

# **Cambodia's Young and Older Generation: Views on Generational Relations and Key Social and Political Issues**

**Eng Netra, Ang Len, So Hengvotey, Hav Gechhong, Chhom Theavy**

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## 1. Introduction

Youth make up 33 percent of the Cambodian population. The terms “youth” and “young Cambodians” are used interchangeably in this report and refer to the 16–30 age cohort in 2017. This generation comprises an increasing proportion of Cambodia’s electorate, and was born after the Khmer Rouge years. Those in their early twenties were born in the mid-to-late 1990s during the reform era and the United Nations-sponsored peace process, which led to the first general election in 1993. Those under 20 were born in the late 1990s and early 2000s during an era of peace and openness, after the death of Pol Pot in 1998 and Cambodia’s full integration into regional and global markets.

In contrast to the formative experiences of “elder” or “adult” generation (defined as those over 30 years old), Cambodia’s young generation has lived through a time of impressive economic growth and rapid structural change. Cambodia sustained high economic growth of 7.9 percent per year on average between 2000 and 2015, making it one of the four fastest growing economies in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, young Cambodians have grown up in an era of increasing security and stability. Since the elections organised by the United Nations in 1993, the majority of Cambodia’s territory has experienced peace and the consolidation of governance institutions including elected local government and accessible state-delivered services. Importantly, unlike their parents and grandparents’ generations, who lived through the royalist, Pol Pot and socialist eras, young Cambodians have grown up with the idea of regular competitive elections in a multi-party system, and form an increasingly significant proportion of the national electorate. However, there have been no surveys that disaggregate data by age on socioeconomic activities, values, priorities, trust, relationships, political attitudes, and explore young and adult Cambodians’ distinctive relationships in the contexts of family, community, local and national politics.

This report analyses the results from a nationally representative survey of Cambodian citizens’ family and community relations, political attitudes, priorities and future expectations. The survey is the first study of a five-year research program called *Ponlork*, being implemented by CDRI’s Governance Unit with support from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. The study aims to examine Cambodia’s emerging young generation and its implications for future development, society and politics. The results from this survey have been disseminated in a series of workshops with key Cambodian actors and institutions working to strengthen participation and contribution by Cambodian youth in the contexts of family, community and society at large. In addition to this report, a series of short articles on major emerging themes from the survey has been published in CDRI’s quarterly *Cambodia Development Review*.

CDRI’s Governance Unit is working on several more studies to further explore emerging key issues critical to deepening our understanding of the impact of Cambodia’s young generation. A gendered analysis of the survey results, rural-urban and generation disaggregated analysis and in-depth analyses of intergenerational relations and trust, and youth mobilisation in local-level economic development, are four of the ongoing studies, with working papers to be released in late 2019.

## Structure of the report

In the next section we summarise the key findings of our survey and consider their implications for policy. The survey methodology is described in Section 3. The rest of the report is devoted to communicating the detailed survey findings in Section 4. The survey results are organised under nine themes:

- Socioeconomic profiles of young and older generations
- Generational relationships within the household
- Attitudes towards gender equality, leaders and country attachment
- Trust
- Political knowledge
- Local participation
- Assessment of public institutional performance
- Political information and freedom
- Priorities and future prospects

## 2. Major findings and policy recommendations

### 2.1 Key findings

- Today's young generation is different from older generations in a number of ways: educational attainment, job prospects and technology access.
  - o Young people stay in school longer than previous generations.
  - o Young adults, particularly those in rural areas, are more mobile than older adults.
  - o Rural youth employment has shifted significantly from farm work to urban-based and paid employment, leaving older generations to do farming. More than half of young people are informally employed in own-account or family work.
  - o Two-thirds of young adults own a smartphone and are online compared to only one-third of older adults.
- Large gender gaps in socioeconomic status persist, even among youth.
  - o Far fewer women than men complete high school and university education.
  - o More women than men are informally employed, notably as unpaid family workers.
  - o Significantly fewer women than men own smartphones, suggesting a significant gender difference in internet access and usage.
- Intergenerational relations in the household are changing: young people have more autonomy in making their own choices and decisions.
  - o Older people are more likely than young people to perceive generational differences.
  - o Young and older generations alike think youth should make their own decisions on key issues such as who to vote for, what job or career to pursue, and how to spend money.
  - o Youth and adult Cambodians agree that young people should involve their elders in decisions about education and marriage.
  - o Older generations agree that young people can disagree with their elders, a view shared by the young generation.

- o Family is seen as the most important life value by both young and older people, followed by education and work, then religion. Politics and community, friends and leisure are ranked least important.
- o Both older and young Cambodians spend most of their spare time participating in religious activities.
- o Young adults are less likely than older adults to spend free time engaging in politics, training, associations and clubs, or voluntary work.
- Both young and older Cambodians generally favour gender equality in education and leadership, have similar attachments to country and religion, and respect authority.
  - o Gender equality in higher education is widely accepted.
  - o But young adults are more likely than older adults to favour equal opportunities for women in higher education.
  - o Both older and young Cambodians are sceptical about women's suitability for leadership: men and urban residents are more likely to support women leaders than women and rural residents.
  - o Older adults seem more tightly bound to religion, community and country than young adults.
  - o Young and older generations alike have high respect for commune authorities.
- Trust in institutions and in other people is consistently low among both young and older Cambodians, although trust in civil society stands out.
  - o Cambodians trust social service providers (schools and hospitals) and local authorities more than the police, courts, media and politicians.
  - o For both generations, trust in personal relationships is qualified: both young and old Cambodians perceive themselves as "somewhat trusting" rather than "trusting" in interpersonal relations. Both generations trust civil society organisations as much as they trust extended family.
- Most young and adult Cambodians experience local participation, but young people are more likely to participate in education and health-related activities than commune activities.
  - o Most youth and adults have participated in local meetings. Youth are less likely than older Cambodians to join commune-level activities, except for school and health-related meetings.
  - o Gender is key in understanding participation in that women are less involved than men in commune meetings and public forums, except health centre meetings.
  - o Frequency of speaking during local meetings is low, but youth ask more questions than adults.
  - o Many young and old Cambodians declined to answer the question about whether they were afraid to speak during local meetings, suggesting that Cambodians are generally cautious in expressing their views at public meetings.
  - o Both youth and adults agree that communes should provide more services and local projects using the Commune/Sangkat Fund. These include local infrastructure upgrading, social services delivery and social protection programs.

- Both young and old Cambodians are pleased with the country's general direction, economic performance and stability, but they are critical about supports for the poor and youth employment.
  - o Both youth and adults are pleased with the general direction of economic growth and prosperity, but rural residents are more content than urban residents.
  - o Most people approve of the government's record for political stability but they are critical of its supports for the poor and youth employment.
  - o More youth and adults are happy with social service providers (education, health and infrastructure) than with law enforcement agencies and representative institutions.
- Both generations depend on local sources of political information, although more young than older Cambodians access political news online.
  - o The main platform for political information continues to be local sources mainly television, family members and neighbours (51 percent). Youth stand out in terms of their ability to access the internet for political information.
  - o Along with entertainment and keeping in touch with friends and family, youth and adult Cambodians access the internet to read news and political information.
  - o More youth than adults expressed fear in searching for political information online, as well as engaging in sharing and commenting on political contents online.
  - o About half of youth and adults are afraid to share and discuss politics offline.
  - o Youth and adult Cambodians prefer to share and discuss politics with family and a trusted circle of friends and neighbours.
  - o Women are more cautious than men when it comes to discussing politics, whether offline or online.
- Young and older Cambodians think alike with respect to their own and the country's priorities. Nonetheless, youth are more optimistic than older Cambodians about their own future and that of the country.
  - o Youth and adult Cambodians have the same life priorities. They put obligation to family above earning money and completing higher education.
  - o They also have the same priorities for the country's development. Both identify election, infrastructure, social services, employment and environment as top priorities. Migration, inequality and injustice are the three least important priorities.
  - o Cambodians are generally optimistic about their own future and that of the country. Youth are more optimistic than adults about their own future, but this generation gap is narrower when it comes to the future prospects of Cambodia.

