or means to investigate these issues on their own. I believe that the Cambodian media have a real responsibility to present and explain the history of the Khmer Rouge in a balanced, understandable and acceptable way, without the trappings of propaganda and political bias. The danger of ignoring this pressing need has been identified by young Cambodians themselves, who fear that by not knowing their history, they are doomed to see it repeated.

Niamh Hanafin,
Phnom Penh, 23 April 2007
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPK</td>
<td>Communist Party of Kampuchea</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Cambodian People’s Party</td>
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<td>CSD</td>
<td>Centre for Social Development</td>
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<td>DC-Cam</td>
<td>Documentation Centre of Cambodia</td>
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<td>DfID</td>
<td>British Department for International Development</td>
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<td>DK</td>
<td>Democratic Kampuchea (official name of Cambodia during KR regime)</td>
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<td>ECCC</td>
<td>Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Funcinpec</td>
<td>National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia</td>
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<td>GADC</td>
<td>Gender and Development for Cambodia</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>IMPACS</td>
<td>Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society</td>
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<td>KID</td>
<td>Khmer Institute of Democracy</td>
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<td>KOFF</td>
<td>The Centre for Peacebuilding, SwissPeace</td>
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<td>KR</td>
<td>Khmer Rouge</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NIS</td>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
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<td>OSJI</td>
<td>Open Society Justice Initiative</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
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<td>WMC</td>
<td>Women’s Media Centre of Cambodia</td>
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ABSTRACT
Twenty-eight years after the fall of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, many Cambodians are still unclear about what really took place during the 1975-1979 regime, during which an estimated 1.7 million people died. Cambodia still suffers economically, socially and psychologically from the legacy of the Khmer Rouge and the years of war before and since. This has also impacted on the next generation of young Cambodians, who are reportedly poorly informed and sceptical about the Khmer Rouge. This research explores the root causes of the apparent disinterest and lack of knowledge among Cambodia’s youth. It also examines the potential role that radio can play in supporting and contextualising survivors’ testimonies and educating young people about their recent history. This is achieved by studying a phone-in radio series entitled Ka Pit (The Truth), which aims to educate young people about the Khmer Rouge regime.

The overall supposition of this study is that real and meaningful reconciliation requires documenting, memorialising and communicating past violence and conflict, a process which has been slow to occur in Cambodia. The research is framed by a theoretical model for peacebuilding media initiatives devised in 2005 by Bent Norby Bonde. The long-term relevance of the model is tested in the context of Cambodia. Integrated into this approach is the application of a theory of conflict resolution, the Nested Theory, as a means of guiding the design of media content that addresses complex conflict-related issues. In this study, it is applied to Ka Pit to determine if it is a useful mechanism for presenting such information in an understandable and acceptable way.

The research methodology consisted of focus group discussions with young Cambodians, and a comparative survey of listeners and non-listeners of Ka Pit. The results are divided into four main sections: Attitudes and knowledge about the Khmer Rouge, familial storytelling as a source of information about the Khmer Rouge, radio as a source of information for young people and an evaluation of Ka Pit.

The field research reveals that 91.7% of survey respondents lost relatives during the Khmer Rouge regime. However, only 8.5% of survey respondents claimed to be very aware of the KR while 87.5% know a little. 91.7% of respondents learned about the Khmer Rouge from their parents and relatives. In general, young people know about the day-to-day hardships suffered during the regime but do not understand the wider geopolitical, ideological and historical context of the Khmer Rouge. While urban
Educated youths can educate themselves by accessing other sources such as books, memorials, Internet, magazines and videos, rural young people rely almost exclusively on survivors’ testimony and the mass media as sources of information about the Khmer Rouge.

Family stories play a crucial and primary role in informing young people about the Khmer Rouge. However, they also contain inherent limitations and provide neither adequate proof that such a horrific regime existed nor sufficient explanation for why it happened.

On the other hand, radio is still a popular pastime and an important source of information for young people in Cambodia. It is a versatile medium that can be listened to throughout the day. 87% of respondents listen to the radio sometimes or often and 41.7% learned about the Khmer Rouge through radio. Young people enjoy Ka Pit and find it extremely informative and interesting. They feel that the information in the programme is trustworthy and can contribute to their understanding of the Khmer Rouge time.

The impact of Ka Pit to date has been very impressive, given it has only been on the air for a short time. 90.9% of respondents believed that the programme can have a positive impact on society, most notably that young people will understand their history and that a similar regime would be prevented from taking power in Cambodia. Listeners of Ka Pit were consistently better informed that non-listeners about conditions during the Khmer Rouge regime. Furthermore, listeners of Ka Pit are far more likely to discuss the Khmer Rouge than non-listeners.

The research validates Bonde’s assertion that peacebuilding media programming is needed even many years after open conflict has ended. It also points to the potential of the Nested Theory as a means of content design for peacebuilding programmes. However, there are also practical implications for Ka Pit and recommendations include addressing the whole truth of the Khmer Rouge, making the programmes more youth-oriented, varying programme content, increasing promotional activity and reviewing the programme schedule.
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1. **INTRODUCTION**

“He who controls the present, controls the past. He who controls the past, controls the future.”

George Orwell, ‘Nineteen Eighty-Four’

“From April 25 to April 27, 1975, the Khmer Rouge leaders held an extraordinary Congress in order to form a new Constitution, and renamed the country “Democratic Kampuchea.” A new government of the DK, led by Pol Pot, came into existence after which Cambodian people were massacred.”

9th Grade Social Studies textbook, Cambodia

1.1. **INTRODUCTION**

It is said that in the immediate aftermath of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, many Cambodian survivors had simply no comprehension of the magnitude of the horrors that occurred in their country, nor did they have any idea of why or how they happened (Etcheson, 2004, p.64). Twenty-eight years later, much research is being devoted to what Cambodians hope the upcoming trial of senior Khmer Rouge leaders will achieve. A common finding in these studies is the overwhelming desire of survivors to know the truth about the Khmer Rouge. It appears, then, that this lack of understanding continues to be a feature of Cambodians’ perceptions of the Khmer Rouge today. This begs the immediate question, why are Cambodians so poorly informed and confused about what occurred during the 1975-79 reign of Democratic Kampuchea? It also prompts speculation about the possible consequences of this shortage of truth for Cambodian society today and in the future. While survivors have a certain knowledge of what occurred, based on their own personal experiences, a more worrying implication is the effect of this information deficiency on Cambodia’s youth, those too young to remember the so-called radical evil of Democratic Kampuchea.

It has been 28 years since the fall of Democratic Kampuchea on January 7th, 1979. The decimation of the older generations has meant that Cambodia today is a very young country. According to census statistics, 68.9% of Cambodians are under the age of thirty (NIS, 1998). This young generation of Cambodians has grown up without any direct experience or memory of the Khmer Rouge. However, whether they appreciate it

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1 Sourced from DC-Cam’s website (http://www dccam.org/Projects/). This is the only reference to the Khmer Rouge regime in the public education system in Cambodia today.
or not, the world which young Cambodians inhabit bears the scars of the dark years of Democratic Kampuchea. Therefore, the effects of the Khmer Rouge on this generation and the subsequent impact on Cambodia’s economic and social development, is a real and valid concern.

However, evidence suggests that young people’s knowledge of, and interest in, the Khmer Rouge regime is low. Survivors often lament the scepticism shown by their children when they tell stories of starvation, hard labour, disease and repression (OSJI, 2005, p.17). Despite these unsettling claims, there has been little research conducted into the attitudes of young Cambodians towards their recent history and what has contributed to their current understanding of the realities of the Khmer Rouge. This project attempts unravel some of these issues by examining how Khmer Rouge history and memory are being transmitted in Cambodia today and the potential of radio to generate a greater understanding of the Khmer Rouge among Cambodia’s next generation.

1.2. **Scope and Focus of the Research**

The central supposition of the project is that a fundamental component of reconciliation in Cambodia is an accurate, understandable and complete historical record for those who did not live through the 1975-79 Khmer Rouge era. For this, reliable, accessible and trustworthy channels of communications are imperative. The current culture of mistruths, half-truths, blame and denial serves only to produce a generation of Cambodians whose understanding of history is based on conjecture and speculation, fuelled by disinterest and doubt.

This research focuses on two channels of communication: oral history and radio. The justification for this approach is three-fold. Firstly, as is explored in the next chapter, Cambodia is greatly lacking in conventional sources of reliable historical information about the Khmer Rouge. Secondly, it would seem pertinent, given young people’s sceptical attitudes towards their parents’ stories, to explore the limitations of familial storytelling as a means of communicating such a period of mass violence and genocide. Thirdly, in 2006, an innovative radio series began broadcasting on a Cambodian radio station, which targeted young people in an attempt to educate them about Khmer Rouge history. It is therefore an ideal juncture to explore these two

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2 One exception is the 2005 Youth for Peace study “Genocide in the Mind of the Cambodian Youth” which addresses, on a broader level, issues similar to this research.
communication channels comparatively and to assess whether their combined impact can compensate for the lack of other alternatives.

The study will be framed theoretically by a model for long-term peacebuilding media initiatives devised in 2005 by Bent Norby Bonde. Intended to assist donors and the UN to identify appropriate media projects to support at different stages of conflict, the long-term relevance of the model will be tested in the context of Cambodia. Integrated into this approach is the application of a theory of conflict resolution as a means of guiding the design of media content that addresses complex conflict-related issues. This was tested by Bonde in relation to a journalistic television documentary series. In this study, it will be applied to a phone-in radio series to assess its significance for ‘intended outcome’ radio programming.

The overall research question being approached is:

‘Is radio an effective way of complementing oral history and providing a credible and trustworthy historical context about the Khmer Rouge regime for young Cambodians?’

To address this question, this study attempts to establish the relevance of familial storytelling as a source of information about the Khmer Rouge for young Cambodians. Furthermore, it identifies key characteristics of familial storytelling about the Khmer Rouge and the extent to which these characteristics determine how young people understand the Khmer Rouge. The potential role of radio is then examined as a complementary information source and the impact that this can have on young people’s knowledge of and interest in their recent history, using the case study of a radio programme produced and broadcast by the Women’s Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC), a local non-governmental media organisation.

1.3. **Structure and Approach**

This study is divided into four related sections. Chapter 2 compiles the results of an extensive desk study of Cambodia-related reports, documents and books to provide important contextual information and explain the focus on radio and storytelling, as opposed to other sources of historical information. Chapter 3 presents a review of key literature and explores the relevancies of various strategies and frameworks for media
and peacebuilding. It then presents Bonde’s model in detail both in terms of its inclusion of long-term strategies and its application of conflict resolution theory as a way of guiding media content. Chapter 4 presents the methodologies and results of the field research. Chapter 5 draws together research results and the theoretical framework to outline some implications for the field of media and peacebuilding. It also provides some practical recommendations and conclusions of the study.
2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

2.1. BACKGROUND

2.1.1. Cambodia Today

The Royal Kingdom of Cambodia is a small country in Southeast Asia, bordered by Laos to the north and the powerful nation-states of Vietnam to the east and Thailand to the west. It has a population of around 14 million people, the majority of which is ethnic Khmer. There are also smaller populations of ethnic Chinese, Vietnamese and Cham Muslims as well as diverse hill-tribe minorities in the mountainous northeast. Buddhism is the main religion, though elements of animism still remain and have been incorporated into religious practices and beliefs. Cambodia is a rice-growing nation and 72% of the population are rice-farmers (Maloy & Kay, 2007). It remains one of the poorest countries in Southeast Asia with 34.7% of the population living below the poverty line (UNDP, 2005, p.8).

Cambodia has been a democracy since 1993 and is now ruled by a coalition government of the CPP (Cambodian People’s Party) and Funcinpec (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia) under Prime Minister Hun Sen. Sizeable aid contributions have enabled Cambodia to make significant strides forward. Economic growth reached an impressive 13% in 2005 (Maloy & Kay, 2007). Infrastructure such as roads, bridges, electricity and water supply, continues to improve. A concerted government and donor effort has helped to get a potentially devastating HIV/AIDS epidemic under control.

However, many problems remain. Rule of law is weak, and the poor frequently lose out to the rich and powerful under a culture of impunity and patronage (Lor & Doyle, 2003). Access to good quality social services remains limited. There is a chronic shortage of skilled personnel in all professions. Violence is rife within homes and communities and is frequently the first recourse to resolve disputes. Crime is also high with hundreds of thousands of guns circulating in the country. Poverty continues to affect the majority of Cambodians. Cambodia is a country at peace. However, it is still contending with the legacy of war and violence.³

³ A brief history of Cambodia since independence is available in Annexe 1
2.1.2. **The legacy of the Khmer Rouge**

“No society, however unified and resilient, can quickly overcome the repercussions of atrocities on the scale experienced by Cambodians. It will take years, possibly even generations.” (Linton, 2004, p.58)

**Psychological**

It is almost impossible to imagine the psychological impact of the Khmer Rouge on those Cambodians who lived through the regime. According to one research, a shocking 88% of respondents lost family members during the regime (KID, 2004, p.12). For many Cambodians, the forced separation from their families remains one of the most traumatic memories of the Khmer Rouge (ICRC, 1999, p.7). A National Institute of Health study of Khmer Rouge survivors living in the United States found that 62% suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and 51% from depression (OSJI, 2005, p.11). One medical sociologist claims that untreated mental health problems among Cambodians have reached epidemic proportions (Fawthrop & Jarvis, 2004, p.141). “The symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (aggression, anger, fear, grief, sadness and nightmares) are abundantly clear in many Cambodians.” (Linton, 2004, p.57) As well as the horrific physical suffering endured by survivors, there was also the mental torment of witnessing atrocities and loved ones’ deaths and living in fear of their own lives. Laura McGrew’s study, *Truth, Justice, Reconciliation and Peace in Cambodia*, details some of the long-term effects still suffered by survivors of the regime. They report being unable to forget the past and suffering from recurring nightmares. They also still mourn for dead relatives and suffer the pain of not knowing what happened to those who simply disappeared. Some suffer from a sense of guilt for surviving when others did not (McGrew, 2000).

**Economic**

Cambodia’s economy effectively ground to a halt during the Khmer Rouge. Markets and money were abolished. The existing infrastructure was destroyed. Schools, hospitals, pagodas, banks, businesses, everything was dismantled. An ICRC study reports that 59% of respondents who survived the regime suffered serious damage to
their property (ICRC, 1999, p.5). The professional classes were decimated.\footnote{According to Suzannah Linton, only ten out of hundreds of Cambodian legal professionals survived.} Everything that had been gained before 1975 was lost, and in 1979, many Cambodians had to begin again with no property, possessions or resources of any kind. Because of the disproportionate death toll among men, many thousands of women were forced to support their households, without education, skills or resources, plunging families further into poverty. Currently, almost one third of Cambodian households are headed by women (NIS, 2004). 64% of females and 46% of males over the age of 25 did not complete primary education (ibid.). All of these factors continue to contribute to the high rates of poverty that still exist today.

**Impunity**

In today’s Cambodia, the military and political elite, and the clientele system that supports them, enjoy a position above the law (Roberts, 2002, pp32-33). High-ranking government officials and other well-positioned members of Cambodia’s privileged are regularly implicated in assassinations, assaults, land-grabs and other crimes. The mass disenfranchisement of the poor by the rich has reached dizzying heights. Yet such cases rarely make it to court and, if they do, corrupt judiciaries ensure that rulings are made in favour of the highest payer (Lor & Doyle, 2003). Furthermore, rank-and-file police and military personnel operate with little respect for the rule of law, swift to open fire on suspects and slow to conduct investigations. Torture of suspects is a routine method of eliciting confessions in police stations (Adhoc et al, 1999, p.10). According to a 1999 report on impunity, “[a]t least one in every thirteen arrests in Phnom Penh resulted in either death or injury” (ibid., p.17). Many argue that this culture of impunity in Cambodia has its roots in the failure of the government and the international community to bring to justice senior Khmer Rouge leaders for crimes committed against the Cambodian people (ibid., p.12).