## 2.2 Main conclusions

- The youth generation is different from older generations in important ways: they are better educated, more likely to migrate and take up paid employment, and have greater access to smartphones and the internet.
- Intergenerational differences do not necessarily imply intergenerational conflict, but some complex lines of solidarity across generations in that young and older Cambodians look at key social and political issues in a similar way.

- Family and marriage are widely regarded as the major social institutions by both old and young people. Nonetheless, household relations seem to be changing. Older Cambodians show a lot of respect and sympathy for, and trust in, younger relatives. They also appear to demonstrate their acceptance and tolerance of younger people's choices and decisions. This seems to lead towards more acceptance of having one's own opinion and different views within the family. In return, young people appear to be acquiring more freedom and power within the household, but they are also strongly committed to family. Obligation to family is still the most important expectation among youth.
- The emergence of the new generation is changing the way that Cambodians engage in politics, but we are not necessarily seeing an old versus young split. Both generations equally respect authority and remain strongly attached to religion. Participation in local meetings is strong but engagement in these situations remains weak. Young people are more likely to be involved in school activities than in commune affairs, suggesting they play a limited role in local politics. Both generations approve of the general direction the country is taking, but are not pleased with current support for the poor and youth employment. Young people are more optimistic than older people about their future and that of the country in general, but trust in other people and in institutions remains low. Young and old Cambodians alike engage in political discussions cautiously, whether online or in real life, though youth are more likely than adults to post and share political information via social media.
- New social structures (whether state, market or civil society) have not replaced family and kinship when it comes to young and older Cambodians' life priorities and trust, and participation in social and political arenas. Family remains the most important influence on voting behaviour for both young and old, and political discussions are most likely to take place within the confines of the family.

### **2.3 Emerging policy issues**

Although the situation of young people today has improved dramatically compared to that of their parents' generation, they remain highly dependent on family support to stay in school, secure employment, and cope with shocks as public services and social security provisions are only slowly catching up with demands. Key issues confronting young people include:

- Increasing numbers of youth have shifted from farming to urban-based employment. However, youth employment remains concentrated in precarious work, particularly for those working as own-account and family workers. Significantly more rural than urban youth hold such work.
- The gap between rural and urban areas is increasingly obvious in that rural youth's access to education, technology and formal employment lags far behind that of urban youth, and could widen inequalities even further in their adult lives. Without sufficient support from state institutions for essential education, training and economic services, young people, particularly those living in rural areas, remain highly dependent on family resources and support.
- Youth participation in policy and decision-making processes in Cambodia is weak. They are also not actively involved in community development and broad societal activities beyond school and the workplace.
- Young Cambodians are more exposed to the work of commune councils and civil society organisations. Such exposure and direct relationships with local authorities have created trust among young people in commune and civil society organisations.

- Knowledge of and trust in national-level public institutions are weak among youth.
- Despite resounding support for gender equality in education and leadership, there remain significant gender gaps in key socioeconomic outcomes. Women are more disadvantaged than men in educational attainment, participation in formal paid employment and access to technology and information.

## 2.4 Policy recommendations

The following recommendations directly address the emerging issues facing Cambodia's youth unearthed by the survey. Specifically, they relate to empowering youth, narrowing gender gaps, strengthening institutional trust and addressing the rural-urban divide. These recommendations are for the Cambodian government's consideration.

- Youth expect to see their precarious work regulated and their interests protected by the state. The government should expand National Social Security Fund coverage to include informally employed youth.
- The government needs to develop specific policy platforms and capacity supports to empower youth to contribute meaningfully in policy formulation and implementation at local and national levels. Youth's priorities include education, vocational training, employment, housing, health, environment, election and technology.
- The government should work more closely with civil society organisations in general and youth organisations in particular to further capitalise on Cambodia's demographic dividend in contributing to national development agenda.
- Young Cambodians want to see the government do more to support the poor and create decent employment for youth. Government ministries need to work harder to address these concerns effectively.
- The government and its civil servants need to improve citizens' confidence and effective participation in the implementation of policy and institutional reforms. Government ministries could capitalise on the growing popularity of online platforms to help them perform their work and engage more effectively with citizens. To that end, they should develop specific ministerial online communication and engagement strategies with the dual purpose of informing the public about their work and enabling citizens to provide feedback on policy implementation and civil servants' performance. The government should work to enhance public trust in public institutions related to the deepening of decentralisation particularly at the commune level. To that end, it should capacitate commune councils, the most trusted level of government, by devolving greater resources and policy discretion to allow commune councillors to more effectively engage with and respond to local needs including the expectations of young people.
- Finally, to address gender gaps, the government needs to develop an action plan and put in place specific policy measures to create equal opportunities for young women in education, training, employment, leadership and work protection.

## 3. Methodology

Information was obtained through a nationally representative survey of Cambodian citizens age 16 years and older. The survey was conducted in six provinces from October 2017 to January 2018. It used face-to-face interviews held at respondents' homes. Respondents were selected using stratified multistage sampling. This sampling method, along with the use of



existing demographic information, helped the researchers minimise selection bias and normal sampling variability due to population distribution.

### 3.1 Stratified multistage sampling

The first stage is to identify the geographic units to be used as primary sampling units (PSUs).

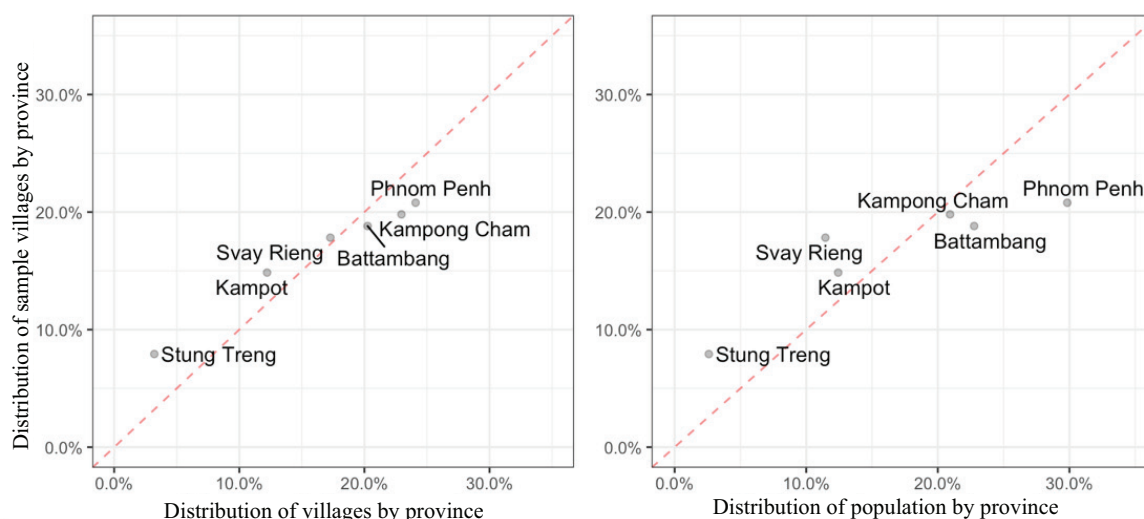
Once PSUs are defined, they are grouped (stratified) according to specific characteristics (administrative, geographic or demographic). From each group, a number of PSUs are randomly selected. For each selected PSU, a listing of second-stage units is compiled and used for a second-stage sampling.