**Violence**

Some scholars caution against attributing Cambodia’s current culture of violence solely to the Khmer Rouge regime. This is, of course, a valid point considering the many years of war before and after the regime and strong cultural influence on such behaviour (Roberts, 2002, pp53-34). However, many of Cambodia’s most disturbing social
problems seem to stem from a culture that has lost its moral benchmark. Cambodia’s social fabric was ripped asunder during Democratic Kampuchea. The most fundamental building blocks of traditional life such as family and religion were rendered meaningless. Respect for human life, a value that is central to Buddhism, was completely eroded by the Khmer Rouge. The concept of community dissolved into a chaotic web of suspicion, distrust and betrayal. These factors combined to produce a generation of Cambodians with little awareness of the moral framework that has shaped Cambodian culture for centuries (Linton, 2004, p.59). When exposed to such a gross absence of humane and compassionate conduct, the concepts of right and wrong are difficult to grasp and equally difficult to impart to the next generation. This current lack of moral boundaries is clear from almost daily news reports of violent acts committed against neighbours, friends and family members, often with minor provocation, and robbers that are quick to murder for small gains such as a motorbike or a piece of jewellery (Barnitz et al, 2001, p.6). Knowing that justice will never be achieved through the legal system, Cambodians frequently resort to street justice where suspected criminals are beaten and sometimes killed by angry mobs.

Inheriting the past

It can be argued that Cambodian youth are as much a product of the Khmer Rouge as those who lived through it. On the most direct level, many young people must cope with the symptoms of post-traumatic stress among survivors in the family (Wallquist, 2002, p.7). These can range from aggressive behaviour to depression, anxiety and fear. “As children grow up with mentally ill parents, they are far more likely to become depressed and abusive themselves, creating a vicious cycle with consequent social implications” (Vannath in Bloomfield et al, 2003, p.52). Many also suffer economically because their parents did not get a good education or lost property and assets during the Khmer Rouge (Münyas, 2005, p.65). The opportunities available to young people are limited because of the increased levels of poverty experienced by their families.

These and other remnants of the regime, both within the family and in a wider social context, inevitably combine to mould the next generation. One 2003 study of urban youth warns that “one would be foolish to underestimate the devastating effects of DK regime and its intergenerational impact as the effects of incomprehensible trauma are transferred down the family line” (GADC, 2002, section 3.6). Gang membership, violence, rape, theft and drug-use characterize the new urban youth culture of Cambodia
2. Background and Context

2.1. Background and Context

The study also reveals that young people show a worrying desensitisation towards violence, inability to empathise with others and little sense of personal responsibility. Nothing illustrates this better than the recent rise in popularity among male high school and university students of the ‘sport’ of gang raping sex workers. When asked to evaluate this practice morally, only 13% of respondents (both male and female) felt that it was wrong (ibid.).

Importantly, while youth violence grabs headlines, it is often forgotten that it is also young people who bear the brunt of this violence, coping on a daily basis in schools, homes and on the streets, with exposure to gang intimidation, drug use, robbery and assault.

2.2. Truth, History and Reconciliation

2.2.1. Introduction

The last century has seen unprecedented levels of violence and genocide. While the Holocaust stands apart in scale and magnitude, the last sixty years provide a depressing number of examples of extreme violence, Rwanda, Bosnia, and now Darfur and Iraq, to name a few. How nations chose to remember and document these difficult events and assume responsibility for them contributes greatly to the process of healing for victims and perpetrators alike and to the ultimate goal of peaceful coexistence. Germany has gone through an intensive and painstaking historical documentation of Nazi war crimes, in consultation with former Allied forces and various persecuted groups. This has undoubtedly contributed to the normalised relations Germany now enjoys with the rest of Europe, the international Jewish community and other groups persecuted by the Nazis during World War II (Galtung, 2001). On the other extreme, Turkey continues to deny the 1915 Armenian genocide and distrust, antagonism and bitterness continue to characterise the relationship between the Turks and Armenians to this day (Harutunian, 2007).

Historical accounting via truth-telling is seen as an essential ingredient for reconciliation and healing in a society that has suffered from conflict and violence (Freemand & Hayner in Bloomfield et al, 2003). There are few, if any examples, of where a policy of burying the past has been effective (Brounéus, 2003, p.12). Creating an accurate official historical record and communicating it to the public can achieve a number of important results for a society that has undergone extreme violence or genocide. Revealing the truth assists “in establishing a reality that is not fantasised or
fabricated, but is instead actual and grounded in facts. It puts myths and lies to rest, and
can open eyes to the reality of what happened.” (Linton, 2004, p.173) This helps to
eliminate false versions of events and diminishes perpetrators’ powers of denial, in the
present and in the future. It also honours the victims, both living and dead, and
officially recognizes their suffering (Brounéus, 2003). Finally, it allows future
generations to understand their history and recognise the need to build a society based
on tolerance and peace rather than violence and war.

2.2.2. Challenges of Khmer Rouge history

The need then to adequately preserve, memorialise and communicate the past is evident.
However, this process faces a number of difficult challenges in the Cambodian context.
The recent history of Cambodia is a complex affair. Many geopolitical, ideological and
cultural motivations converged to create the horror of the Khmer Rouge. It is not an
easy history to explain or understand, least of all because one of the most striking
features of the Khmer Rouge leadership was its secrecy. The Angkar5 was incredibly
successful in isolating itself from its people and creating and maintaining an air of
anonymity through which it exerted absolute authority (Short, 2007). Even survivors of
the regime still remain unclear as to what really took place and why.

In addition, historical generalisations about the conditions during the Khmer
Rouge are difficult. One version of history needs to account for the myriad of different
experiences within different regions of the country. The extent of killings, food
shortages and hard labour differed greatly. According to Ben Kiernan, conditions
varied between regions (depending on the regional secretary in charge) and over time
(Kiernan, 1997, Chapters 5&6). Not only this, but there are a number of opposing
truths which need to be somehow recognised and assimilated, specifically those of the
Cambodian government, the former Khmer Rouge, the international community and the

A further challenge is the need to approach this history in a way that promotes
coming to terms with the genocide and explains the dangers of extreme ideologies and
the psychological processes that led to dehumanisation, mass killing and extreme
violence against an unarmed population. Avoiding blame and encouraging tolerance is
particularly important in a country where survivors often live side by side in small

5 Angkar translates as the Organisation, a collective term used to describe the shadowy top
Khmer Rouge leadership
communities with former Khmer Rouge cadres responsible for crimes against them and their families.

2.2.3. **Political dimensions**

In many ways, the issue of the Khmer Rouge is still dealt with as more political than historical. The Khmer Rouge regime remains a highly sensitive topic on Cambodia’s political landscape. Since democratic elections in 1993, the government has neither shown interest in open discussion or debate about the Khmer Rouge nor placed any importance on educating the Cambodian public about the regime. “After more than a quarter of a century, there is no agreed ‘official version’ in the Kingdom of Cambodia, not even in school textbooks, about what happened in the era of Democratic Kampuchea.” (Linton, 2004, p.174) Furthermore, it is unlikely that a robust official inquiry into the truth will happen any time soon, particularly as many senior officials of the current government are former Khmer Rouge officers (Etcheson, 2004, p.48).

Despite this, the government is quick to raise the spectre of the Khmer Rouge for political gain, keen to point out that it was the Cambodian’s People’s Party that liberated Cambodia from the Pol Pot regime. Beyond this one well-publicised fact, the government sees little need to consider what other information might be needed by the Cambodian public in order to be able to reconcile with the past, move forward and ultimately understand what happened to Cambodia during those years.

2.3. **Sources of Khmer Rouge History and Memory**

Cambodia is an oral culture. Part of this rich culture of storytelling involves passing family history from generation to generation. Parents are the principle source of information for young people about the Khmer Rouge regime (Münyas, 2005, p.25). An overwhelming majority of young people report that they talk about the Khmer Rouge period at home (ibid., p.35). Survivors of the regime are keen to pass on their experiences to their children, so that they can understand their family history and perhaps learn to appreciate what they have. However, while most survivors try to talk to their children about the past, they report that young people don’t comprehend the extent of the horrors that they endured (OSJI, 2005, p.17). As noted in a recent *Washington Post* article, “[i]n the absence of a shared national story about the Khmer Rouge, a thousand conversations, fractured by politics, rumor, myth and the varieties of
human experience are being passed down to a sometimes skeptical younger generation” (Kinetz, 2007).

According to Youk Chhang, director of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia, many parents they speak to report that their children don’t really believe what they tell them about the Khmer Rouge. “The children simply cannot fathom that their parents went hungry, labored many hours in the fields, or lived in fear of their lives.” (Chhang, 2006, p.3) A 2006 video documentary, funded by the Open Society Justice Initiative, entitled Chong Meul Pit (Wanting to See the Truth) gives a worrying insight into the tendency of young people to dismiss the stories of their parents as simply too fantastic to be true.

“It is often said that the current school-going generation of young Cambodians finds that the stories they hear from parents are too horrific to be true – they sound like made-up horror stories to frighten children. Yet it is from these same parents that children may also learn negative attitudes and prejudices that could hinder the process of reconciliation reaching into the next generation. (Linton, 2004, p.176)

Aside from survivor testimony, historical information about the Khmer Rouge is available from a number of official or public sources, specifically museums and memorials, the public education system, literature, and mass media. The Documentation Centre of Cambodia, a local NGO, has a public information centre housing research, Khmer Rouge records, survivors’ testimonies and photo and film archives. It also conducts outreach work and publishes a magazine entitled “Searching for the Truth”. At first glance then, it would seem strange that young people rely so heavily on their parents’ stories to learn about the Khmer Rouge. To fully explore this issue, it is important to consider the accessibility of these information sources, what they represent and the nature and extent of the information being provided by them.

2.3.1. **Museums and Memorials**

According to the Yale-based Cambodia Genocide Program, there are approximately 80 sites of memorials to victims of the Khmer Rouge in the whole country. The most well-known is Choeung Ek, a killing field on the outskirts of Phnom Penh where thousands of prisoners were taken to be exterminated. Generally these memorials consist of a glass-fronted stupa filled with bones and clothes of victims. Today, many are in poor repair, left to local communities to upkeep (Hughes in Cook, 2005, p.281). Tuol Sleng

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6 Many other NGO’s are involved in other aspects of reconciliation such as mental health care, public forums, research and legal and human rights related activities.
museum, formerly S-21 torture prison, is the only official museum to the Khmer Rouge in the country (Linton, 2004, p.63). It is located in central Phnom Penh and displays harrowing photos of prisoners, implements of torture and, until recently, an infamous map of Cambodia made from human skulls and bones.

Most of these memorials were established by the Vietnamese-supported government during the 1980’s and served an important political function. By remembering the victims of the Khmer Rouge, they also justified the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia (Hughes in Cook, 2005, p.273). By extension they are now used by the ruling CPP party to remind Cambodians of their part in the defeat of the Khmer Rouge (Samean, 2007). Thus the official memorialisation of the Khmer Rouge is highly politicised. Furthermore, while Tuol Sleng and the various memorial sites offer some sort of visual ‘proof’ that mass killing occurred during the Khmer Rouge, they offer little or nothing in the way of explanation or contextualisation (Münyas, 2005, p.14). Young people can and do visit these sites, but they do not walk away with any greater understanding of the momentous events that created such places.

2.3.2. Literature

Many Khmer Rouge survivors’ memoirs have been published over the years, usually in French or English. However, very few of these books have been translated into Khmer (Etcheson, 2004, p.80). There has also been an enormous amount of academic and journalistic research conducted about the Khmer Regime (almost all by foreign scholars), from an array of perspectives. Again, the vast majority of these are not available in the Khmer language. DC-Cam (Documentation Centre of Cambodia) has been involved not only in translating various historical and personal accounts of the Khmer Rouge, but also in conducting and disseminating its own research. However, aside from DC-Cam’s activities, little historical material has been produced by Cambodian historians and researchers (Etcheson, 2004). One can speculate that the political climate has done much to stifle home-grown scrutiny of the Khmer Rouge era. Of the literature that does exist, distribution tends to focus around urban areas (Münyas, 2005, p.22).

Disregarding the general lack of published material available, an important factor when considering literature as a potential source of information about the Khmer Rouge are the low literacy levels of young Cambodians. According to a 1999 Ministry of Education report, only 57% of 15-24 year olds have the level of literacy needed to
understand and express written information (Wallquist, 2002, p.9). This means that almost half of young Cambodians do not possess a sufficient level of literacy to be able to read an adult book. This greatly reduces the significance of literature of any kind as a source of information about the Khmer Rouge.

2.3.3. Education system

The greatest failing of the Cambodian government in relation to establishing historical fact about the Khmer Rouge is the abysmal record of the education system. From 1979 until the peace agreement of 1991, each warring faction produced its own history textbooks for use in the areas under its control. The ruling government of the time used the history curriculum for blatant propaganda purposes to attack the “Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Clique” and to overtly identify enemies of the state (Etcheson, 2004, p.84).

In 1993, all mention of Cambodia’s recent history was removed from the school curriculum in order to placate the various factions. Since then, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport has consistently failed to produce a comprehensive history of the Khmer Rouge. In 2002, the government revealed its new history curriculum, which included events during and after the Khmer Rouge. However, the textbooks were quickly withdrawn due to high-level complaints of political bias. As a result, Cambodian 9th and 12th grade students were consequently left with only the textbooks that describe the entire history of the Cambodian genocide in two vague sentences. The history lessons for the remaining grades in Cambodian public schools mention nothing about post-1970 Cambodian history at all” (ibid., p.86).

At the time of writing, the textbooks still have not been revised and re-introduced. According to one of the authors of the textbooks, the five-year silence since the books were withdrawn is in part due to the fact that the former Minister of Education expressly stated that these events were too political to be included in the curriculum (Prak & Wasson, 2006). The current Minister of Information also blamed ‘certain politicians’ for keeping the Khmer Rouge out of the high school curriculum (ibid.).

__7__ Prince Norodom Ranariddh, leader of FUNCINPEC, objected to the fact that his party’s 1993 election victory had been excluded from the text, while Hun Sen’s 1998 victory was included.
2.3.4. **Mass Media**

Radio and television are undoubtedly the most effective means of reaching the majority of people in Cambodia. Given very poor literacy rates, as well as low distribution levels of newspapers and other printed media, television and radio are seen as primary sources of entertainment, information and education (Edman, 2000). There is a plethora of media broadcasters on the air. As of 2002, there were 6 television stations and 13 radio stations in Cambodia (Tive, 2003). However, this does not necessarily imply a broad spectrum of ideas, perspectives and political opinions. There is a close link between politics and the media in Cambodia. The broadcast media, both government and private, are dominated by the ruling Cambodian People’s Party (Edman, 2000). Almost all other stations are affiliated with opposition political parties and strongly flavour their programming accordingly (ibid.).

In a 2004 survey, 64% of respondents said that the best way to disseminate the history of the Khmer Rouge regime is through the mass media (Linton, 2004, p.171). However, given the way in which the government approaches the Khmer Rouge in general, it is unlikely that most media outlets would attempt to present a comprehensive and balanced history of the Khmer Rouge to audiences. On and around the 7th of January (the day that Phnom Penh was liberated from the Khmer Rouge), there is a spate of programming, usually documentaries dating back to the 1980s, celebrating the victory of the CPP over the Khmer Rouge. Most of these are blatantly political in nature. Films are also shown, including Roland Joffé’s movie “The Killing Fields”, which chronicles Dith Pran’s survival of the Khmer Rouge. However, there are few examples of regular radio or television series which attempt to educate the public in a meaningful way about the Khmer Rouge.8

2.4. **Women’s Media Centre of Cambodia**

2.4.1. **Introduction**

The Women’s Media Centre of Cambodia (WMC) is a local non-governmental media organization, which aims to improve the representation of women in the Cambodian media and to provide programming on issues relevant to women in Cambodia today. The centre is managed entirely by women and has become the foremost provider of

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8 With the Khmer Rouge tribunal expected to start in late 2007, this situation is now changing, and more organizations are starting to produce programming about the Khmer Rouge and the tribunal.
public service broadcasting in Cambodia. Since 1995, WMC has been producing radio, video and television programmes addressing a wide range of contemporary women’s and social issues.

In 1999, WMC launched its own radio station, FM102, which has been steadily gaining popularity among Cambodian listeners to become one of Cambodia’s leading radio stations. FM102 reaches around twelve of Cambodia’s twenty-four provinces and can be said to be the only truly independent radio station in the country, free from the political allegiances of most radio stations in Cambodia (Edman, 2000). The schedule includes both entertainment and educational programming, including phone-in shows and an international news service provided by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

2.4.2. Ka Pit (The Truth) Radio Series

In May 2006, WMC received funding from the Open Society Institute (OSI) to produce a series of radio programmes addressing the Khmer Rouge regime and the upcoming tribunal. The series was targeted at young Cambodians, many of whom have heard stories about the Khmer Rouge time from their parents but remain unconvinced by these accounts and poorly informed about the larger political, ideological and cultural origins of the regime. The programmes aimed to increase youths’ knowledge of the period, to recognise and substantiate the stories of survivors and to increase young people’s support for, and interest in, the Khmer Rouge tribunal.

WMC conducted a baseline survey in June 2006 to gather information from the public about what topics should be covered. This information was further fine-tuned by an advisory committee of experts from organisations such as DC-Cam, Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts in Cambodia and Cambodian Defenders Project, who assisted WMC to finalise the production plan.

From June to December 2006, a series of weekly one-hour phone-in programmes entitled Ka Pit (The Truth) was produced by WMC’s radio station, FM102. The programmes were broadcast live and programme components included guest speakers, testimonies of survivors, features and news reports. Listeners were able to call the programme either to ask questions to experts in studio or to relate their own experience of the Khmer Rouge regime. The programmes were aired on Friday mornings from 10.50-11.50am with 30-minute edited rebroadcasts on Tuesdays, 7.30-8.00pm and Saturdays, 7.30-8.00am. In total, twenty-six programmes were produced. The first fourteen programmes focussed on the Khmer Rouge regime, while the final
twelve programmes addressed the Khmer Rouge tribunal. At the time of writing, the series is being rebroadcast at the same times, until further funding is secured to develop a new series.

2.5. **CONCLUSION**

Cambodia still suffers from the effects of the genocidal rule of Pol Pot’s Khmer Rouge regime. However, many Cambodians, particularly the younger generations, don’t fully understand the scale of what befell Cambodia during those years. There is a significant shortage of easy to access, neutral information about the Khmer Rouge and the history that does exist is brief and highly politicised. The Khmer Rouge is remembered, but not explained. Within this context, storytelling plays a vital role in educating young Cambodians. However, it appears to have limitations. Radio stands as a potentially exciting opportunity to address these limitations and to act as a trustworthy and understandable source of Khmer Rouge history. This study will explore further the role of storytelling and radio in educating young Cambodians about the regime under the broad framework of media and peacebuilding.
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As a media project that was designed with a specific target audience, a set of socially-beneficial objectives and a fixed time-frame, Ka Pit clearly falls broadly within the development communications field. There are several communication theories that could be applied to frame an educational radio series such as this. However, as the process of reconciliation is intimately linked to the way in which the past is acknowledged, memorialised and communicated, I would argue that this radio series can be defined as a long-term peacebuilding media initiative.

In this chapter, I will first present a literature review which contextualises the study in terms of reconciliation philosophy and outlines contemporary thinking in media and peacebuilding. I will then provide an overview of some current strategies and approaches to media for conflict-resolution and peacebuilding and will argue that many of these strategies can and should continue to be applied years and even decades after a conflict has ended. To strengthen this assertion, I will present and explore a comprehensive long-term content-oriented model of media for peace-building and a potential framework for designing media content in this context.

3.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.2.1. Reconciliation and the Past

Much academic theorizing has been dedicated to defining exactly what reconciliation means and the steps that are necessary to achieve it. As is often the case with a social phenomenon such as this, definition is not a straightforward process. To explore this issue further is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is generally agreed that the shift from conflict to peaceful co-existence can only occur if at some point the past is faced (see Bloomfield et al, 2003, chap.1).

Priscilla Hayner suggests that the reconciliation process can be observed in three areas: “how the past is integrated and spoken about between former enemies; if relationships are based on the present or past; and if contradictory versions of the past

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9 See Bloomfield et al, Brounèus, Linton and Etcheson for comparative definitions of reconciliation as a process and as a result.
have been reconciled – not into one truth of the past but to versions not based on lies and denial.” (Brounéus, 2003, p.15) David Bloomfield argues that reflecting on the past, while painful, is also necessary. Understanding and coming to terms with the past are the best ways to ensure that it will not be repeated (Bloomfield et al, 2003, p.15). For John Paul Lederach, the past, the present and the future are entwined in the reconciliation process. By embracing the past and then letting it go, new relationships can be pursued, which paves the way for a new vision of the future and thus alleviates the difficulties of dealing with the present (Etcheson, 2004, p.3). In its report, Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation, SIDA concludes that reconciliation “mainly focuses on remembering, changing, and continuing with life in peace. Reconciliation does not require forgetting, forgiving, or loving one another.” (Brounéus, 2003, p.20) In the Cambodian context, Suzannah Linton emphasizes that reconciliation should certainly not be about suppression of the past or being resigned to not dealing with past conflict (Linton, 2004, p.73).

Charles Villa-Vicencio, Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town, believes that the core responsibility of reconciliation lies with the state. Among other initiatives, the state should “enshrine in the national consciousness the memory of past abuse, through the establishment of museums, monuments, memorials and other national symbols. If the national memory is to be powerful enough to check future atrocities, future generations must encounter the memory of past atrocities” (Villa-Vicencio, 2001).

However, facing the past is problematic not just because it can be an extremely traumatic and contentious process but also because it requires a government that cares about the well-being of its people, that can take responsibility for the country’s past conflicts and that takes the necessary steps to ensure that the past can be uncovered and recognised (Brounéus, 2003, p.51). Given that this is not the case in Cambodia, Ka Pit assumes an important reconciliation role by taking responsibility for educating young Cambodians (and even survivors) about Cambodia’s violent past.

### 3.2.2. Media and Peacebuilding

The pervasiveness and influence of the mass media is a double-edged sword, particularly in countries in crisis. The media can play a key role in instigating and perpetuating violent conflict by polarising opponents, whipping up war fever, establishing partisanship and disseminating war propaganda (Hieber, 2001). Jake
Lynch identifies the potential of media as a conduit for cultural violence. Cultural violence can include hate speech, xenophobia, Persecution Complex, myths and legends of war heroes, religious justifications, ‘Chosenness’, patriarchy, ‘Orientalism’ and civilisational arrogance (Lynch, 2002, p.31). The mass media has frequently been used to promote these ideologies to support extreme political agendas. The Nazis used the media to disseminate anti-Jewish propaganda prior to World War II. The horrific role of Radio Milles Collines in fostering ethnic hatred and coordinating genocide in Rwanda and the use of the media to create ultra-nationalist sentiment in Serbia are two more recent examples (Hieber, 2001, pp.1-2).

However, media can also play a part in reversing the effects of conflict, encouraging peace-building and promoting reconciliation. Brounéus (2003) argues that media is possibly the most important strategy for reconciliation because of its reach and influence at all levels of society. Howard Ross asserts that the media:

“can be an instrument of conflict resolution, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. It’s the kind of media that upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance. It’s the kind of media that enables a society to make well-informed choices, which is the precursor of democratic governance. It is a media that reduces conflict and fosters human security.” (Howard, 2002, p.1)

Media for conflict-resolution and peacebuilding is a relatively new area of discourse. It is only in the last decade or so that full recognition has been accorded to the uniquely complex role of media in conflict and the difficult contexts within which that media operates. Debate continues on the impact of certain issues such as journalistic objectivity (see Lynch, 2002) and media regulation (see Allen and Stremlau in Hemer & Tufte, 2005). However, there has been a general consensus that in order to fully explore and understand this emerging discipline, media strategies and approaches must be informed not just by trends in development communications but also by conflict-resolution theory (Manoff, 1998).

Reconciliation theorists are almost unanimously in agreement that reconciliation in a post-conflict society takes a long time. Daniel Bar-Tal argues that sustainable peace requires an ethos of peace. This process can take decades as it involves individuals and groups shaping new beliefs, motivations and emotions regarding the conflict, themselves and others (Brounéus, 2003, p.50). John Paul Lederach also emphasises that transforming a war-system into a peace-system can take generations. In his time-frame for peace, he identifies three post-conflict phases: ‘short-range planning’ (1-2 years), ‘decade thinking’ (5-10 years) and ‘generational vision’ (20+ years) (cited
There are also pragmatic considerations. Luc Huyse rightly points out that reconciliation is just one of many challenges facing a country after violent conflict. As such, the process may be postponed in favour of more pressing political or economic concerns (Huyse in Bloomfield et al, 2003).

It should then follow that the relevance of peacebuilding media approaches doesn’t necessarily diminish as a country moves towards what Lederach calls the ‘generational vision’. The need for peace-building and reconciliation can often continue for years or even decades after a conflict has ended. Cambodia is not a country in crisis. However, as seen in the previous chapter, many disturbing vestiges of genocide and war remain embedded in Cambodian society, arguably exacerbated by the reluctance of the powers-that-be to allow the public to understand and come to terms with the Khmer Rouge regime. Therefore, Cambodia provides a case study both for the long-term nature of reconciliation and the need for continued peace-building media strategies in societies that have experienced extreme violence. The challenge, then, is to identify a theoretical model that provides a longer-term content-oriented vision of media for peacebuilding.

3.2.3. **How media contributes to peace-building**

The Center for War, Peace and the News Media used existing conflict resolution theory and practice as a basis for identifying potential roles for the media in conflict prevention and management, including:

- Channelling communication between parties
- Educating
- Building confidence
- Counteracting misperceptions
- Analyzing conflict
- De-objectifying the protagonists for each other
- Identifying the interests underlying the issues
- Providing an emotional outlet
- Encouraging a balance of power
- Framing and defining the conflict
- Building consensus
- Building solutions. (Manoff, 1998)
IMPAC’s (Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society) 1999 roundtable report, *Media and Peacebuilding*, also condensed the wide variety of roles that can be played by media as an aspect of a peace-building intervention:

- Provide information – hopefully accurate
- Provide an alternative view
- Provide a voice for the voiceless
- Entertain
- Advocate peace
- Translate highly political or technical information into popular language
- Act as a watchdog by monitoring implementation of agreements and holding public officials accountable
- Through responsible reporting, contribute to building a culture of peace as opposed to sensationalising violence
- Serve as a communication mechanism between conflicting parties (IMPACS, 1999, pp.1-2)

From Manoff’s perspective, the role of media seems very much based on the re-establishment of relationships between conflicting groups (though he admits himself that this list is a work in progress). IMPACS offers a broader vision of what media can achieve which advocates for simplicity, participation, neutrality and entertainment. If we apply Ka Pit to both of these lists, it clearly aims to educate, provide accurate information, analyse and explain the conflict and counteract misperceptions. Through its use of oral testimony, it also provides an emotional outlet and a voice for the voiceless.

### 3.3. An Overview of Approaches and Strategies

Strategies and approaches for media for conflict-resolution and peacebuilding are often intended to guide donors and international organisations in terms of which media interventions to support and when and, as such, there exists considerable similarities between different frameworks. Indeed, many reports and strategies were developed through processes of consultation, such as meetings and conferences, and so individuals and organisations working in the field may have contributed to several different
strategic papers.\textsuperscript{10} I have looked at a number of key documents to develop an overview of these approaches. However, I have decided to frame my research within a model devised by Bent Bonde (2005) in his PhD thesis, Media and Communication in Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building: Exploring strategies for International and UN-led Conflict Transformation, which builds on a convergence of theories of conflict resolution, mass communication and social psychology. But first, I will look at some of the strategic points of convergence that I have observed to be relevant to this study.

Phases of Conflict

Most media strategies differentiate between three phases of conflict (pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict) and suggest media interventions appropriate during each phase (DfID, 2000; Hieber, 2001; Howard, 2002; Spurk, 2002). This distinction is extremely important, as different communication needs will emerge depending on the stage of conflict. However, Ross Howard warns that it is not advisable to be too prescriptive. “Stages of conflict are often fluid with overlapping characteristics and inconsistent types of media practices, which challenge easy prescription of the appropriate media-based peacebuilding initiative.” (Howard, 2002, p.12) Michael Lund (2002) argues that media is, in fact, likely to be more effective as a tool for peacebuilding before or after conflict as opposed to during open conflict. This is because the “reinforcing environments required for media to be effective for an individual media recipient are least likely to exist at escalating or high levels of violence, i.e., at the middle stages of active, open, violent conflict.” (Lund in KOFF, 2002, p.11) These phase-based conflict divisions provide a useful starting point for designing appropriate media interventions. However, because approaches tend to try to provide a general overview of conflict and media applicable to very different contexts, they are inclined, deliberately I would imagine, to over-simplify conflict phases. However, as Bonde asserts, a more nuanced approach may be more effective. “By bridging the strategies for immediate post conflict communication and media development with the mid- and long-term strategies important steps could be taken relatively easily towards independent media reflecting the entire society and

\textsuperscript{10} Some examples include Strengthening Lifeline Media in Regions of Conflict Conference, MAI, 1998; The Media and Peacebuilding roundtable discussions, IMPACS, 1998-2001; Media and Peacebuilding Workshop, KOFF, 2002; The Role of the Media in Public Scrutiny and Democratic Oversight of the Security Sector, DCAF, 2003; Crisis States Research Centre Workshop, LSE, 2005
strengthening the active involvement of the people in a process towards democracy and lasting peace” (Bonde, 2006, p.3). Christoph Spurk’s media strategy is one of the few that recognises the need for a long-term perspective. According to Spurk, the objective of long-term assistance is to foster a free, pluralistic and independent media, seen as a pre-requisite for a functioning democratic society. “The goal is to have a range of various credible voices and a sector that promotes such outlets” (Spurk, 2002, p.12). These include improving the legal enabling environment for the media, strengthening the media sector, removing barriers to access and other obstacles, supporting individual media bodies and reform of public service media (ibid., p.13). However, I would argue that by focusing on media interventions at the institutional level, Spurk excludes the potential impact of programming and content at this stage.