- The sampling frame was limited to all villages, as defined in the 2015 census, in six provinces: Battambang, Kampot, Stung Treng, Svay Rieng, Kampong Cham and Phnom Penh.
- The sampling frame comprised 3,994 villages, with a combined population of 5,349,582 (34 percent of the total population in 2015), of which 3,399,751 or 64 percent live in rural villages.
- To guarantee a distribution that was approximately proportionate, the number of villages sampled in each province was set using this formula:

$$\frac{\sqrt{\text{villages}_p}}{\sum \sqrt{\text{villages}_p} \times 100}$$

- The selection outcome was adjusted to guarantee comparable representation in less densely populated areas.

Figure 1: Distribution of sample villages and population by province (percent)



- The sample villages were stratified into rural and urban, where a village is defined as rural if agricultural workers make up more than 25 percent of its population.
- Within each stratum, the probability of sampling a village was proportional to the size of its population.
- The total sample size was 101 villages.

Table 1: The sampling frame for survey villages

Province	Population	Villages	% population in rural villages	Sample villages		
				Rural	Urban	Total
Battambang	1,217,443	809	81	15	4	19
Kampong Cham	1,119,539	917	83	17	3	20
Kampot	664,797	488	94	14	1	15
Phnom Penh	1,595,989	962	10	2	19	21
Stung Treng	138,936	128	85	7	1	8
Svay Rieng	612,878	690	93	17	1	18
Total	5,349,582	3,994	74 (mean)	72	29	101

- In each selected village, the research team compiled a list of all the households living in that village by working closely with the local authorities.
- Based on the household lists, 20 households were randomly selected from each village. The team had to resample 10 to 20 households in six villages in Phnom Penh, Battambang and Kampong Cham due to migration of whole families or relocation of households.
- 2,020 households were visited and 1,610 were found attended either during the first or the second visit. A single member of the household present at the time of the visit was randomly selected through lottery to be the respondent.
- In total, 1,600 interviews were successfully completed.
- The survey was conducted by trained enumerators via face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes.
- Responses were recorded using the QuickTapSurvey app.

Table 2: The sampling frame for survey respondents

Province	Sample villages	Total	Respondents		
			Urban %	Female %	Younger than 25 (%)
Battambang	19	299	19	64	14
Kampong Cham	20	313	15	60	10
Kampot	15	256	7	62	15
Phnom Penh	21	300	89	55	9
Stung Treng	8	134	13	60	18
Svay Rieng	18	298	6	58	10

### 3.2 Data cleaning

The data recorded by 10 enumerators using tablets and the QuickTapSurvey app contained 1,610 observations. Ten observations were dropped, leaving a total of 1,600 for analysis, as follows:

1. Five were removed because the same interview was entered twice;
2. Three were dropped because local authority officials were present during the interview (this was done in agreement with the enumerator responsible);
3. Two were dropped because of incomplete information.



We also corrected a few imputation errors:

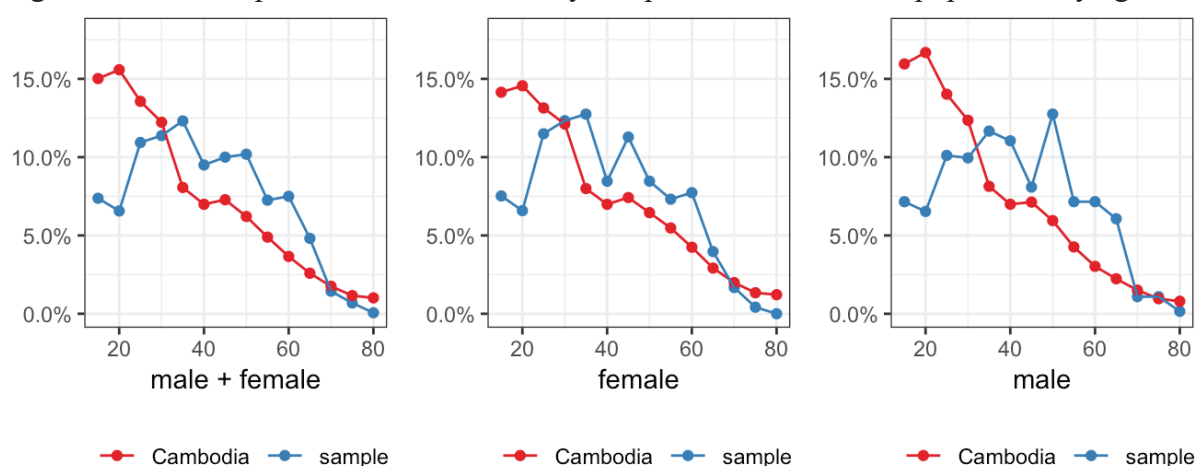
1. The village code for 10 observations;
2. The monthly income for five observations;
3. The number of family members for one observation.

A few geographic coordinates were dropped because they located the place of the interview too far from the village centre. It is possible that in these cases interviews were done indoors or in cloudy conditions which caused the GPS receiver of the tablet to report the wrong coordinates. Missing coordinates were imputed randomly (assigned to a point within 400 metres of the village centre).

### 3.3 Sample weighting

A weight variable was created to correct for the overrepresentation of females and older respondents in the sample compared to the population. The weight variable is created by iterative proportional fitting (commonly known as “raking”) and matches marginal distributions of the survey sample to the real population margins as determined by the 2015 census.

Figure 2: Gender representation in the survey sample versus the whole population by age



## 4. Discussion of detailed results

### 4.1 Socioeconomic profile of young and older generations

In this survey, we were interested to identify the socioeconomic differences between youth and older generations in Cambodia. It turned out that gender gaps are key to understanding these differences.

#### Main findings

- Cambodia’s young generation stand out from older generations in several key socioeconomic aspects.
- Youth stayed longer in school than adults. Nearly half of adults completed primary school only compared to just one-third of youth. A further 23 percent of youth completed high school compared to just 7 percent of adults.

- Youth were more likely than adults to migrate to find work, and migration was more prominent among rural youth (37 percent) than urban youth (15 percent).
- More youth (24 percent) than adults (9 percent) were in paid employment. Most young and older Cambodians were in informal employment as farmers (40 percent adult and 25 percent youth), own-account workers (28 percent adult and 15 percent youth), and unpaid family workers (18 percent adult and 13 percent youth).
- Two-thirds of youth owned a smartphone compared to only 36 percent of adults.
- One-third of Cambodians – 61 percent of youth and just 26 percent of adults – used the internet.
- Men were more likely than women to have completed high school and university education. Conversely, women were more likely than men to be unpaid family workers. Mobile phone ownership was similar among women and men, but significantly more men than women owned a smartphone, meaning more men than women used the internet.