Multiple media fields

The second commonality is the delineation between various media fields, such as structures, legislation, policies, associations, journalism training and programming, and the roles that each field can play in each phase of conflict (DfID, 2000; Spurk, 2002; Hieber, 2001). The media is a multi-layered creature and functions on many levels in society. It is important to recognize how and why each layer plays a potential role in peace-building. Rob Manoff (1998), Director of the Center for War, Peace and the News Media, rightly highlights the need to focus not just on media content, but also to examine the institutional dimension of the media “by addressing professional codes and guidelines, government and multilateral policies, the interests of media personnel or the economic stakes of their employers and the potential of training programmes, as well as journalist and management exchanges” (Manoff, 1998). Bonde defines five fields for media intervention: Media structure, media legislation, ethical standards, journalists’ capacity and media content. “Logically speaking, the media tools needed for the leadership to impact popular attitudes in order to be supportive towards violent conflict illustrate the areas which media interventions must seek to neutralise in their efforts to prevent conflict and build peace.” (Bonde, 2005, p.143)

In the 2000 report, Working with the Media in Conflicts and other Emergencies, DfID defines four key types of media intervention that should be supported: objective and balanced reporting, provision of humanitarian information, targeted peace-building media initiatives and development of free, independent and responsible media in conflict prone countries (DfID, 2000, p.18). In their report, Why Templates for Media
Development do not work in Crisis States: Defining and Understanding Media Development Strategies in Post-War and Crisis States, James Putzel & Joost van der Zwan (2005) recommend a number of media approaches which address more than one media field, including media actions that support electoral process, encourage dialogue between groups, restore balance between groups and provide objective information as well as the establishment of a strong public service broadcaster. (Putzel & van der Zwan, 2005, p.19)

Journalism vs. Intended Outcome Programming

At the level of media content, a clear distinction is made between journalistic and non-journalistic programming. Until recently, there has been a preoccupation with conventional news journalism as the core focus of content-oriented media for peace-building initiatives. Undoubtedly, this is an important focus, but several experts in the field have emphasised the need to look beyond journalism to other types of programming such as drama, magazines, chat shows, etc. In Role Plays: Potential media roles in conflict prevention and management, Robert Manoff asserts that while journalism is certainly an effective way of preventing or managing conflict, there are also other media strategies, which have nothing to do with journalism, that can contribute significantly to conflict-resolution (Manoff, 1998). These are proactive targeted peacebuilding initiatives (Spurk, 2002; DfID, 2000; Hieber, 2001) that make use of a range of media formats and aim to entertain as well as inform and educate:

Specialized programmes and productions can be a useful tool to counter misconceptions, build confidence (radio forums), promoting dialogue (radio drama), facilitate communication (call in listeners), and propose options and solutions to the conflict (report series). Soap operas encouraging inter-ethnic understanding, cross-border communication, and conflict resolution are special tools that are the task of special drama writers than journalists. (Spurk, 2002, p.10)

Ross Howard (2002) of IMPACS presents an Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding, which identifies five typologies of media intervention for peace-building. The first three typologies, rudimentary journalism training, responsible journalism development and peace journalism are clearly concerned with the role of journalists and the news media. However, Howard also recognises the emergence of viable non-journalistic interventions. The final two typologies present alternative uses of media in peace-building. Pro-active media-based interventions are generally designed for a highly specific audience and purpose and implemented by other players
3. Theoretical Framework

such as NGOs. These media projects can serve to counter hate propaganda, or provide practical information such as election procedures, refugee programmes, education or health advice. *Intended outcome programming* is specifically concerned with transforming attitudes, promoting reconciliation and reducing conflict. Again, it does not involve conventional journalism and is normally implemented by NGOs. It is programming which fosters peace and uses innovative media and formats such as radio and television dramas, street theatre, posters and so on. (Howard, 2002, p.11)

The potential role of media then is incredibly diverse and multi-faceted and involves not just output but also journalist ethics and capacity, media structures, policies and legislation. However, I will further focus the discussion to explore in more detail the role of media programming and content, specifically Howard’s *Intended Outcomes Programming* typology.

3.3.1. *Intended Outcome Programming*

As Gordon Adam points out, the institutional shift from a journalistic approach to intended outcome programming was initially difficult, as in the case of BBC’s radio soap opera project in Afghanistan, ‘New Home, New Life’, which struggled to convince sceptical donors and to overcome opposition to the approach within the BBC (Adam in Hemer & Tufte, 2005, pp.350-351). Some of their concerns are valid. Intended outcome programming can be difficult to evaluate and costly and time-consuming to produce. Furthermore, the quality of the production has to be consistently high to make the necessary impact, and the media intervention has to be closely monitored to ensure that it is not having any negative or counterproductive effects. This requires thorough research, access to expert contributors and audience participation, all of which can be difficult to organise. Monitoring and evaluation of these types of programmes is also a specialised field and requires specific expertise to develop verifiable indicators for the media intervention (Adam, 2000, cited in Hieber, 2001, p.136).

Nonetheless, this type of creative programming has since become far more accepted in mainstream media for peacebuilding initiatives and presents some interesting advantages over its journalistic equivalent. Intended outcome programming usually has more time and resources to thoroughly research and explore issues before presenting them to the public. As this type of media is predominantly produced by NGOs, the credibility of the programming is not usually in question, as might be the case with a local news organisation that had in the past fostered violence or broadcast
misinformation or propaganda (IMPACS, 1999, p.2). Furthermore, the flexibility of formats such as call-in shows, dramas and soap operas allow for a multitude of perspectives, thorough analysis, expert opinion and public participation. Audience research and pre-testing give the opportunity to ensure that the information being presented is understandable, acceptable and appropriate for the intended target group.

There are a number of inspiring examples of intended outcome programming used in peacebuilding and reconciliation. *Qeshu, Rini, Qeshu*, a Media Action International project, was a radio show produced by young people in Kosovo, which promoted peace and tolerance among Serbians and Albanians (Hieber, 2001, p.144). A drama series *Muse Keweya* ("new dawn"), produced by Radio La Benevolencija in Rwanda, explores issues of violence prevention, reconciliation and assistance to trauma victims in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. Search for Common Ground, a leading organisation in the field of media and peacebuilding, has a number of well-documented media projects, including the Talking Drum Studios in Sierra Leone and Liberia, which produce a variety of entertaining and educational radio programming aimed at reducing ethnic and political tension and promoting peace, democratization and reconciliation (Abdalla & Torrey, 1999; Abdalla et al, 2002).

**3.4. AN INTEGRATED LONG-TERM MODEL FOR MEDIA CONTENT**

We have seen that phase of conflict, media landscape and media content are all important in understanding how media can positively contribute to peacebuilding. Bent Nørby Bonde (2005) in his PhD thesis, *Media and Communication in Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building: Exploring strategies for International and UN-led Conflict Transformation*, develops a model for the design of media interventions in peace-building, conflict transformation and prevention. The model was constructed by integrating conflict theory, media and communication theory and social psychological theory and therefore provides a uniquely comprehensive framework. It offers a more focussed definition of conflict phases than other models, using Lederach’s ‘time-frame for peace’ approach (Bonde identifies three post-conflict phases relevant to media interventions) and takes into consideration media structure, legislation, journalist ethics, capacity and content as well as the various media players (public, non-profit, commercial, community, etc).

There are two aspects of Bonde’s model which make it significantly more applicable than other frameworks I have explored. First, the recognition that peace-
building can take generations and that media should continue to play a role in this process is encapsulated in Bonde’s *Transformation of Conflict Society* phase (20+ years). This allows me to place *Ka Pit* firmly within a theoretical model that validates the long term need not just for wider media strategies (i.e. development of free press, press laws, pluralism, etc) but also for intended outcome programming. Bonde’s approach to media content in post-conflict phases, adapted in the below chart, offers suggested topics and genres appropriate to each phase and the most suitable media player to implement them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Interventions/ Period</th>
<th>Immediate Post-Conflict (2-6 months)</th>
<th>Post-Conflict Peace-building (5-10 years)</th>
<th>Transformation of Conflict Society (20+ years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>Humanitarian assistance, reestablishment of relationships and state structures</td>
<td>Reconciliation, social change, civil networking between adversaries</td>
<td>Involve society in the development of joint values, visions and systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus of Content</strong></td>
<td>Providing neutral humanitarian information and news about postconflict and discuss solutions to the triggers of conflict</td>
<td>Re-establishing Relationships through dealing with human life of enemies, providing common platforms for interaction, communication and cultures</td>
<td>Analyzing and Debating economic, social, structural and political inadequacies, search for solutions and common visions for future society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genres</strong></td>
<td>News Current Affairs Public Service Announcements</td>
<td>News Current Affairs Documentaries Public Debates Fiction Sports</td>
<td>News Current Affairs Documentaries Public and Political Debates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Media</strong></td>
<td>Existing main stream, UN, New local media</td>
<td>Existing main stream, Niche, Local, Community media</td>
<td>Existing main stream, Niche, Local and Community Media</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Bonde’s “Integrated model for scope and timing of support to content as part of conflict prevention and peace building” (Bonde, 2005, p.238)

The second relevant aspect is Bonde’s use of Maire Dugan’s conflict transformation model, *The Nested Theory of Conflict*, as a potential framework for developing media content that deals with complex historical, political and social issues related to a conflict. Dugan asserts that although a conflict might be due to micro-issues, real peace cannot be built without addressing the underlying systemic or structural problems within which the issue is embedded. As a means of linking the issue and the system, Dugan identifies the need to re-establish relationships and underlines the importance of connecting these to the larger system through a sub-
system, which may involve removing root causes of conflict and looking for solutions for changing the system level. (Bonde, 2005, p.185-186) Bonde argues that this model is not just applicable as a means of resolving conflict, but can also be used by programme producers to present content in an understandable way. “In order to make complex problems understandable to a broader audience, the journalist often has to use concrete cases as starting points and gradually broaden the perspective at least to a subsystem level.” (ibid, p.186)

We can map the Khmer Rouge using Bonde’s application of Dugan’s model as follows:

- **The Issue** relates to the crimes committed against individuals and the drastic conditions they endured (hunger, forced labour, torture, disease, etc) under the Khmer Rouge.

- **The Relationship** can be equated to the social and ethnic divisions that were consistently manipulated by the Khmer Rouge to foster revolutionary zeal and hatred (urban/rural, educated/uneducated, landowner/peasant, Khmer/non-Khmer, etc).

- **The Subsystem** can be defined as the political and military machine of the Khmer Rouge, from village to national level (party structures, institutes, policies, chains of command, etc).

- **The System** describes the external geo-political factors and influences, including the Cold War, the Vietnam War, Mao Tse Tung’s Great Leap Forward, the UN and other bodies.
I would hypothesise that the *Nested Theory* as a means of understanding conflict could be readily applied to a programme such as *Ka Pit*. It could also explain the limitations of oral history. In chapter 2, I demonstrated that young Cambodians are overly reliant on their parents’ stories to learn about the Khmer Rouge regime. There are few, if any, other sources of information that might put these stories into context. One can deduce that young Cambodians are firmly fixed on the *Issue*, i.e. individual, day-to-day experiences, which does not help them to understand why or how these conditions were allowed to develop. Intended outcome programming such as *Ka Pit*, therefore, may be able to assist young Cambodians to explore their recent history, using survivor testimony as a starting point, which can then be fed into a wider exploration of the root causes of survivors’ experiences. As a phone-in historical radio series, *Ka Pit* can amalgamate survivor testimony with other programme content, which can help put those experiences into perspective and hence lead to a greater understanding of the Khmer Rouge regime, leading listeners from the *Issue* to understand the broader *Relationship, Subsystem* and *System* levels.

In the next chapter, I will present the results of field research exploring the significance of storytelling and radio for young people in Cambodia, particularly in relation to the Khmer Rouge. This research is intended to test the validity of Bonde’s model from a long-term perspective and the applicability of Dugan’s *Nested Theory* as a means of presenting radio content about conflict. Researching the impact of *Ka Pit* on its audience may also provide valuable information with which to further develop Bonde’s approach.
4. FIELD RESEARCH

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the objectives, methods, findings and analysis of my field research, which was conducted in Cambodia over a period of two and a half months from December 2006 to February 2007. As noted in Chapter 1, the radio programme Ka Pit addresses not only the Khmer Rouge, but also the Khmer Rouge tribunal. However, this research focuses solely on information pertaining to the Khmer Rouge as the principle objective is to discover the role of radio in the preservation of memory and history. The tribunal, while certainly related to this issue, is very much a subject of current affairs and therefore does not fall under the scope of the overall research question.

4.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This field research examines young people’s relationship with the Khmer Rouge regime from a communications perspective. It particularly aims to assess the role of storytelling in educating young people about the Khmer Rouge and the role of radio in complementing and supporting survivors’ testimonies and in filling information gaps about the regime, using the case study of WMC’s radio series Ka Pit. The research aims to answer the following questions:

- What role does family storytelling play in educating young Cambodians about the Khmer Rouge?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of family storytelling as a way of informing the next generation about the Khmer Rouge?
- How important is radio as a source of information and entertainment for young Cambodians?
- What impact has Ka Pit had on levels of knowledge of, and interest in, the Khmer Rouge period among young Cambodians?
- How does Ka Pit rate among young people as an educational radio programme?

4.3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used draws upon both quantitative and qualitative research techniques, specifically focus group discussions and a questionnaire survey. Each
4. Field Research

technique addresses specific research questions, and in some cases they reinforce each other by substantiating results. It is important to note that when this research was conducted, the radio programme had been on the air for just six months. Furthermore, the survey sample size is too small to be truly representative of Cambodian youth. Therefore, the focus group discussions were used to assess audience opinion about various aspects of the programme thus providing an indication of the potential impact of Ka Pit and identifying areas of the programme which could be improved or changed.

4.3.1 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group methodology was selected in order to explore young people’s attitudes towards storytelling and radio as sources of information about the Khmer Rouge. A total of 50 young men and women between the ages of sixteen and thirty-one took part in four meetings. Two meetings were held in Phnom Penh, one in Kandal province (south-central Cambodia) and one in Kompong Speu province (in the southwest). The meetings aimed principally to understand how young people learn about the Khmer Rouge regime, the role of storytelling in this process, attitudes towards the Khmer Rouge regime and radio listening habits.

As Anders Hansen explains, “audiences form their interpretations of media content and their opinions about such content through conversations and social interaction” (Hansen et al, 1998, p.261). Thus, the researchers also played one of the 30-minute edited Ka Pit programmes for each group and held a discussion afterwards to ascertain their opinions about the educational and entertainment value of the radio programme. Each meeting took between two and three hours. I facilitated the meetings, with the assistance of two WMC staff, one translator/facilitator and one note taker. The meetings were recorded using a Minidisk audio recorder or a MiniDV camera.

4.3.2 Quantitative survey

Hansen highlights that focus group interviews are frequently coupled with complementary types of data-collection (ibid., p.260). The impact assessment questionnaire was designed to measure the knowledge and attitudes of young people who listen to the radio programme, comparative to those who do not listen. The aim was to establish if there exists a discernible difference in knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the Khmer Rouge as a result of listening to Ka Pit.
In the initial baseline survey for the radio programme, conducted in June 2006, a wide range of age groups was interviewed, including those who had lived through the Khmer Rouge regime. While this initial survey yielded very useful information for the planning of programme topics, it did not specifically measure levels of knowledge amongst young people, the programme’s stated target group. Therefore it would not have been possible to re-administer the same questionnaire in order to measure the impact of the programme exclusively on young people. Instead, a control group methodology was used, which entailed interviewing both members of the target group who had listened to the programme and those who had not and comparing levels of knowledge between those two groups.

The questionnaire was adapted from the baseline survey design and included the themes that had been covered in the programmes. It comprises thirty-one questions divided into four sections. All but the last question are closed or multiple choice questions. Part I focuses on basic demographic information such as age, gender, level of education and occupation. Part II covers radio listening and identifies which respondents were listeners of *Ka Pit* programme. It also contains opinion questions about the possible negative or positive effects of the programme. Part III and Part IV focus on knowledge of and opinions about the Khmer Rouge regime and the tribunal. A series of simple true/false statements, as well as multiple-choice questions were used to measure levels of knowledge amongst respondents.

### 4.4. **Sampling**

As the purpose of the questionnaire was to compare two specific groups, Hartmann’s ‘purposive sampling’ was used (see Hansen et al, 1998, p. 241), whereby respondents were selected based on the criteria of having listened or not listened to the *Ka Pit* radio programme. The survey questionnaires were administered by FM102 staff in Phnom Penh, Kompong Thom (central Cambodia), Kompong Speu and Kandal over a period of ten days in December 2006. Respondents were identified by contacting schoolteachers in the localities. In total, 200 respondents were interviewed between the ages of 17 and 30, 100 male and 100 female. 96 listeners of *Ka Pit* radio programme and 104 non-listeners were surveyed. About half of respondents are students (47%) while the

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11 See Annexe 2 for the English version of the questionnaire
12 99 respondents claimed to be listeners of *Ka Pit*. However, three of those were unable to identify main themes of the programme so they were added to the non-listeners group.
remainder work in a variety of sectors. There is also a 50/50 split of rural and urban respondents.\textsuperscript{13}

The focus groups consisted of different groups of young people in an attempt to get a representative sample of opinions. There was one group of university students in Phnom Penh, one mixed group of workers and university students in Phnom Penh\textsuperscript{14}, one group of high-school students in Kandal and one group of farmers in Kompong Speu. The sample consisted of 11 farmers, 13 high-school students, 20 university students and 6 workers. Each focus group meeting consisted of between 10 and 16 people between the ages of 16 and 31. A total of 26 males and 24 females were interviewed. Apart from age and occupation, there were no other criteria for selection, other than that participants were able to contribute fully and speak openly during the meetings.

4.5. \textbf{Reflections on the Research Process}

When I first contacted WMC, Phase I of the \textit{Ka Pit} project was coming to an end and the radio team was planning to conduct an evaluation of the first series. I agreed to conduct the evaluation of \textit{Ka Pit} for them on the condition that I could also use the research results for this project. My first concern as a researcher was to ensure that WMC’s expectations of what this research would provide for them were realistic, particularly considering that they were planning to use the evaluation as part of a proposal for continued funding. I spoke at length to the directors to ensure that they understood that they would get an honest evaluation report, which would accurately reflect the results of the research.\textsuperscript{15} I did not accept any payment for the work, although WMC covered the majority of the research costs (I contributed a certain amount for focus group materials and transport). Given that arrangement, I felt I could embark upon the study without the pressure of providing a positive evaluation, as is so often expected by paying clients. It also gave me the freedom to expand the research to cover more than just the radio programme.

There are some limitations of the research process that are important to mention. First of all, there was a clear bias towards educated youths. This was unintentional but

\textsuperscript{13} See Annexe 5 for full demographic data of respondents.
\textsuperscript{14} This group was intended to comprise of only workers but it transpired that some of the participants were also studying at university.
\textsuperscript{15} I prepared a separate evaluation report, using the same research results, which was submitted to the radio director in February 2007. It contains a more detailed evaluation of the radio programme, including input from the production team and advisory committee.
perhaps could have been avoided by being more specific in my requirements for each focus group. Because I encounter that particular sector of society on a regular basis, there were few surprises in their responses. It was the meeting with rural communities that turned out to be more enlightening than any of the others, mainly because this is a demographic group that is essentially ‘voiceless’, to coin the phase used by IMPACS, and yet represents the vast majority of Cambodians.

In relation to the validity of the information collected, I believe that even if focus group participants have been dismissive of their parents’ Khmer Rouge experiences, it is unlikely that they would have admitted to this given the presence of a foreigner and the subject of the meeting. Therefore, I avoided the issue on a direct level, but rather tried to unearth some characteristics of storytelling that might explain their scepticism without them necessarily having to acknowledge it. The same could be true for opinions about Ka Pit. With the producers of Ka Pit attending the meetings, I believe participants may have been reluctant to criticise the programme. Furthermore, it was extremely difficult to get analytical views or responses. Participants found it extremely difficult to answer ‘Why?’ and ‘How?’ questions, often retreating into embarrassed silence rather than expressing an opinion. This may be the result of a very pedantic education system that discourages critique or analysis of information. It was certainly clear that, apart from university students, most participants were not used to being asked to scrutinize their own opinions, beliefs and preferences.

I was restricted in terms of what could be included in the survey questionnaire and I did not want to change the baseline format too drastically, as it was the basis for the evaluation of Ka Pit. However, it would have been useful to include some questions about listening habits, as it would have provided some more conclusive quantitative data about the suitability of the current broadcasting schedule. I also wanted to include a wider variety of true-or-false statements (e.g. related to the Khmer Rouge leadership) but WMC objected to this on the grounds that those topics had not been covered in the radio programmes. Therefore, it was difficult through the questionnaire to conclusively show differences of knowledge between day-to-day experiences of the Khmer Rouge and the larger political picture.

4.6. RESULTS
These results are divided into four sections. Section 4.6.1 explores what young people know and how they feel about the Khmer Rouge regime. Section 4.6.2 examines
whether young people value family storytelling, in what form, whether it is an important source of information about the Khmer Rouge, how this storytelling occurs and how young people react to stories about the Khmer Rouge. Section 4.6.3 investigates young people’s reliance on radio as a source of entertainment and information and their radio listening habits. And finally, Section 4.6.4 compares listeners’ and non-listeners’ responses to determine the level of impact of the radio series on levels of knowledge and debate about the Khmer Rouge.

4.6.1 The Khmer Rouge Legacy

There is little doubt that the Khmer Rouge period continues to have an impact even on those who did not live through it. An astonishing 91.7% of survey respondents lost family members during the Khmer Rouge regime. However, this generation has inherited more than just an inventory of lost relatives. They live in a country that is scarred physically, psychologically and culturally by the regime and the wars that preceded and followed it. Today, the Khmer Rouge legacy continues to impact on Cambodia’s economic development, political climate, culture, religion and thus, unavoidably, its people. Because of this, it is vital to understand what the past means in the minds of Cambodia’s youth.

What do young people know about the Khmer Rouge?

Young people maintain that their knowledge of the Khmer Rouge is limited. Only 8.5% of survey respondents claimed to be very aware of the Khmer Rouge. 87.5% know a little and 4% know nothing at all about the Khmer Rouge. However, the survey included some simple true-or-false statements about the Khmer Rouge to ascertain whether young people at least know the basics of what occurred during the regime. These statements were limited to information about the Khmer Rouge that Ka Pit producers felt should be common knowledge among any age group in Cambodia. According to these results though\(^{16}\), not all young people are aware of these most basic facts. Overall, the severity of day-to-day life and the suffering endured under the regime is recognised. The majority of respondents (85.4%) know that people did not have enough to eat, that they could not move freely (85.4%), that they were not paid for

\(^{16}\)These results are collated only from those who have not listened to Ka Pit as indication of general levels of knowledge without the influence of the radio programme. Section 3.5.4. presents these results comparatively.
their work (91.7%) or allowed to celebrate religious ceremonies (88.5%). They are also aware that there was a shortage of medical supplies (83.3%), there was no functioning justice system (89.6%) and that people were murdered for committing minor crimes (91.7%). 80.2% of respondents correctly identified which years the regime held power and 83.3% know that over one million people died.

However, other aspects of the regime are less clear for young people. For example, 51% of respondents believe that the leaders of the Khmer Rouge were uneducated peasants\(^\text{17}\), while 27.1% believe that the Khmer Rouge was democratically elected to government. 22.9% did not know that formal education was abolished and 30.2% did not know that the Khmer Rouge used child soldiers.

Respondents were able to identify several groups that were singled out for killing during the Khmer Rouge regime. Intellectuals/students and civil servants are recognised more than other groups as having faced persecution, as well as professionals and military officers to a lesser extent. Very few respondents identified ethnic minorities (12%) or monks (12%), implying low awareness of the discrimination against minorities such as Cham Muslims, Vietnamese and Lao as well as religious persecution, which included a policy of extermination of monks (Kiernan, 1997, pp.56-57 & chap. 7). Furthermore, there appears to be little awareness of the internal purges conducted by the Khmer Rouge leadership from 1976 onwards, when thousands of Khmer Rouge officials and soldiers were incarcerated in prisons such as S-21 and murdered (ibid., chap.8).

\(^{17}\) Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, Jeng Sary and Son Sen all attended university in France in the 1950s and 60s (Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, p11). Nuon Chea studied in Thailand and Duch attended university in Phnom Penh. (Fawthrop & Jarvis, *Getting Away with Genocide*, pp260-266)
4. Field Research

Survey Q22. Can you name four groups that were targeted for killing by the KR Regime?

While certain aspects of the regime are common knowledge, it is the ability to relate this information to a comprehensive overall picture of what occurred during those years, and why, that is proving a more difficult challenge. Focus group participants admit to being poorly informed in this respect. While many of them now accept that the regime happened as their parents related, young people have many questions in their minds that remain unanswered: “They just tell us about it [Khmer Rouge regime] but they never tell us the reason why...and some people know but they don’t tell...I don’t know why” (male university student, Phnom Penh). They want to understand why Cambodians killed Cambodians, how the regime took power, why they pursued such extreme policies, which countries supported them and so on. However, often their parents do not have the answers and are unable to shed much light on these issues: “I know from the elders just a small amount but I don’t know about the economics or high-ranking officials of the Pol Pot regime” (Male farmer, Kompong Speu). In all of the meetings, only one respondent said that his father was able to explain the origins and ideology of the Khmer Rouge and why they committed genocide and other crimes in Cambodia.

What is the impact of the Khmer Rouge on young people?

Shock, anger, fear, disbelief, sorrow and hatred of the regime are the emotions that focus group participants feel when they hear about the Khmer Rouge. Despite their self-acknowledged lack of understanding, young Cambodians are not indifferent to the Khmer Rouge. They think it is very important that Cambodians know clearly about
their country and its past: “Because of the Khmer rouge regime, many people died. How can I forget such a regime?” (male farmer, Kompong Speu). They also emphasise the need to fully understand their recent history in order to prevent such a regime from taking power again.

Neither are young people blind to the effects of the Khmer Rouge on their parents. They say that their parents suffer from nightmares, are constantly afraid and are distrustful of others. Some said that they see their parents crying and suffering mentally because of what happened to them. They can’t cope with stress and easily become upset. Others say their parents can’t let go of the past or have remained ‘stuck in the past’, waiting for some kind of release: “It will only go away if the truth is found out” (Female university student, Phnom Penh). They also harbour a real and enduring fear that the Khmer Rouge could come back or that war could break out once more: “Sometimes they still get angry. They cannot forget. They don’t want such a regime to return” (female farmer, Kompong Speu). One respondent said his parents would not allow him to become a soldier, policeman or government official because if the Khmer Rouge took power again, he would be targeted. There are also practical consequences, such as economic hardship suffered due to the loss of a spouse as well as disability and the loss of possessions and property.

Young people find it more difficult to identify similar traits in themselves that they may have inherited as the children of survivors. On a personal level, most respondents could not identify any effects on themselves, though one participant felt that she shared her parents’ inherent lack of trust in people. However, they make strong links between the Khmer Rouge and current poverty levels and they recognise that this has an enormously detrimental effect on their own potential to succeed economically in Cambodia. They also believe Cambodia would be a less violent country without the legacy of the Khmer Rouge. The destruction of infrastructure, schools and pagodas and the loss of natural and cultural heritage are also of concern for young people.

4.6.2 Oral tradition and Young People

Is family history important to young people?

Despite the significant influence of TV and radio in Cambodian homes, focus group participants, even those in urban areas, assert that sharing experience and memory through storytelling is still an important part of family life. Familial stories are intimately linked to memories and are used predominantly by elders to share their life
history with the younger generation. For survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, this will almost inevitably involve their experiences during that time. It is these autobiographical stories that young people particularly value. They find the accounts interesting because their parents’ lives were often so different to their own and because they enjoy learning about their parents’ or relatives’ childhoods and the important events that occurred in their lives: “I want to know stories about my mother’s childhood and she has a lot of stories to tell me, especially about the Pol Pot Regime” (Female worker, Phnom Penh). They themselves intend to pass these stories on to their own children in time so that they too can understand where they came from.

Most focus group participants were easily able to identify a good storyteller in their family, usually a parent or grandparent. According to young people, a good storyteller has lived through many different events and is able to express those events in an interesting way. They have the ability to relate life experiences in a manner that is trustworthy and believable. Storytelling seems to be quite an informal tradition, occurring at times when family comes together. It can take place over dinner, while relaxing in the evening, at family celebrations or even while watching TV or listening to the radio. One respondent mentioned that his family often tells stories when there is an electricity blackout because there’s nothing else to do! Frequently, the telling of stories is initiated when the storyteller sees or hears something which reminds them of their past. This is particularly true when relating stories about the Khmer Rouge, memories of which can be stirred by the smallest of catalysts.

What role does oral tradition play in educating young people about the Khmer Rouge?

Given the shortage of official information about the Khmer Rouge and the importance of oral tradition in preserving family history, it is unsurprising that parents and relatives are the primary source of information about the Khmer Rouge for focus group participants. Not only this, but they are frequently the first source of information, implying that young people are introduced to the Khmer Rouge through the testimony of survivors. Other sources were also mentioned such as books, radio, friends and school but they were considered comparatively less significant. A small minority of participants said their parents have never spoken about the Khmer Rouge or what happened to them during that time. For this group, school becomes an important source of information. However, all felt that the subject was inadequately addressed and
poorly explained, if at all. Some said that school education merely consisted of their teacher relating his or her own experiences during the regime, rather than teaching any historical context. Those who were old enough to have attended primary school during the 1980’s, when school children were forced to read graphic accounts of Khmer Rouge atrocities, also felt that at the time they were too young to fully comprehend what was being taught to them.

Survey results further support these findings. It is clear that parents and relatives are still by far the most significant source of information about the Khmer Rouge for young Cambodians, as cited by 91.7% of respondents when asked how they know about the Khmer Rouge. Radio represents the next most significant information source at 41.7%, far outweighing TV (21.4%), print (6.8%) and even school (28.6%).

Survey Q15. How do you know about the Khmer Rouge regime?

What are the characteristics of familial storytelling about the Khmer Rouge?

Some interesting associations emerged from focus group discussions about the way in which stories of the Khmer Rouge time are told. Firstly, many young people admitted that as children they did not believe their relatives’ stories about the Khmer Rouge. The accounts seemed so far-fetched and shocking that it was impossible for them to conceive of such things occurring in Cambodia, let alone to their own families. For all participants, it was not until they heard other people telling similar stories, or received corroboration from other sources such as radio, TV or books that they were able to accept the truth in what their parents told them: “When I was young, I didn’t believe and then when I grew up, I watched TV and I saw something about the regime and I started to believe” (female farmer, Kompong Speu). Even now, though they accept that the Khmer Rouge happened, some still find elements of these stories unbelievable,
particularly those in rural areas where access to other information is extremely limited: “I believe that the Pol Pot regime happened in Cambodia but some parts, like the torture, it’s hard to believe” (female high-school student, Kandal).

Parents’ stories about the Khmer Rouge almost always relate to events that they witnessed or experienced directly. They remember with great clarity the difficulties they faced, such as hunger, illness, family separations and forced labour and these are the memories that they pass on to their children. The shock and disbelief that young people feel when hearing these stories understandably generates many questions in their minds. They want to understand how such things could have been allowed to happen. However, when they pursue the matter further, they discover that their parents are often unable to explain the Khmer Rouge beyond what they themselves experienced: “My parents are in doubt too about why Cambodians killed Cambodians. They don’t know.” (Male university student, Phnom Penh). Focus group members say that it is a cause of sadness and upset for their parents that, as survivors of the regime, they still don’t comprehend why or how it happened. It is also frustrating for young people who want some kind of satisfactory explanation.

Experiences and memories of the Khmer Rouge are intimately linked to the supernatural. When parents or other survivors relate stories about the Khmer Rouge to young people, these stories frequently include a paranormal element. Survivors often integrate ghost stories into their accounts of their lives under the Khmer Rouge and many survivors claim to have encountered the ghosts of Khmer Rouge victims during and since the Khmer Rouge time, in both malevolent and benevolent forms. Not only this, but they warn their children away from certain areas where they know killings took place for fear of ghosts. This belief in the supernatural is deeply engrained in the younger generation and the presence of ghosts, particularly of those who suffered violent deaths, is an accepted fact.

Parents often use stories of the Khmer Rouge to instil moral values in their children and to try to persuade them to appreciate what they have. Respondents repeatedly cited incidents when they were scolded as children, and sometimes even as young adults, for taking for granted their comparatively comfortable lives. Parents tell them that if they had behaved in such a way during the Khmer Rouge time, they would have been killed or they wouldn’t have had such a luxury in the first place: “When the children do not obey their parents, they say, ‘If you were in Pol Pot time, perhaps you would already have died because you’re very lazy. You can’t bear difficulties.’” (female
farmer, Kompong Speu). How young people accept these reproaches varies. Some say it makes them realise what their parents suffered and how they struggled to get to where they are today. However, others resent their parents using Khmer Rouge stories to reprimand them for not finishing their dinner or studying harder. Some respondents said that they got tired of listening to stories about the Khmer Rouge for this reason.