Table 3: Socioeconomic profile of respondents (percent) (\*N=1,587; 1,600 otherwise)

Gender		Location	
Male	40.2	Urban	26.5
Female	59.8	Rural	73.5
Age group		Marital status*	
Youth (16–30 yrs)	24.9	Single	12.5
Old (>30 yrs)	75.1	Married	73.5
Education		Widow	11.5
Never attended school	9.4	Separated	2.5
Primary school	45.7	Occupation*	
Secondary school	26.0	Farmer	36.1
High school	11.3	Government employee	5.5
Vocational training	0.4	NGO employee	0.3
Tertiary education	5.9	Paid employee	12.7
Others	1.4	Own-account worker	24.4
Other information		Unpaid family worker	14.4
Living with family	97.7	Student	3.6
Migration	26.5	Unemployed	3.0
Internet use	34.6		

#### 4.1.1 Age and gender

Cambodia has a large young population, with 33 percent of the total in the 15 to 30 year age cohort and another 30 percent under 15 years old. The median age of the population is 24.5 years, 25.6 for females and 23.4 for males.<sup>1</sup> The proportion of females in the population is slightly higher than that of males at 51.5 percent and 48.5 percent, respectively.

In our survey, of the 1,600 participants, 24.9 percent fall into the youth (16 to 30 years) group and 75.1 percent into the adult (>30 years) group, and 59.8 percent are female and 40.2 percent male.

#### 4.1.2 Education

There are clear differences between young and older Cambodians in educational attainment. Young Cambodians are better educated and stay in school longer than their parents' generation:

<sup>1</sup> Cambodia Inter-Censal Population Survey 2013.

98 percent of youth and 88 percent of adults have attended school. Among adults, almost half have completed primary education only, 26 percent have completed secondary school and 7 percent have completed high school. Among youth, 36 percent have completed primary school only, 25 percent have completed secondary school, and 23 percent have completed high school. By location, far fewer people in rural areas (2 percent) than in urban areas (17 percent) have a university education. By gender, 50 percent of women have completed primary school only compared to 39 percent of men. In contrast, fewer women have completed secondary (22 percent) and high school (8 percent) than men (31 percent and 16 percent, respectively). Gender disparity was also evident in higher education: twice as many men (8 percent) as women (4 percent) have completed tertiary education.

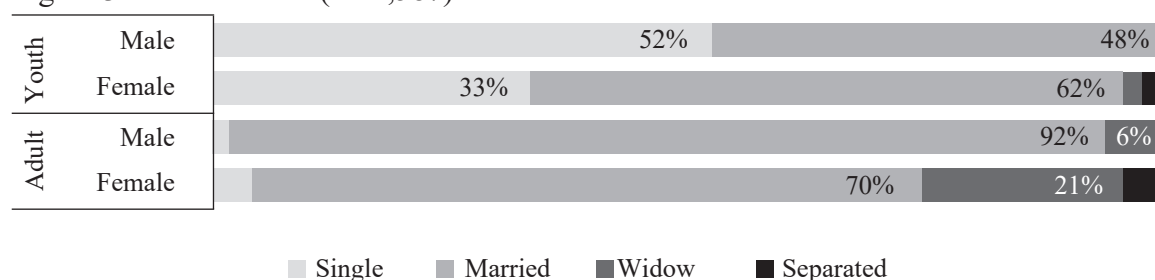
Table 4: Level of educational attainment (percent) (N=1,600)

Level of education	Total	Age group		Gender		Location	
		Youth	Adult	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Never attended school	9	2	12	5	13	11	5
Primary school	46	36	49	39	50	52	27
Secondary school	26	25	26	31	22	24	30
High school	11	23	7	16	8	9	18
Vocational training	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Tertiary education	6	14	3	8	4	2	17
Others	1	0	2	1	2	1	1

#### 4.1.3 Marriage and family

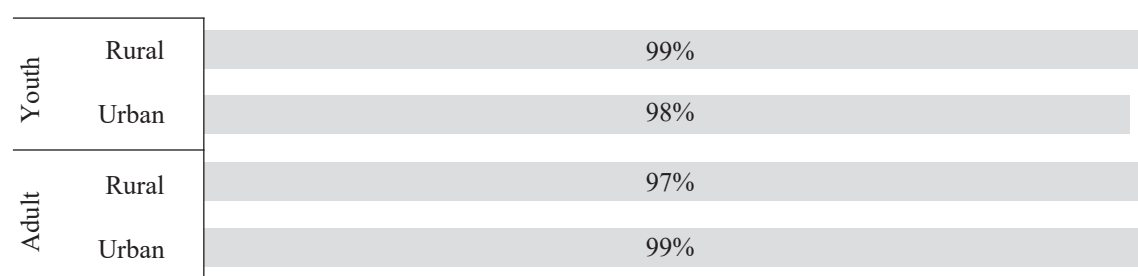
Most Cambodians marry and live with family members. In our survey, young women were more likely than young men to be married. Young men stayed single longer than young women; about 52 percent of them were single while only 33 percent of women were. Among older adults, more women than men were widowed or separated (21 percent for women compared to just 6 percent for men), partly due to past civil war and cultural expectations.

Figure 3: Marital status (N=1,587)



Household size in Cambodia remains large, with an average of five members per family, and extended families live together under one roof, a practice observed in both rural and urban areas.

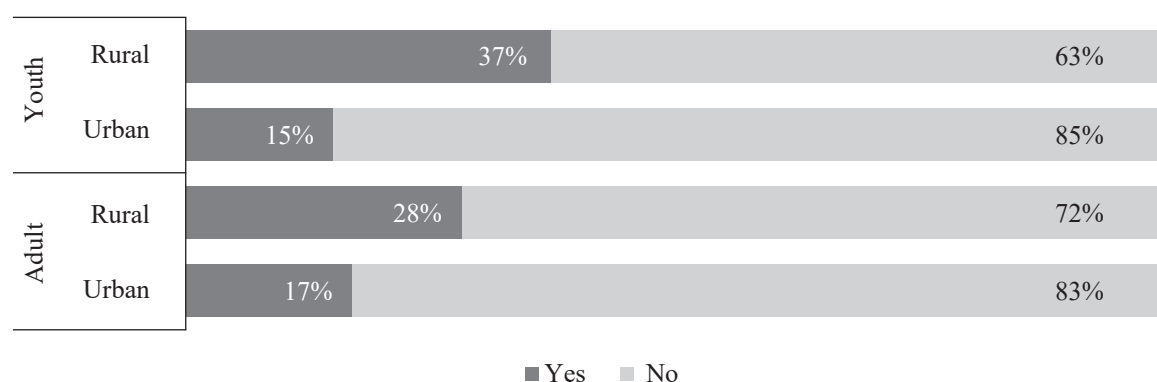
Figure 4: Respondents living with family members (N=1,600)



#### 4.1.4 Migration

Cambodian families are increasingly dispersed as younger family members become mobile, especially due to rural-urban youth migration. Rural youth (37 percent) were more than twice as likely as urban youth (15 percent) to migrate to find work. Adults in rural areas (28 percent) were also more likely to migrate than adults in urban areas (17 percent).

Figure 5: Have you ever migrated to find work? (N=1,600)



#### 4.1.5 Occupation and income

Employment and livelihoods are changing as paid jobs in urban centres become increasingly available with the structural transformation of the Cambodian economy. In our survey, more men than women were in paid employment, whereas seven times more women (22 percent) than men (3 percent) were unpaid family workers. Women were also more likely than men to be in a precarious or vulnerable situation as own-account workers (26 percent women, 22 percent men). Conversely, more men than women were in formal paid employment (17 percent men, 10 percent women) or had civil service jobs (10 percent men, 3 percent women).