**Where would young people go to learn more about the Khmer Rouge?**

Focus groups were asked where they would go for information if they wanted to learn more about the Khmer Rouge. In Phnom Penh, respondents said that they would visit Toul Sleng museum (formerly S-21 torture prison) or Choeung Ek (a Khmer Rouge killing field on the outskirts of Phnom Penh). For university-level students, books and magazines such as DC-Cam’s *Search for The Truth* would be important sources of information. They also mentioned radio and TV documentaries, the Internet and DC-Cam’s resource centre.\(^{18}\) This is in marked contrast with rural young people, whose sources of information are limited to radio and family members (and for high-school students, the school library, if one exists). It is clear that urban, educated young people have far greater access to information sources than those living outside of Phnom Penh. Radio fills a much greater role as an information provider to those with lower education or living outside the provincial capitals.

### 4.6.3 Radio and young people

**Radio as a leisure activity**

Young Cambodians relish their free time as much as young people anywhere in the world. Watching television, listening to the radio, listening to music and playing sports are the preferred pastimes of young people in all areas. In Phnom Penh, reading and going out with friends are also popular ways to spend time. In rural areas, young people often just rest at home and catch up on housework, gardening or other chores (their free time is defined more as time away from the core task of farming, fishing, studying, etc).

It is the versatility of radio that young people appreciate. While TV viewing is clearly popular among focus group participants, it is generally seen as an evening activity, when chores and homework have been completed. Radio listening on the other

\(^{18}\) It’s important to note that these university students also spoke high levels of English and so have a much wider range of information available to them.
hand, offers much more flexibility and can occur at various times throughout the day. This is mainly because the radio can be on while doing other things such as cooking, housework, homework or gardening. If a particularly interesting programme comes on, they can stop what they are doing and give the programme their full attention. Examples given were documentaries and programmes about health, human rights and the Khmer Rouge (though this may just have been mentioned because it was the theme of our discussion). Apart from farmers, young people predominantly listen at home. Farmers will usually take the radio with them to the fields and it will often provide background sound all the way through the day.

The radio set in the home is usually controlled by the elders in the family (parents or grandparents), who will generally decide what to listen to. Only those young people who own their own radio set can have full control over their radio listening.

**Radio Listening habits**

According to survey results, 87% of respondents listen to the radio sometimes or often. This indicates that radio is still an important medium for young people, despite increased television viewing.

Focus group participants identified early morning (5-7am), lunchtime (11am-1pm) and late evening (8pm onwards) as peak listening times during the week when they are at home and have free time. On Sundays, usually seen as a day to relax and spend time with family, radio listening goes on throughout the day. The type of programming preferred by young people varies greatly, though music programmes, particularly phone-in request shows, are popular with everyone. For older participants, particularly university students, news, current affairs and documentary programmes are well liked. This was not the case with younger groups, who prefer entertainment, drama, educational programmes and music shows. Farmers enjoy entertainment and music shows while they are working but also appreciate educational programming, particularly on farming issues.
FM103, FM105 and FM102 were mentioned most frequently as popular stations. 98FM, 96FM, 88FM and 97.5FM were also listed. Significantly, rather than show loyalty to any particular station, young people tend to skim through the airwaves each time they turn on the radio to find a programme that they like or that is relevant to them. The two main features that attract a young listener to a particular station are the voice of the presenter and the topic of the programme. If the presenter has an attractive voice or if the programme is addressing an issue that they consider to be relevant and interesting, they will choose to listen to it. Otherwise, they will very quickly move on.

**FM102 and Ka Pit**

Focus group participants claim that they enjoy listening to FM102. It was consistently rated as one of the most popular radio stations. However awareness of Ka Pit was variable. Some of the participants were familiar with the programme, while others had never heard it before. Focus group participants were asked what they would normally be doing during the times when Ka Pit is on the air. For university and high-school students, Friday morning (10:50-11:50am) and Saturday morning (7:30-8am) are not convenient times to listen to the programme, as they are usually busy studying. Some of them may be able to catch the end of the Friday programme during lunchtime but couldn’t listen to it all the way through. These morning times are not particularly suitable for working young people either as it is not always possible to listen to the radio in the workplace. Even though farmers do tend to listen to the radio all the way through the day, while they’re working, they prefer to listen to entertainment programmes or music. The Tuesday evening time (7:30-8pm) was considered the most convenient time to listen to the programme for all groups.

As the number of Ka Pit listeners in the survey sample was predetermined, the survey cannot be used to assess either the popularity of FM102 or awareness of Ka Pit. However, according to the baseline survey conducted in June 2006, 76% of respondents, both young and old, had listened to FM102 (WMC, 2006, p.2). Furthermore, 92% of baseline survey respondents supported the idea of a programme about the Khmer Rouge (ibid.).
4. Field Research

**Audience assessment of Ka Pit**

After the main focus group discussion, we played a 30-minute episode of *Ka Pit* for each group. We then asked a series of questions to gauge participants’ reaction to the programme.

*Is Ka Pit informative and interesting?*

All of the groups enjoyed listening to the programme and found it extremely informative and interesting. They appreciated the openness of the discussions and felt that the information in the programme was trustworthy. All groups were able to cite some examples of new information they had learned from listening to the programme. One man didn’t know that ‘new people’\(^{19}\) had been able to conceal their identity and background in order to avoid persecution. Another had never heard that people had been used instead of oxen to pull heavy farm equipment such as ploughs. All the groups said that they would listen to the programme again, mainly because they felt it would contribute to their understanding of the Khmer Rouge time. One group said that they had never really thought about the Khmer Rouge but listening to the programme had made them curious and they now wanted to learn more. Perhaps even more noteworthy were the questions generated by listening to the programmes. In some cases, meetings were extended by up to thirty minutes so the *Ka Pit* producers could answer questions posed by the focus group participants about the Khmer Rouge and the tribunal.

*Is Ka Pit understandable and easy to listen to?*

The groups felt that some of the language used by studio guests in the programme was difficult to understand. They referred particularly to Khmer Rouge-era rhetoric, which is no longer in use, as well as technical terminology, such as that relating to legal issues or the courts. They felt that these words should be explained by the presenter, as young people may not understand them otherwise. The presenters however, speak clearly, use easily understandable language and have pleasant voices. The groups suggested keeping the arrangement of one older and one younger presenter, as young people will accept information about the Khmer Rouge more readily from an older person.

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\(^{19}\) ‘New people’ was a derogatory term used by the KR, implying that those tainted by urban living, education, foreign influence, etc. were less Khmer than their rural, peasant counterparts.
**Does Ka Pit effectively target young people?**

The groups were not entirely sure which age group the programmes were targeting, though they generally felt that they were useful for everyone. Some considered them to be for older people, particularly survivors of the regime. Others couldn’t identify any specific group, while others believed they are intended to educate young people. However, all groups agreed that the programmes could be made ‘younger’ if they are intended for youth. Suggestions included having interviews with young people, competitions, voxpops, music, drama and connecting the Khmer Rouge to today’s reality.

**How can Ka Pit be better promoted?**

When asked how best to promote the radio show in order to reach young people, TV ads were seen as the most effective way of attracting a younger audience. In rural areas, word of mouth is the most common way that information gets disseminated. Students also thought that asking lecturers and teachers to promote the programme and encourage their students to listen would be very effective. Other suggestions included newspaper advertisements, leaflets and posters, though these were seen as less useful as methods of promotion. However, some participants suggested that posters could be effective if they are placed in communal meeting areas, like village halls, schools or pagodas.

**Other suggestions for Ka Pit**

At the end of the survey, young people were asked if they had any comments or suggestions about *Ka Pit* radio programme. Several respondents requested more rebroadcasts of the programmes. Others suggested specific information to be included in future programmes such as biographies of Khmer Rouge leaders and explanations of why the regime happened, how the Khmer Rouge controlled the population and why the Khmer Rouge killed so many people. In relation to the tribunal, there was broad support for broadcasting more information about the process, as well as reporting on the tribunal when it starts. There were also questions about the tribunal such as why it has taken so long and why it costs so much. One respondent suggested that the countries that supported the Khmer Rouge should also be brought to trial while another said that they did not want foreign prosecutors to be involved in the tribunal.
4.6.4 **Impact of Ka Pit**

The impact of *Ka Pit* was measured by comparing responses of listeners of the programme and those who do not listen. The sample size is not big enough to be truly representative. However, it does give an indication of how successful *Ka Pit* has been in educating some of its listeners.

**Impact on Cambodian society**

Survey respondents who had listened to *Ka Pit* were asked if they were concerned that by discussing the issue of the Khmer Rouge period, the programme might have a negative impact on Cambodian society. 90.9% of *Ka Pit* listeners did not believe that the programme would have a harmful impact.

![Survey Q11. Negative affects of broadcasting Ka Pit.](image1)

Of those who thought that the programme might have negative repercussions (just 13 respondents), the majority (84.6%) identified an increased sense of anger as being a concern. Other prominent issues mentioned were an increase in mental suffering and the increased risk of retaliatory attacks against former Khmer Rouge cadres.

![Survey Q13. Positive affects of broadcasting Ka Pit.](image2)
In contrast, 90.9% of respondents believed that the programme would have a positive impact, most notably that young people will understand their history (77.8%) and that a similar regime would be prevented from taking power in Cambodia (65.6%). Yet again, the issue of truth is also important to young people (56.7%).

**Impact on levels of knowledge about the Khmer Rouge**

Respondents were given a series of true or false statements about the Khmer Rouge to establish if basic facts about the regime are known (see Question 19 in Annexe 2 for a list of statements). While the majority of respondents were able to answer correctly, there is a significantly greater level of correct responses from those who have listened to *Ka Pit*. In six out of eleven statements, there is a 10% or more difference in correct responses between listeners and non-listeners. In relation to the wider issues of the Khmer Rouge regime (beyond daily living conditions), listeners show a much greater knowledge of how the regime came to power, the leaders’ backgrounds and the use of child soldiers by the regime. This would imply that the radio programme is not only reinforcing information which young people have heard from their parents, but also presenting new information about how the regime operated on a national level.

![Survey Q19. True/False statements about the Khmer Rouge regime](image)

When asked when the Khmer Rouge took power, 91.7% of listeners responded correctly, compared to 80.2% of non-listeners. 90.6% of listeners knew that over 1 million people died during the regime, as opposed to 83.3% of non-listeners. The trend of greater levels of knowledge amongst listeners of *Ka Pit* programme is consistent.
Impact on Discussion and Debate about the Khmer Rouge

Survey Q16. Do you ever talk about the Khmer Rouge?

91% of listeners of Ka Pit talk about the Khmer Rouge, as opposed to 76% of non-listeners. The majority of this discussion takes place with parents/relatives or with friends/neighbours. This would imply that the programme itself is creating higher levels of interest in the Khmer Rouge, which is prompting more conversation about the subject. Discussion is a vital step in changing attitudes and beliefs and is therefore an important process for young Cambodians, particularly as a means of reinforcing their relatives’ stories and of exploring and clarifying their own feelings about what happened during the regime.

4.7 Analysis of Results

This sample of 250 people has revealed some useful and important information about how young people in Cambodia today connect with their history. A starting point for this analysis is that while most young Cambodians have heard firsthand accounts from survivors of the regime, they still claim to know little about the Khmer Rouge, and do not understand why the regime happened, how it operated and why mass killings and extreme violence took place.

Storytelling is still an important way of transmitting familial history from one generation to another, thus young Cambodians rely heavily on their parents’ accounts of the Khmer Rouge to learn about what happened. However, it appears that the way in which the stories are told can affect how young people accept them. Considering the horrific nature of many survivor accounts, it is not surprising that children initially greet them with scepticism and disbelief. They are also frustrated that their parents cannot answer many of the questions that these stories generate. Furthermore, when the Khmer Rouge is used as a way to scold children, they naturally make a negative association
between these important stories and parental moralising. Parents often use ghost stories to relate their experiences during the regime. These supernatural elements become an integral part of young people’s understanding of the Khmer Rouge. This belief in the supernatural is a fundamental element of Cambodian Buddhism, where ancestors and spirits play real and important roles in people’s lives. It is difficult to interpret the influence of this paranormal connection, but it may add to the sense of fantasy that young people sometimes feel when faced with Khmer Rouge stories. It is clear then that while family stories play a crucial and primary role in informing young people about the past, they contain inherent limitations and provide neither adequate proof that such a horrific regime existed nor sufficient explanation for why it happened.

Doubts linger in the minds of young people until they receive corroborating evidence elsewhere of what their parents have told them. This can come in the form of other survivors’ stories, books, programmes on TV and radio, or visits to memorials. To what extent and in what form this proof is needed undoubtedly varies from individual to individual. However, it appears to be an essential factor for young people to fully internalise and accept the reality of the Khmer Rouge. Ideally of course, the information young people get from their parents should be reinforced and affirmed by a whole range of other sources. However, the current school history curriculum offers little in the way of detailed historical fact. Museums and memorial sites are designed to shock rather than inform. Books are only available to those with sufficient funds and adequate literacy levels. Internet research is also a minority sport. In short, there does not exist an encouraging environment for young people to investigate Cambodia’s recent past, even if they really want to do so.

In this climate, mass media take on far more significance as information-providers. The favourite pastimes of Cambodia’s youth are watching TV and listening to the radio. However, unlike TV viewing, they listen to the radio more frequently throughout the day, enjoying a range of programming from phone-in shows and drama through to educational programmes and current affairs. Radio has the potential, therefore, to play a vital role in educating young Cambodians about the Khmer Rouge. The impact of Ka Pit on its listeners is undeniable. In a relatively short time, it appears to have improved knowledge of, and interest in, the Khmer Rouge period among those who listen. However, focus group discussions revealed that while young people like Ka Pit and find it interesting, informative and useful, several important changes are needed if this programme can hope to have a greater impact. Firstly, young people must be
aware that the programme exists, when it is aired and on which station. Secondly, the programme must be broadcast at a time that is convenient for them. Thirdly, they must be convinced that the programme is relevant to them. Young people are merciless listeners and will not listen for long if they judge a programme to be unrelated to their lives. This can only be avoided through clever targeting of programme style and content. It is the difficult task of the producers of Ka Pit to find creative ways to attract and retain a young audience and at the same time to present information that is unbiased, understandable and relevant to its target group. However, the importance of this task cannot be underestimated, given the plethora of unanswered questions about the Khmer Rouge that young people have inherited from their parents.
5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION
A common feature of discussions about young Cambodians’ attitudes towards the Khmer Rouge is the notion that young people are the sole actors in choosing to believe or reject the stories their parents tell them. To disregard these stories, as some young people do, is interpreted as deliberately callous and cynical. Their lack of empathy with the suffering of survivors is attributed to the moral decline of Cambodia’s youth. The media perpetuate this idea that young people choose not to believe and actively decide to be disinterested in their history. However, there are clearly other factors at play that are influencing young people’s attitudes towards the Khmer Rouge, including the reluctance of the state to adequately educate the public, the general lack of reliable information, and the motives and methods of survivors who relate their stories. The complexities that were revealed about the telling of Khmer Rouge stories in the family environment provide an important counterpoint to this simplistic and one-dimensional view.

5.2. APPLICATION OF RESULTS TO THE NESTED THEORY
The Nested Theory model (see Chapter 3, p.29) can go some way towards explaining the difficulties that young Cambodians are having with their recent history. The research results have shown that young people are relatively well aware of the conditions that existed during the Khmer Rouge time. To use Dugan’s term, they know the Issue. However, to present this issue without the context of Relationship, Subsystem and System perspectives leads to doubt, speculation and frustration. The field research demonstrates not only that oral history on its own provides insufficient context, but also that young people can develop an interest in the Khmer Rouge when they are presented with a trustworthy and accessible source of information such as Ka Pit. Young people are explicit in their desire to know more about their history. Focus group reaction to Ka Pit also indicates that by approaching the subject from a wider perspective, that includes oral testimony together with reports, features and expert historical opinion, radio programming can not only make the Khmer Rouge understandable but also provoke interest and debate among a generation characterised by its apathy towards the subject of the Khmer Rouge. Ka Pit can take the Khmer Rouge experience out of the realm of the Issue and make important links between events that happened to individual
survivors and the larger political and social structures that characterised the rise to power and reign of the Khmer Rouge. In this regard, Dugan’s model would appear to provide a relevant framework for such programming. Even though Ka Pit was not based on Dugan’s model, it has, albeit unintentionally, demonstrated the validity of such an approach. I would speculate further that a similar project designed using Dugan’s model, and thoroughly incorporating development communications strategies, could be even more successful in explaining periods of conflict and violence in a way that audiences can understand and accept.