Most rural and urban residents work in the informal sector. Half of the rural residents were farmers, 19 percent own-account workers and 13 percent unpaid family workers. In urban areas, 40 percent were own-account workers and 18 percent unpaid family workers. More urban than rural residents were in paid employment (14 percent urban, 12 percent rural) and in civil service jobs (12 percent urban, 3 percent rural).

The majority of Cambodian youth are employed. Significantly fewer young (25 percent) than older adults (40 percent) were in farming. Young people (24 percent) were also more likely than older adults (9 percent) to be in paid employment. A sizeable number of Cambodians were own-account workers (15 percent youth, 28 percent adult) and unpaid family workers (18 percent youth, 13 percent adult). This employment pattern

suggests that young people are increasingly shifting from working on family farms to paid employment or self-employment in urban areas. Although more youth are now engaged in paid employment and therefore protected by labour law, one in two (58 percent – farmer 25 percent, own-account worker 15 percent, unpaid family worker 18 percent) are still subject to precarious working conditions and in informal employment with no contract or access to legal and social protections.

Table 5: Employment (percent) (N=1,587)

	Total	Age group		Gender		Location	
		Youth	Adult	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Farmer	36	25	40	40	34	46	8
Government employee	6	2	7	10	3	3	12
NGO employee	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Paid employee	13	24	9	17	10	12	14
Own-account worker	24	15	28	22	26	19	40
Unpaid family worker	14	18	13	3	22	13	18
Student	4	14	0	4	3	4	3
Unemployed	3	2	3	4	2	3	4

#### 4.1.6 Access to technology

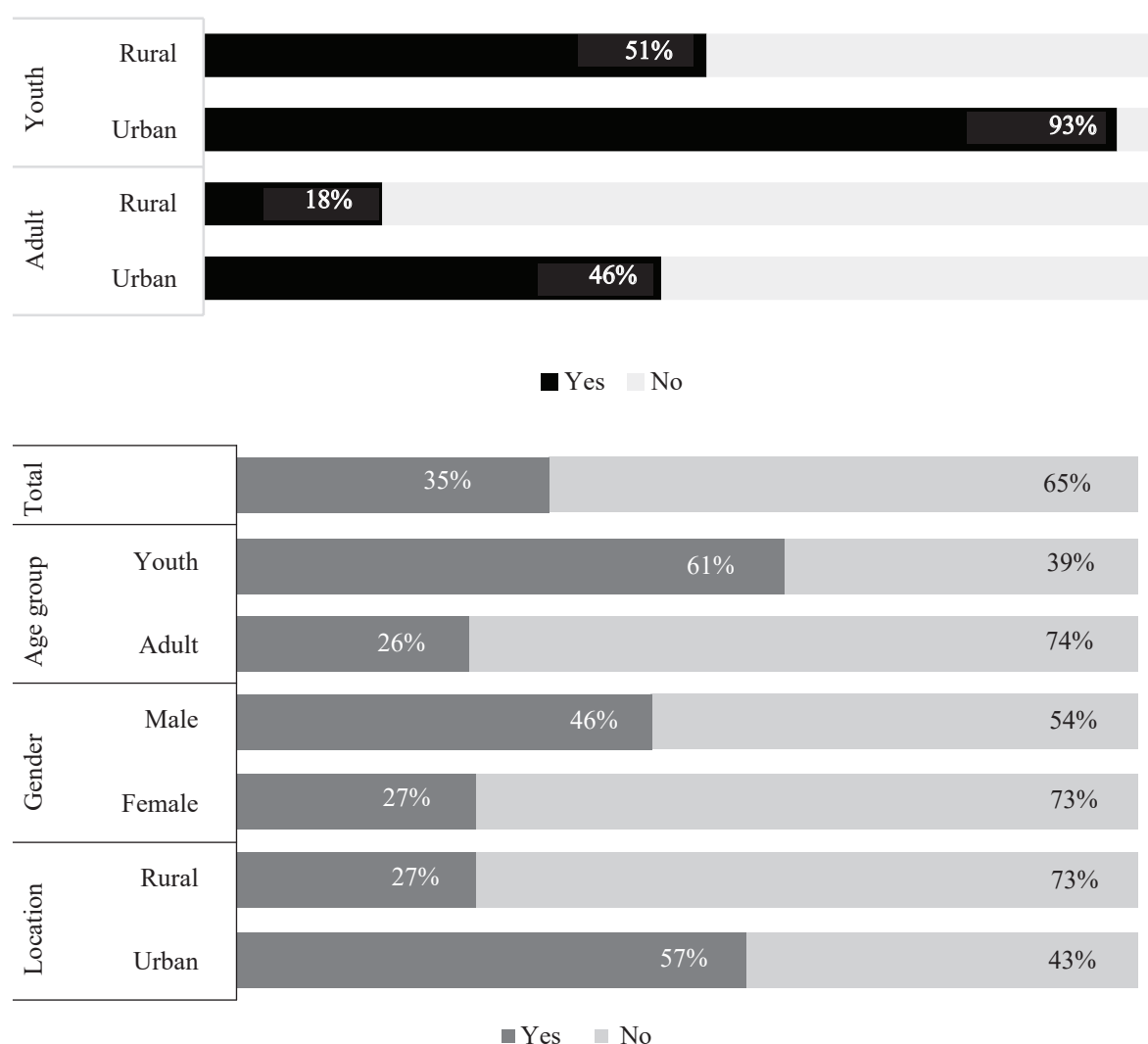
Most Cambodians own a television, mobile phone or smartphone. Sixty-seven percent of urban and 34 percent of rural residents owned a smartphone. Young people were almost twice as likely as older people to own a smartphone (63 percent and 36 percent, respectively).

Furthermore, one in three Cambodians use the internet, especially young urban residents and those with tertiary education. The vast majority of youth living in urban areas had access to the internet (93 percent), compared to only half of youth in rural areas (51 percent). Internet use among older generations was much lower, with 46 percent of adults in urban areas and only 18 percent in rural areas using the internet.

Table 6: Do you have any of these devices (percent)? (N=1,600)

	Mobile phone	Smartphone	Computer	Television	Radio	None of these
Total	75	42	8	77	33	2
Age group						
Youth	64	63	13	74	31	4
Adult	78	36	6	78	33	4
Gender						
Male	74	51	10	80	37	3
Female	75	36	6	75	30	5
Location						
Rural	76	34	2	72	33	5
Urban	71	67	22	91	33	1

Figure 6: Do you use the internet? (N=1,600)



## 4.2 Generational relations in the household

### Main findings

- Most older Cambodians (81 percent) said the young generation was very different from their own generation. Just 66 percent of young people shared this view.
- There were no perception gaps between young and older Cambodians regarding decision making for youth. Both generations agreed unanimously that youth should have the final say on key issues such as who to vote for, what job or career to pursue and how to spend money. On youth's education and marriage decisions, both youth and adult Cambodians agreed to make those decisions together.
- More older (60 percent) than young (55 percent) adults agreed that it was acceptable for youth to disagree with parents. A similar result was found among urban (67 percent) and rural respondents (56 percent).
- Family was rated as the most important life value by both young and older people, followed by education and work and then religion. Politics and community, friends and leisure were ranked least important.