5.3. **Implications for Bonde’s Model for Media Content**

If we look again at Bonde’s model (see Chapter 3, p.28), this research has a number of implications for any long-term approach to media for peacebuilding:

1. Bonde’s inclusion of the Transformation of Conflict Phase has been validated. An inter-generational outlook is needed when designing media content for peacebuilding. Those who did not live through open conflict or violence are as much in need of targeted programming as those who experienced it directly, whether they realise it or not.

2. The lines between Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Transformation of Conflict phases should perhaps not be so clearly defined in terms of timescale. Cambodia falls into Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in terms of aims, and genre and content but into Transformation of Conflict in terms of time (in relation to the Khmer Rouge regime, not subsequent conflicts). There is the danger of assuming, when applying the model, that timescale is the key definer of phase. However, it should be underlined that that the phases lead from one to another in terms of aim as well as time.

3. Bonde’s list of media types should extend also to non-profit media (he defines this sector earlier in his paper). WMC, as a non-profit media organisation, does not necessarily share characteristics of local or community media, and presents distinct advantages, including wider coverage area, more secure funding sources, better resources and production facilities, etc. Though as Bonde rightly points out, existing media needs to be analysed in every situation (Bonde, 2005, p.237) so it is difficult to be prescriptive.

4. I would argue that presenting issues through entertaining programme formats, such as phone-in shows, has even more relevance in the Transformation of
Conflict phase, given that the programme may need to generate interest in a forgotten or seemingly irrelevant subject-matter. The supposition is that the subject alone may not be enough to attract listeners, so it should be presented in a way that does.

5.4. **Practical Implications**

This study has revealed another important consideration for peacebuilding media initiatives, beyond the realm of theory. Loretta Hieber underlines the importance of applying development communications strategies when implementing conflict-resolution/peacebuilding programmes. “It is through the use of development communication techniques that programmes in crisis situations can effectively respond to the needs of the target audience.” (Hieber, 2001, p.5) This includes analysis of audiences and their needs, strategic selection of target groups, objectives, channels and formats, expert participation, pre-testing of messages and material and monitoring and evaluation (ibid., p.6). *Ka Pit* has failed to adhere to some of these project design steps and is therefore most likely not as effective as it could be. The question should be asked then, are there ways in which a programme such as *Ka Pit* could be more effective in achieving its goals? The study of *Ka Pit* reveals some important lessons for youth-targeted radio, and for ‘intended outcome programming’ in general. The following are some observations that emerged from my study of the programme, some of which are relevant to any media intervention.

*Youth programmes must be youth-oriented*

The project document of *Ka Pit* identifies young Cambodians as the primary target group. However, this important aspect of the project was lost in the planning and design stage. What emerged was a generic programme, which may or may not attract young listeners, but does not explicitly attempt to do so. Furthermore, as stated in Chapter 4, young people are notoriously fickle radio listeners. *Ka Pit* is in need of more precise targeting in order to attract and retain a younger audience. This could be achieved by using more young voices in the programme (interviews, voxpops, phone calls, debates), encouraging youth participation (essay-writing competitions, on air quizzes, letters, etc) and using accessible language.
Appropriate promotional activities should be integrated.

There hardly seems much point in producing a series like *Ka Pit* if the target group is not aware of it. *Ka Pit* is currently promoted through radio ads broadcast on FM102. However, a wider and more targeted campaign is needed to ensure that young people are aware of the programme, know when it is being aired and recognise that it is intended for them. Young people themselves suggested that television advertisements would be a very effective way of reaching their peers. However, more creative and less expensive methods could also be used. Word-of-mouth is an effective way to circulate information both in rural and urban areas. Information could therefore be sent to key individuals such as university lecturers, schoolteachers and village chiefs in order to promote the programme at local level.

Broadcast schedule should be selected based on audience research

It is clear from the research that the current schedule is not the most effective for a programme targeting young people. Young people in both rural and urban areas are often busy working or studying during these periods and are simply not able to listen to the radio. The Tuesday evening rebroadcast (7.30-8pm) is more convenient and most focus group members confirm that they could listen to the programme then. However, without a change of scheduling, the programme will have considerably less chance of reaching its intended target audience.

Historical programming must address the whole truth

The programme *Ka Pit* has a responsibility not only to support survivors’ testimonies but also to fill in the information gaps that young people have about the Khmer Rouge. *Ka Pit* cannot shy away from difficult, controversial or sensitive issues. The most commonly posed questions during the research were: why did Cambodians kill Cambodians and why did the Khmer Rouge happen. The uncertainly currently surrounding these issues is central to young people’s sense of confusion and disbelief. Understanding them is vital for coming to terms with the mass violence of the Khmer Rouge. *Ka Pit* should unravel these questions in a way that is understandable and accessible to young people. Clearly it is also extremely important that these explanations are thoroughly researched and based upon historical documentation.
Survivor testimony should be balanced by historical context

Currently, most of Ka Pit airtime is taken by callers and guest speakers. Phone calls received on the show provide invaluable survivor testimony about the Khmer Rouge era. They are undoubtedly fascinating for younger listeners and constitute an important element of Ka Pit. However, Ka Pit also has a responsibility to educate its young listeners about areas of the regime with which survivors themselves are not familiar. To this end, a wider variety of programme content, such as features, reports, interviews, voxpops, mini-dramas and other creative packages could be used to present Cambodian history in an accessible way and put survivor testimony into context.

Young Cambodians need help to come to terms with the Khmer Rouge

The dreadful and shocking realities of what occurred during the Khmer Rouge elicit a number of emotional reactions in young people, including anger and hatred. It would seem important, then, to counteract these emotions by including messages of tolerance and peaceful co-existence in the radio programmes. To simply present the facts of the Khmer Rouge genocide may overwhelm many young listeners, who may not have the coping mechanisms to assimilate such a blow to their collective identity as Cambodians. Presenting other examples of genocide around the world, explaining the root causes of extreme violence and explaining the impact of the Khmer Rouge on today’s Cambodia would also help young people to come to terms with their history.

5.5. Conclusion

It is easy to see why parents complain about their children’s perceived lack of interest in the Khmer Rouge. It is equally easy to see how this lack of interest can develop. Given the uneasy official silence about the Khmer Rouge, it is unrealistic to expect young people to express an overwhelming interest in this issue. Young people need a holistic approach to their history, one which avoids blame and explains clearly the roots of mass violence in Cambodia (Münyas, 2005, pp67-68). Their parents cannot provide this to them and many young people become indifferent, accepting that they too must suffer their parents’ fate of living with unanswered questions. This research has shown that this does not need to be the end of the story. There are ways of reaching young people and giving them the information they need to make sense of the Khmer Rouge. Not
only this, but young people display an encouraging level of enthusiasm when offered
the chance to learn more.

This study has revealed some important information both about the potential
impact of intended outcome programming as a long-term peacebuilding solution and the
importance of radio as a source of information about the Khmer Rouge. In the absence
of other formal sources of information, such as a comprehensive history curriculum in
schools, radio stands as a vital medium for reaching Cambodia’s youth and educating
them about their recent history. The Ka Pit radio series has undoubtedly had an impact
upon its young listeners. It is providing much needed information about important
aspects of the regime that have, to date, remained shrouded in mystery for many
Cambodians. Learning about the Khmer Rouge can help young people to connect their
history to something tangible in their lives. Making this link and reaching an acceptable
consensus about what occurred is also the starting point for developing a shared history
of the event. However, there are important lessons to be taken from the Ka Pit project
and this study would suggest that the application of conflict resolution theory together
with development communications strategies would seem to be provide an effective
formula for such programming.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


ANNEXE 1: CAMBODIA – A BRIEF HISTORY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1953-1970: Sihanouk’s Reign

Once a part of France’s mighty colonial Indochina, Cambodia gained independence in 1953. For many years after independence, it remained a little known Asian nation, ruled by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who brought the country through an unprecedented period of economic and social development but also created many political enemies because of his autocratic rule and intolerance of dissent. Disillusioned by political repression, one group of dissidents, mostly well-educated intellectuals, formed a small communist party, with support and guidance from North Vietnam (Chandler, 1993, pp.107-115). Towards the end of the 1960’s, the group went into hiding in the jungles of the northeast of the country. It was here that a radical and distorted version of Marxist-Leninist ideology began to take shape. In 1968, the small and poorly armed communist movement, then called the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), began a guerrilla war against the government.

During this period, Sihanouk attempted to keep the country neutral on the fringes of the Vietnam War. He was decidedly anti-communist but also distanced himself from the U.S., displeased with what he perceived as their interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia (ibid., pp.130-142). However, the presence of North Vietnamese military sanctuaries on Cambodian soil and the subsequent illegal U.S. aerial bombings from 1969-1973 propelled Cambodia into the heart of a proxy conflict of the Cold War.20

1970-1975: Civil War

By 1970, political unrest, the escalating war in Vietnam and poor policy decisions weakened Sihanouk’s rule and he was overthrown in a U.S.-backed military coup by General Lon Nol. In retaliation, Sihanouk quickly aligned himself with the communist guerrillas, who he named the Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer), and from exile in China, called on Cambodians to join the armed communist struggle, to fight against Lon Nol’s regime. Spurred on by Sihanouk’s call, outraged by the continued U.S. bombings and convinced by Khmer Rouge propaganda, thousands of rural

20 The political background to this bombing is detailed in Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia by William Shawcross
Cambodians joined the movement (Kiernan, 1997, pp.20-25). A devastating five-year civil war ensued.

1975-1979: Democratic Kampuchea

In April 1975, the Khmer Rouge forces, led by Pol Pot and with support from China and North Vietnam, captured the capital city, Phnom Penh, and embarked upon a radical communist social experiment resulting in what were called at the time the worst crimes against humanity since World War II. The Khmer Rouge renamed the country Democratic Kampuchea and instigated a brutal version of an ‘egalitarian’ society, emptying urban areas and abolishing money, schools, religion, family, private ownership and markets. Rural peasants were classified as Base People and given preferential treatment\(^\text{21}\) while those ‘contaminated’ by education, foreign influence or urban living, were labelled New People and faced systematic persecution. Families were separated and the entire population was incarcerated in labour camps, planting rice or building infrastructure such as irrigation systems and dams. Thousands of heavily armed child soldiers watched over the workers, indoctrinated with Khmer Rouge ideology and trained to fight and kill (Barnitz et al, 2001, p.3). Often, the poorest and least educated in rural communities were recruited as Khmer Rouge officials and given immense powers at local level, which many used to mete out their own cruel version of class justice. With insufficient food, no medical supplies and few trained medics, thousands died of starvation, disease and exhaustion. Thousands more were tortured and executed as suspected students, professionals, monks, intellectuals, government employees or military personnel. Deeply racist policies singled out non-Khmer ethnicities for annihilation. The entire Vietnamese population in Cambodia was slaughtered or expelled, and other ethnic groups were also subject to genocide, notably the Muslim Cham population. In all, an estimated 1.7 million Cambodians died.

By 1977, the Khmer Rouge foreign policy towards Vietnam became openly hostile, with several unprovoked attacks on villages inside the Vietnamese border.\(^\text{22}\) As a result of this aggression, the Vietnamese army invaded Cambodia in 1978 and

\(^{21}\) This preferential treatment was short-lived and poor rural peasants came to suffer as severely as their urban counterparts as the regime became increasingly radical.

\(^{22}\) It is a telling sign of the insanity circulating within the Khmer Rouge leadership that they believed they could conquer the powerful, war-hardened Vietnamese.
ousted the Khmer Rouge in January 1979. Using whatever educated and qualified Cambodians they could find alive, the Vietnamese installed a government and occupied the country militarily for 12 years.

1979-1998: The long transition to democracy

The international community, including the UN, refused to recognise the Vietnamese-backed government and instead allowed the Khmer Rouge to hold Cambodia’s UN seat until the early 1990’s. As a result of this and other more clandestine support23, the Khmer Rouge and other armed groups were able to conduct a vicious insurgency war against the installed administration for another twelve years, mainly from across the Thai border. A peace agreement was finally signed in Paris in 1991 and in 1993, multi-party elections were organised by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Although the Khmer Rouge continued to control small areas of the country, their influence gradually declined through a series of high-profile defections, government amnesties and internal power struggles and by 1998, the movement was all but dead.

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal

In 1997, a letter was sent to the United Nations Secretary General from then co-prime ministers Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Ranariddh, requesting assistance in bringing to justice those responsible for the crimes of the Khmer Rouge (Fawthrop & Jarvis, 2004, pp.117-118). From 1998 to 2003, arduous negotiations between the UN and the Cambodian government resulted in the signing of the Khmer Rouge law and the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), the body charged with the investigation and trial of former Khmer Rouge leaders (Linton, 2004, pp.52-56). The ECCC is a hybrid tribunal, consisting of both foreign and Cambodian judges, prosecutors and defenders. Although the tribunal activities have already commenced and surviving senior leaders of the Khmer Rouge regime are currently under investigation, the trials are not expected to begin until late 2007.

23 Most notably from China and Thailand but CIA involvement is also documented, as in Chapter 4 of Fawthrop and Jarvis, 2004, Getting Away with Genocide?
ANNEXE 2: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

Interview Number:..............
Evaluation Survey Questionnaire
Ka Pit Programme
------

TO BE FILLED BY INTERVIEWER BEFORE STARTING THE INTERVIEW
Name of Interviewer:..............................................Date of Interview:..............................................
Village..................................Commune.............................District..................................Province....................