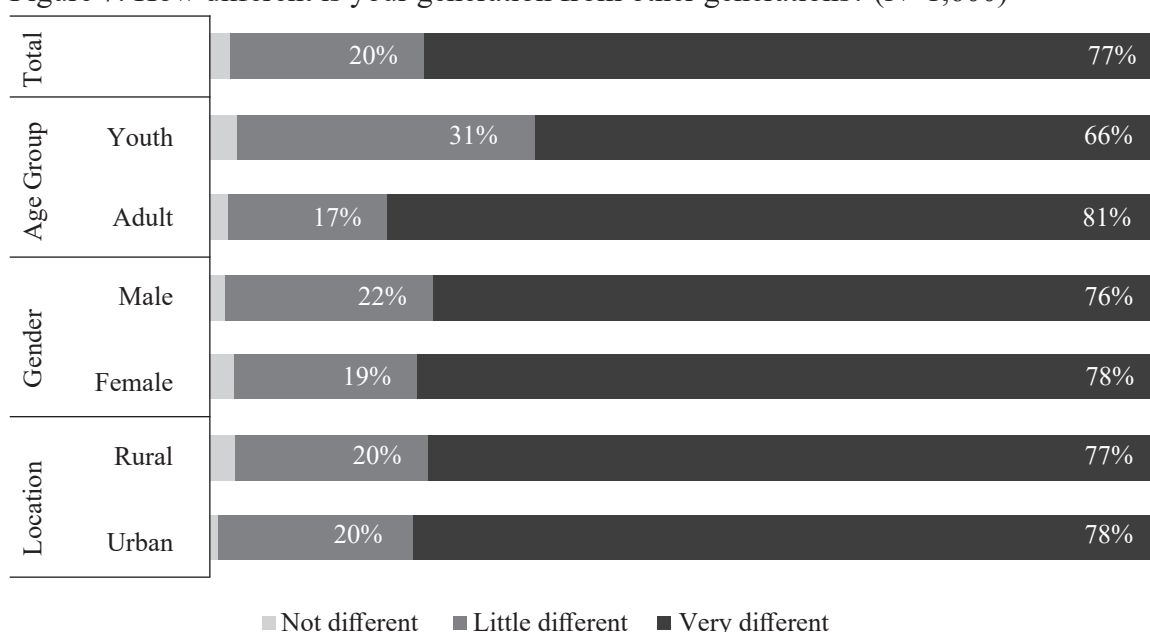
- Older people were more active in the community than young people, although both generations reported spending most of their spare time participating in religious activities. Fewer youth than adults spent time engaged in activities related to politics, training, clubs and associations, and voluntary work.

#### 4.2.1. *Generational differences*

In this section, we investigate citizens' attitudes towards generational differences through a series of questions, from general views to household decision making.

Figure 7 sets out responses to the question whether respondents considered their own generation to be different from other generations. Overall, 77 percent of them considered their generation to be very different from other generations. There is a significant generational gap as perceived by young and old Cambodians, and this perception is evidently felt and observed by older Cambodians. Eighty-one percent of adults perceived drastic differences between their own and the younger generation, perhaps due to their different life experiences and the different contexts in which they grew up. A smaller percentage of youth (66 percent) thought the two generations very different, and a further 31 percent thought the two generations to be only marginally different.

Figure 7: How different is your generation from other generations? (N=1,600)



#### 4.2.2. *Decision making for youth*

In the survey, we asked respondents about decision making within the household on a number of key issues affecting young people, and their perception of who should have the final say on those issues. We were interested in understanding how youth and adult Cambodians give weight to one another's opinions when making important decisions that affect family wellbeing.

Table 7 shows that older Cambodians give more authority to younger relatives to have the final say on key decisions directly affecting them. Both young and old Cambodians agreed that youth should make their own decisions when it comes to voting, employment and spending money. The vast majority of Cambodian youth (95 percent) and adults (93

percent) said youth should make their own decisions about elections, 85 percent of youth and 82 percent of adults said youth should decide how they want to spend their money, and 77 percent of youth and 73 percent of adults said youth should make their own employment decisions.

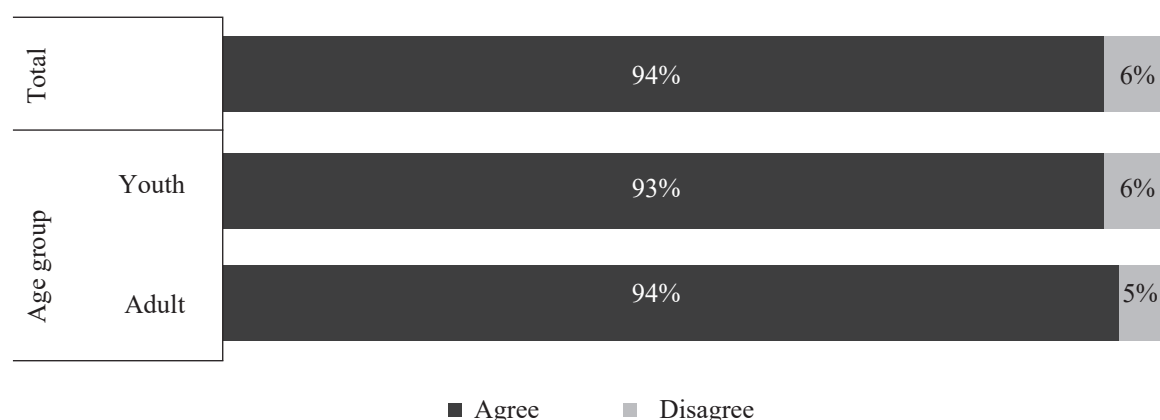
When it comes to education and marriage decisions, both youth and adults said that these should be made jointly as a family. More than half of youth and adults believed youth and adults should make youth's education and marriage decisions together. Education and marriage are seen as a family-based decision while elections and to lesser extent employment and spending money are perceived as individual-based decisions.

Table 7: Who should make the final decision for youth on these topics (percent)? (N=1,600)

Decision maker \ Respondents	Education		Employment		Marriage		New phone		Election	
	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult
Youth	57	53	77	73	57	63	85	82	95	93
Parents	41	45	19	24	42	36	15	17	3	5
Relatives	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friends	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Authorities	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Elders and monks	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

This pattern is also reinforced in the responses to the question about the importance of having one's own political view. Older Cambodians did not want to impose their political beliefs on younger relatives. Instead, they supported youth to develop their own political viewpoints. Ninety-four percent of adult Cambodians and 93 percent of young Cambodians believed it is important that youth have their own political identity.

Figure 8: Do you agree it is important that youth have their own political opinion? (N=1,600)

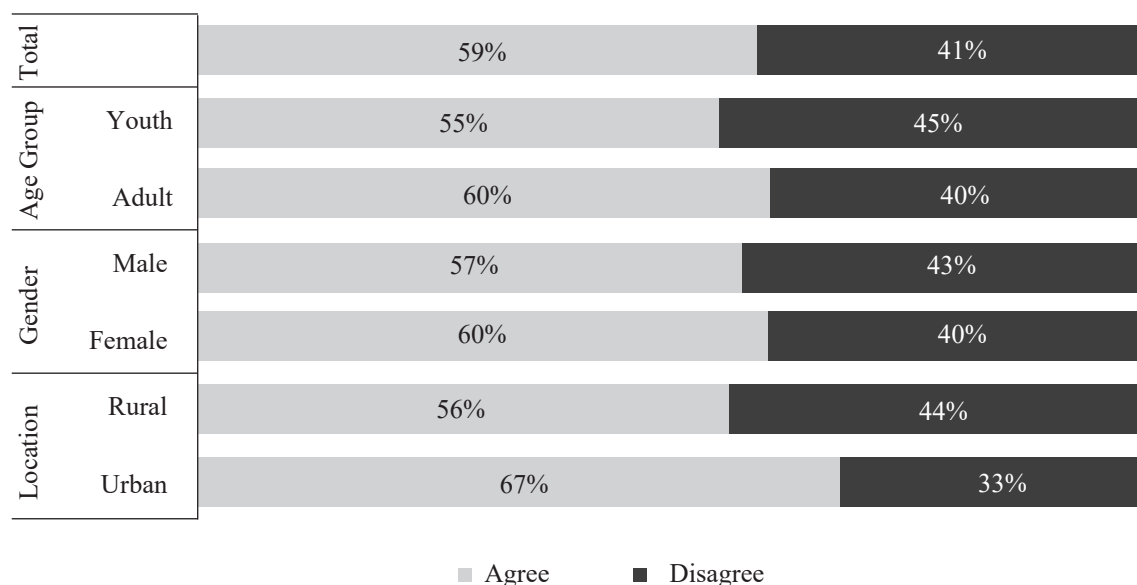


Similarly, older generations approved of the notion that their younger relatives could have different viewpoints from their own (Figure 9). Nearly two-thirds of adults believed youth do not need to follow their elders and should be able to disagree with them. By contrast, only 55



percent of youth said it is a good idea to disagree with their parents, and a further 45 percent believed youth should not disagree with their parents at all. Urban and female Cambodians were more tolerant of younger relatives' critical stance than rural and male Cambodians. This suggests that older Cambodians are more understanding of younger relatives deviating from their own stance.

Figure 9: Do you agree it is acceptable for youth to disagree with their parents? (N=1,600)



Further enquiry into attitudes towards life values revealed that responsibilities towards the family dominated other life priorities, and were perceived as more important than education, politics and community, friends and leisure. The top three priorities for young Cambodians in order of importance were family (78 percent), education and work (45 percent) and religion (33 percent). The top three preferences among older Cambodians were family (65 percent), religion (31 percent), education and work (28 percent). The bottom three priorities as perceived by youth and adults were politics and community, followed by friends and then leisure. The life priorities signified little generational difference. Instead, there was a sense of shared values in which both generations were strongly committed to family, education and work, and religion.

Table 8: Youth's ranking of six key life priorities (percent) (N=398)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Friends	0	9	12	21	41	15
Leisure time	0	2	7	11	22	56
Family	78	14	5	2	1	0
Politics and community	3	13	21	29	17	18
Education and work	17	45	22	13	4	0
Religion	2	18	33	23	15	10

When it comes to spending spare time, Cambodians were more generous with their time for religious activities than any other social and leisure activities. Eighty percent of them (84 percent adults and 66 percent youth) reported participating in religious activities. Older generations were more involved than young people in politics, associations and volunteering: 20 percent of adults spent time on political activities, while only 7 percent of youth did so.

Similarly, more older than young adults reported spending time volunteering and participating in clubs and associations, although the overall rates of participation in these activities were low: 8 percent for volunteering and 4 percent for clubs and associations among youth, and 11 percent for volunteering and 5 percent for clubs and associations among adults. Importantly, 15 percent of Cambodians (24 percent youth and 12 percent adults) did not take part in any of these activities.

Table 9: Adults' ranking of six key life priorities (percent) (N=1,202)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Friends	1	6	10	18	38	21
Leisure time	0	2	6	11	26	54
Family	65	21	10	4	1	0
Politics and community	6	11	19	28	20	17
Education and work	16	28	28	21	7	1
Religion	12	31	28	17	9	7

Table 10: Which of these activities did you participate in last month (percent)? (N=1,600)

List of activities	Total	Age group	
		Youth	Adult
Art and culture	9	9	8
Sport	14	19	13
Training/learning	5	5	5
Volunteering	10	8	11
Clubs and associations	5	4	5
Religious activities	80	66	84
Political activities	17	7	20
Didn't participate in any of these	15	24	12

### 4.3 Attitudes towards gender equality, attachments and respect

#### Main findings

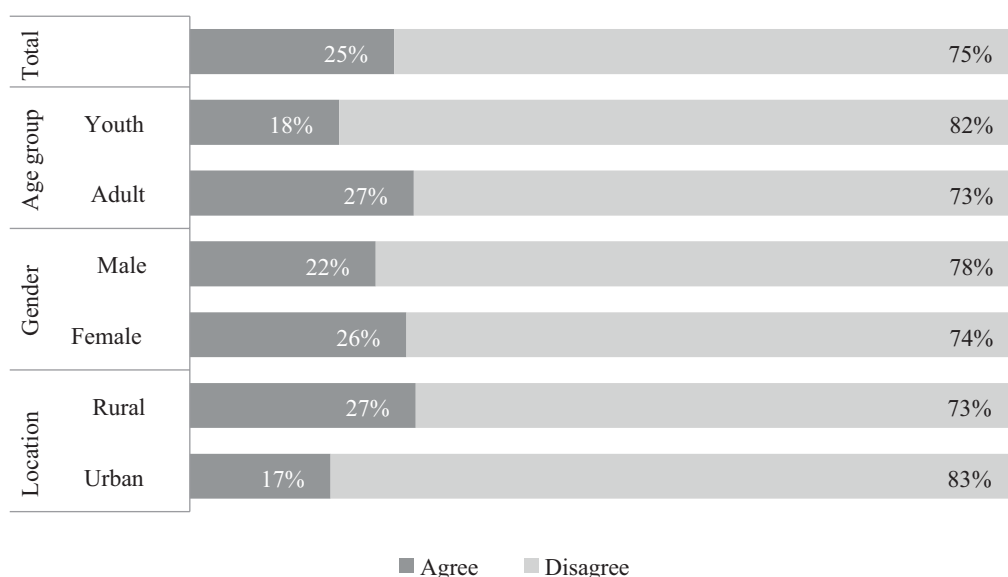
- Cambodians (75 percent) favoured equal opportunities for higher education for women and men. There were some clear demographic differences of opinion. Youth were more solidly in favour of equal opportunities for women in higher education (82 percent in favour, 18 percent against), while adults were less enthusiastic (73 percent in favour, 27 percent against).
- Support for women's leadership was encouragingly positive (58 percent), although reservation remained high (42 percent). There was no generational difference in attitude towards women's leadership. Men (63 percent) and urban residents (66 percent) were more in favour of women leaders than women and rural residents (55 percent).
- Cambodians were strongly attached to their religion (87 percent) and community (70 percent), and to a lesser extent their country (59 percent). Older Cambodians seemed more strongly attached to all three aspects than youth.

- Respect for local authorities was high (86 percent), and similarly shared across young and older generations, women and men.

### 4.3.1 Gender equality

In the survey, we were interested in understanding how socioeconomic and demographic changes are affecting attitudes towards gender relations, religion, country and respect for leaders, and Cambodian's perceptions of women leaders. We asked respondents whether men and women should have the same education opportunities. A majority (75 percent) believed that women and men should be entitled to the same opportunities for tertiary education. And this belief was consistent across youth and adults, rural and urban residents, men and women, and diverse educational backgrounds. Eighty-two percent of youth and 73 percent of adults disagreed with the statement “it is better for boys than girls to study at university”. The support for equal education opportunities was also strong in both rural and urban villages, with urban residents leading rural residents by 10 points.