PART I. RESPONDENT’S BACKGROUND
Please circle to complete the data below:

1. Gender
   - Male 1
   - Female 2

2. Age
   - 17 – 25 1
   - 26 - 30 2

3. Family status
   - Single 1
   - Married 2
   - Widow/widower 3

4. Education background
   - None 1
   - Primary school 2
   - High school 3
   - University 4

5. Occupation
   - Farmer 1
   - Labourer 2
   - Businessman 3
   - Civil servant/NGO 4
   - Student 5
   - Housewife 6
   - Other ........................................................................ 7

PART II: RADIO LISTENING PREFERENCES

6. How often do you listen to radio?
   - Very often 1
   - Sometimes 2
   - Never 3 (If never, skip to 14)

7. How often do you listen to Radio FM 102?
   - Often 1
   - Sometimes 2
   - Never 3 (If never, skip to 14)

8. Have you ever heard a programme called The Truth on Radio FM 102?
   - Yes 1
   - No 2
   - Don’t Know 3
   (If no or don’t know, skip to Question 14)

9. What do you remember the programme The Truth is about? (Don’t prompt)
   - Khmer Rouge regime 1
   - Khmer Rouge tribunal 2
   - Other.................. 3

10. Do you think broadcasting The Truth programme could have any negative affects?
    - Yes 1
    - No 2
    - don’t know 3
    (If no or don’t know, skip to Question 12)

11. What negative affects, do you think? (Limit to 3 responses)
    - Increasing mental suffering 1
    - affect national reconciliation policy 2
    - Discrimination against former KR cadres 3
    - increased sense of anger 4
    - Other.......................................................... 5

12. Do you think broadcasting The Truth programme could have any positive affects?
13. What positive affects, do you think? (Limit to 3 responses)
Yes 1
No 2
don't know 3 (If no or don’t know, skip to Question 14)
Young people know their history 1
Survivors understand why the KR happened 2
Relieve mental suffering of survivors 3
Truth is revealed 4
Prevent another regime like KR from taking power in the future 5
Leaders can learn from the past 6
Other ........................................................................................................ 7

PART III: AWARENESS ABOUT KHMER ROUGE REGIME

14. How aware are you of the Khmer Rouge Regime?
Very aware 1
Know a little 2
Know nothing 3 (If nothing, skip to Q. 23)

15. How do you know about Khmer Rouge Regime? (Limit to 2 responses)
From parents/relatives 1
From school 2
Watching TV 3
Listening to radio 4
Through newspapers/magazines 5
Other ......................... 6

16. Do you ever talk about the Khmer Rouge?
Yes 1
No 2
don’t know 3 (If no or don’t know, skip to Question 18)

17. With whom have you spoken about the Khmer Rouge? (Limit to 2 responses)
Parents/older relatives 1
Other family members 2
Friends 3
Teachers 4
Other ...................................................................................................... 5

18. Were your relatives / friends killed in KR Regime?
Yes 1
No 2
don’t know 3

19. I’m going to read some statements about the Khmer Rouge. Please tell me which you think are true and which you think are false?
a. The leaders of the Khmer Rouge were uneducated peasants True False
b. The Khmer Rouge party was democratically elected to government True False
c. During Democratic Kampuchea, there was plenty of medicine to treat sick people True False
d. During Democratic Kampuchea, most people did not have enough to eat True False
e. During Democratic Kampuchea, people could move freely around the country True False
f. During Democratic Kampuchea, there was a very fair justice system True False
g. The Khmer Rouge always paid people for their work True False
h. During Democratic Kampuchea, children were not allowed to have formal education True False
i. The Khmer Rouge used child soldiers to fight True False
j. During Democratic Kampuchea, people were killed for minor crimes like stealing food True False
k. During Democratic Kampuchea, people were able to celebrate religious ceremonies True False

20. When did the KR take power in Cambodia? (1 response)
1960 -1964 1
1975 -1979 2
1982 – 1986 3
1993 – 1997 4

21. How many people died during the KR Regime? (1 response)
10,000 people 1
200,000 people 2
500,000 people 3
over 1 million people 4

22. Can you name four groups that were targeted for killing by the KR Regime? (Limit to 4 responses)
Intellectuals/students 1
New People/April 17 people 2
Civil servants 3
Businessmen/the rich 4
Military officers 5
KR cadres 6
Ethnic minorities (Vietnamese, Lao, Cham) 7
Monks 8
Professionals (doctors, teachers, etc) 9
Other ................................................................. 10
PART IV: KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL

23. Do you know about KR Tribunal?
   Yes 1 No 2 (If no, skip to Q. 28)

24. How do you know about Khmer Rouge Tribunal? (Limit to 2 responses)
    From parents/relatives 1 From school 2
    Watching TV 3 Listening to radio 4
    Through newspapers/magazines 5 Other 6

25. Do you ever talk about the Khmer Rouge tribunal?
   Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3
   (If no or don't know, skip to Question 27)

26. With whom have you spoken about the Khmer Rouge tribunal? (Limit to 2 responses)
    Parents/older relatives 1 Other family members 2
    Friends 3 Teachers 4
    Other ............................................................................................................5

27. Which of these sentences about the KR Tribunal is true?
    A. The Court can only focus on the crimes committed in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 True False
    B. The Court can prosecute anyone who was a member of the Khmer Rouge True False
    C. The Court consists of only Cambodian Judges True False
    D. Cambodian people cannot attend the court freely True False
    E. The Court can prosecute only the surviving senior KR leaders True False
    F. The press is allowed to report on the trial activities True False
    G. The accused will not be allowed to have a lawyer to represent them in the court True False

28. Do you want the surviving KR leaders to go to trial?
   Yes 1 No 2 (skip to Q. 30) Don't know 3 (skip to Q. 31) Don't care 4 (skip to Q. 31)

29. Why do you want the surviving KR leaders to go to trial? (Limit to 3 responses)
    To find justice 1 for revenge 2
    To heal mental/emotional suffering 3 To find the truth 4
    To keep as history 5 to strengthen the rule of law 6
    Other ............................................................................................................7

30. Why don't you want the surviving KR leaders to go to trial? (Limit to 3 responses)
    Too expensive 1 Do not trust the Court 2
    Don't want to be reminded about the past 3 afraid of being involved 4
    Don't want to know why 5 afraid of causing the civil war 6
    Other ................................................................................................................7

31. Do you have any suggestions for FM 102 about The Truth programme?

End of Survey
### ANNEXE 3: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (KHMER)

#### ១. ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់១ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ១:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់២ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ២:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់៣ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ៣:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់៤ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ៤:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់៥ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ៥:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់៦ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ៦:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |

#### ប្រការរឿងភាព ចំណង់៧ សម្រាប់អត្ថបទ ៧:

| ១- ៖ មកក្រសួង ២ | ២- មកក្រសួង ៣ |
| ២- សារក្រសួង ១ | ២- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៣- សារក្រសួង ២ | ៤- សារក្រសួង ៣ |
| ៥- សារក្រសួង ៤ | ៦- សារក្រសួង ៥ |
ពេល ១ និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី១)

⁵ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  “សមុទ្រ” ឬដ៏អស្តាត់មួយ?  (គំរុញពេញរង្គាំសនុក)  
របៀបពិតមួយ ១  ការពិតរុករកករ ២  
ពោះឆ្នាំ................................................................. ៣  

៦ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  យុទ្ធសាន់ស្តើងដៃឯ យុទ្ធសាន់ស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ ប្រភេបមួយ?  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី២)

៧ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  យុទ្ធសាន់ស្តើងដៃឯ ដើម្បីរបៀបស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ?  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី៣)

៨ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  យុទ្ធសាន់ស្តើងដៃឯ ដើម្បីរបៀបស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ?  (គំរុញពេញរង្គាំសនុក)  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី៣)

៩ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  យុទ្ធសាន់ស្តើងដៃឯ ដើម្បីរបៀបស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ?  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី៣)

២២ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  ប្រភេមួយ ប្រភេមួយ ដើម្បីរបៀបស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ?  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី៣)

២៣ តូចៗប្រភេបស្តើងដៃឯ  ប្រភេមួយ ប្រភេមួយ ដើម្បីរបៀបស្តើងដៃឯ សមុទ្រ?  (គំរុញពេញរង្គាំសនុក)  
មួយ ១  និងពេល ២ និងពេល ៣  
(ពេលឈ្មោះ និងពេលចាស់ និងពេលអាហារឈ្មោះ ទី៣)
ការលើកទឹកកង់ ៣ ក្រុមពីរ ៤
ការផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់របស់ក្លឹប ៥ សំណាក់សុទ្ធ

១៩- នៅថ្ងៃស្តើរក្រសួងដើម្បីប្រារព័ណ៌របស់អ្នក។
  ១ និងមី ២ និងមី  ៣

២០- នៅថ្ងៃដែលក្លឹបចុះដើម្បីប្រារព័ណ៌របស់អ្នក។
  ១ និងមី ២ និងមី  ៣

២១- នៅថ្ងៃដែលក្លឹបត្រូវបានត្រូវបានមើលដោយអ្នក។
  ១ និងមី ២ និងមី  ៣


22 - ដែលសមាជិកប្រភេទដំបូងនៃការប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

១ ព្រះបាទ ១ ព្រះបាទ ២ ព្រះបាទ ៣ ព្រះបាទ ៤ ព្រះបាទ ៥ ព្រះបាទ ៦ ព្រះបាទ ៧ ព្រះបាទ ៨ ព្រះបាទ ៩ ព្រះបាទ ១០ ព្រះបាទ

23 - តើអ្នកខ្លះបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលជាគណាការកូនបារាមខ្លះបំផុតឬជាគណាការកូនបារាមខ្លះបំផុតទេ?

24 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

25 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

26 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

27 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

28 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

29 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា

30 - តើអ្នកមូលនាំ្មុំបំផុតឬអ្នកដែលបានឱ្យប្រកួតបែបសម្រាប់សិក្រាប់ ធានា
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>នំ</th>
<th>១</th>
<th>ពុះ</th>
<th>២</th>
<th>វប្រសួល</th>
<th>៣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>យូរេឈឺ</td>
<td>៣</td>
<td>ចិញ្ចឹមឈឺ</td>
<td>៤</td>
<td>ចិញ្ចឹមជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៥</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**២៤ - រាជ្យឈឺជាមួយសិក្សា និង ធ្វើការធ្វើការឬការស្វែងយើងក្នុងការរៀបចំប្រព័ន្ធមុខងារ។**

(ការដែលធ្វើការនេះមក)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈឺឈាម</th>
<th>១</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមល្អ</th>
<th>២</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមម្រូវការ</th>
<th>៣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៤</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៥</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៦</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**២៥ - រាជ្យឈឺជាមួយសិក្សា កីឡាជីវិត**

(ការដែលធ្វើការនេះមក)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈឺឈាម</th>
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<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមល្អ</th>
<th>២</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមម្រូវការ</th>
<th>៣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
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<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៥</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៦</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**២៦ - រាជ្យឈឺជាមួយសិក្សា កីឡាជីវិត**

(ការដែលធ្វើការនេះមក)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈឺឈាម</th>
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<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមល្អ</th>
<th>២</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមម្រូវការ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៤</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៥</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៦</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**២៧ - រាជ្យឈឺជាមួយសិក្សា កីឡាជីវិត**

(ការដែលធ្វើការនេះមក)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈឺឈាម</th>
<th>១</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមល្អ</th>
<th>២</th>
<th>អារម្មណ៍ឈាមម្រូវការ</th>
<th>៣</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៤</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៥</td>
<td>អារម្មណ៍ជាកម្ម</td>
<td>៦</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ចុងក្រោយសម្រេចនេះចង់បញ្ចូល**
FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE
8-10 participants, male and female, aged 17-30 years

• Introduce the meeting, explain the objective:
  “Welcome to this meeting and thank you for taking the time to be here today. We are talking to young people like you around the country to understand how you feel about the Khmer Rouge and the trials. We also want to learn how best to inform young people about these issues. This research is being carried out together with the Women’s Media Centre of Cambodia, and they will use this information to help improve their radio programme about the Khmer Rouge, “Ka Pit”. In order to do this, we would like to hear your opinions. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions we will ask. So please, don’t be afraid to participate and don’t be afraid to speak honestly, even if others might not agree with you. It will help us a lot if you join in the meeting. Hopefully you will also find the discussion interesting.”

• Facilitators and participants introduce themselves
• Conduct ice-breaker game before the meeting.
• Provide bottles of water before the meeting and snacks and drinks afterwards.

FG QUESTIONS

RADIO LISTENING HABITS
1. What do you like to do to relax?
2. Do you like to listen to the radio?
3. When do you listen to the radio?
4. Where do you listen to the radio? At home, in the fields, at work, etc
5. When you listen to the radio, are you doing other things at the same time? What kind of things?
6. Which station do you listen to?
7. Have you ever listened to FM102?
8. Do you have difficulties listening to the radio? What are they?
9. The radio programme Kah Puth is broadcast on FM102 at (TIME) on (DAY). What are you normally doing at that hour. What would be the best time to broadcast the programme for you?

STORYTELLING
10. Do you like to listen to stories? Why?
11. What kind of stories do you like best? Why do you like those stories?
12. Who do you know in your family that is a good storyteller?
13. What makes them a good storyteller?
14. When do you like to listen to stories? (probe – during holidays, during family events such as weddings, funerals, ceremonies, etc)

**KHMER ROUGE**

15. How many of you have heard about the Khmer Rouge?
16. What have you heard?
17. From whom/where did you get this information? (probe – at school, from relatives, media)
18. Did your parents/relatives/neighbours live through the Khmer Rouge regime?
19. Do they ever talk about their experiences? If not, why not, do you think?
20. What kinds of things/events encourage your parents/family to talk about the KR?
21. What kind of things do they remember/talk about?
22. How to you feel when you hear these stories?
23. Do you find those stories difficult to believe? Why?
24. If you decided that you wanted to understand more about the Khmer Rouge, where would you go for information?
25. What impact do you think the Khmer Rouge has had on the lives of those who lived through it? What impact has it had on your lives, even though you didn’t live through the regime?

**KHMER ROUGE TRIALS**

26. Have you heard that there will be trial to try leaders of the Khmer Rouge?
27. If yes, where did you hear about this?
28. What do you know about the trial?
29. What do you think is the value of having this trial now?
30. What impact do you think the trials will have on your lives? On the lives of the survivors?

**OPINIONS ABOUT THE RADIO PROGRAMME**

(Play a 30 min edited episode of The Truth before the next part of the discussion.)

28. Did you enjoy listening to this radio programme? Why/why not?
29. In your opinion, who is this radio programme for? Is it for people like you? If not, who would like this programme, in your opinion (ask in terms of gender, age and place)
30. Do you think that you would listen to this programme regularly? Why/why not?
31. Would you like to call this programme? If so, what would you like to talk about?
32. What do you think was the main topic/message of this programme?
33. Was there information in this programme that you didn't know before? Which information?
34. Was there information in this programme that is different to what you knew before? Which information?
35. Was the information in this episode easy to understand? Why/why not?
36. Do you have other comments about the programme?
37. Do you have any suggestions for how to improve the programme?
# ANNEXE 5: LIST OF TABLES

## Q1. Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## Q2. Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17-25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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</table>

## Q3. Marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow/widower</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Q4. Education background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
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</table>

## Q5. Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil/NGO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

## Q6. Listen to Radio

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
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## Q7. Listen to FM102

<table>
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<th>Response</th>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</table>
Q8. Have you ever listened to *The Truth*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q9. What is *The Truth* about?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KR regime</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KR trial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn’t remember</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KR regime and KR trial</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
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</table>

Q10. Negative affects of broadcast?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Response</th>
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<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>No response</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</table>

Q11. Negative affect?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased mental suffering</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact on national reconciliation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination against former KR</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased sense of anger</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Total respondents=13)

Q12. Positive affects of broadcast?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Response</th>
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<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>90</td>
<td>90.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>No response</td>
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<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13. Positive affect?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people know their history</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survivors can understand why KR happen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relieve mental suffering</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth is revealed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent similar regime from taking power</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders can learn from the past</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total respondents=90)
### Q14. Aware of KR regime?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very aware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know little</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Q15. How do you know KR regime?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents/relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV/video</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers/magazines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Elders/neighbors/other documents/friends)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total respondents=192)

### Q16. Do you talk about KR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No. Listeners</th>
<th>% Listener</th>
<th>No. Non-listeners</th>
<th>% Non-listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Q17. With whom do you talk about KR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents/older relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family member</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/neighbors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (students)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total respondents=158)

### Q18. Were your relatives/friends killed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Q19. Correct responses to statements about KR regime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>No. listener</th>
<th>No. non-listeners</th>
<th>% Listeners</th>
<th>% Non-listeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>89.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q20. When did the KR take power?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No. listener</th>
<th>No. non-listeners</th>
<th>% Listeners</th>
<th>% Non-listeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1964</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-1979</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>80.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-1997</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q21. How many people died in KR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No. Listener</th>
<th>No. Non-Listener</th>
<th>% Listener</th>
<th>% Non-Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10,000 people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1 million people</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q22. Target group for killing in KR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intellectuals/students</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>91.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>85.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen/the rich</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military officers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KR cadres</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minorities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (disobedient)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Total respondents=192)

Q23. Do you know about KR tribunal?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% listener</th>
<th>non-listeners</th>
<th>% listener</th>
<th>% non-listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q24. How do you know about KR tribunal?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parents/relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watching TV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listening to radio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspapers/magazines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (friend/colleague/humour/docs)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q25. Do you ever talk about the KR tribunal?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No. Listeners</th>
<th>No. non-listeners</th>
<th>% listeners</th>
<th>% non-listeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>141</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q26. With whom have you talked about KR tribunal?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parents/older relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other family member</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (students/colleagues/ neighbours)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q27. Correct responses to statements about court of KR tribunal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>No. Listener</th>
<th>No. non-listener</th>
<th>% listener</th>
<th>% non-listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>58.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28. Do you want KR leaders to go to trial?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't care</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q29. Why do you want KR leader trial?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Find justice</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Find the truth</td>
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<td>Want senior KR leaders to live in freedom</td>
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(total respondents=6)