Figure 10: Do you agree it is better for men to go to university than women? (N=1,600)



We then asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that “gender is a barrier to their success”. Most Cambodians (71 percent) disagreed (77 percent youth and 69 percent adults) and dismissed the statement. There are important variations between rural and urban residents and men and women. A higher proportion of urban residents (81 percent) than rural residents (67 percent) identified no gender-related constraints on their success. There is an obvious gender perception in that more women (34 percent) than men (22 percent) believed that there were gender-specific constraints affecting their future success.

Respondents were also asked about their perception of women's leadership. Overall, 58 percent of Cambodians supported women to take up leadership positions, although reservation about women leaders remained significantly high. Fifty-seven percent of youth and 58 percent of adults supported women leaders, and 43 percent of youth and 42 percent of adults preferred to see men in leadership positions. Support for women in decision-making positions was stronger among urban residents, women and educated population than among rural, men and less educated population. Sixty-six percent of urban residents supported women in political leadership positions compared to 55 percent of rural residents.

Figure 11: Do you agree that gender is an obstacle to your success? (N=1,600)

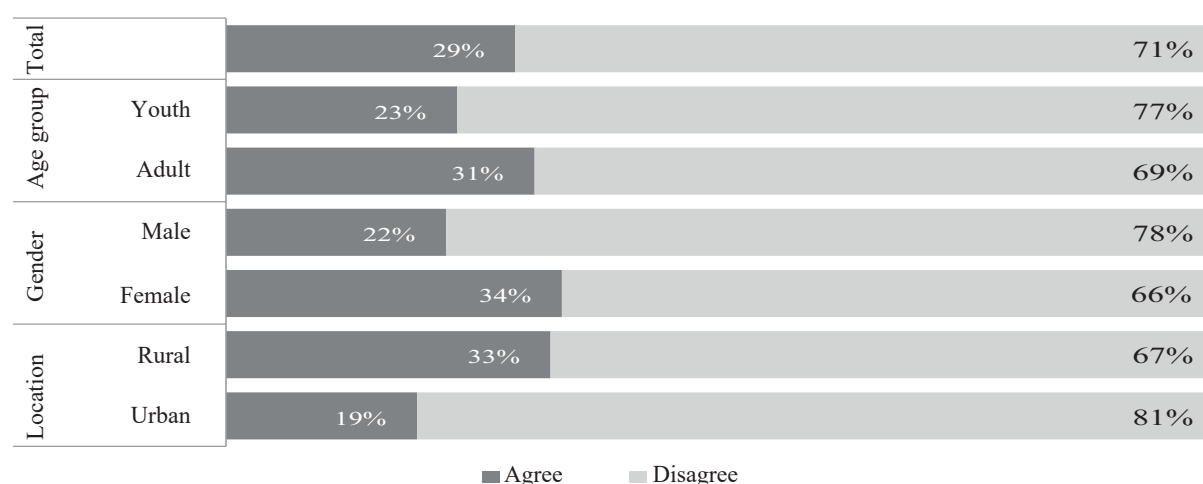


Figure 12: Do you agree that men make better political leaders than women? (N=1,600)

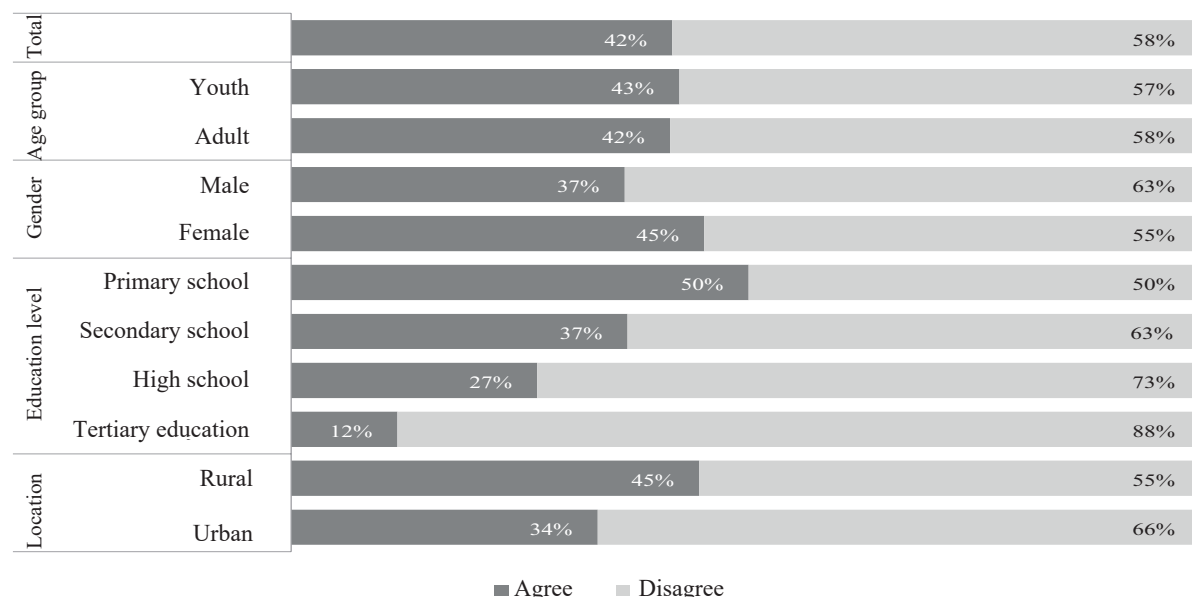
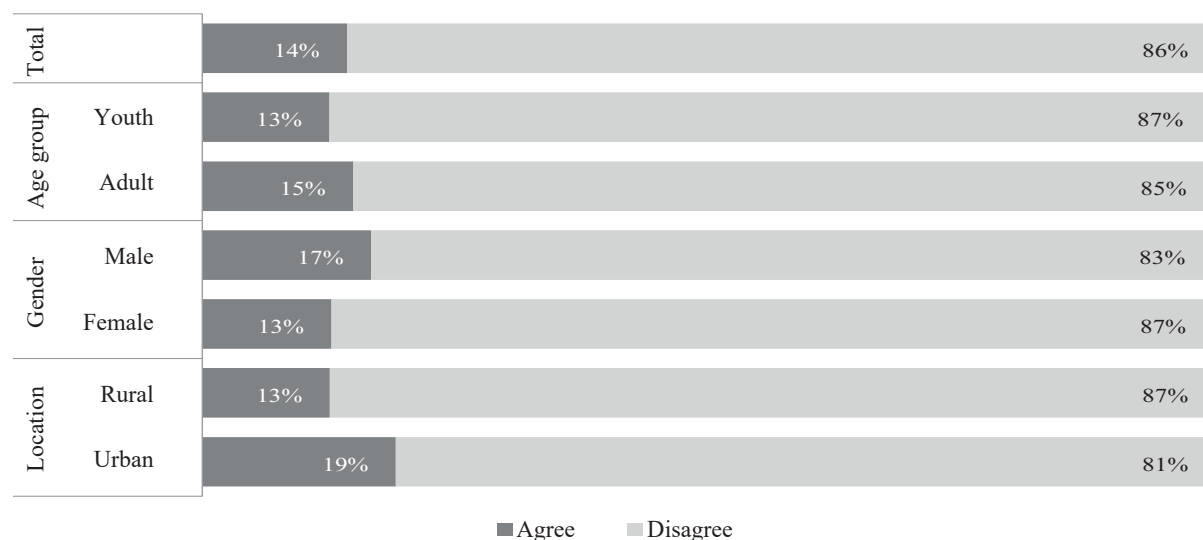


Figure 13: Do you agree that a couple can live together before marriage? (N=1,600)



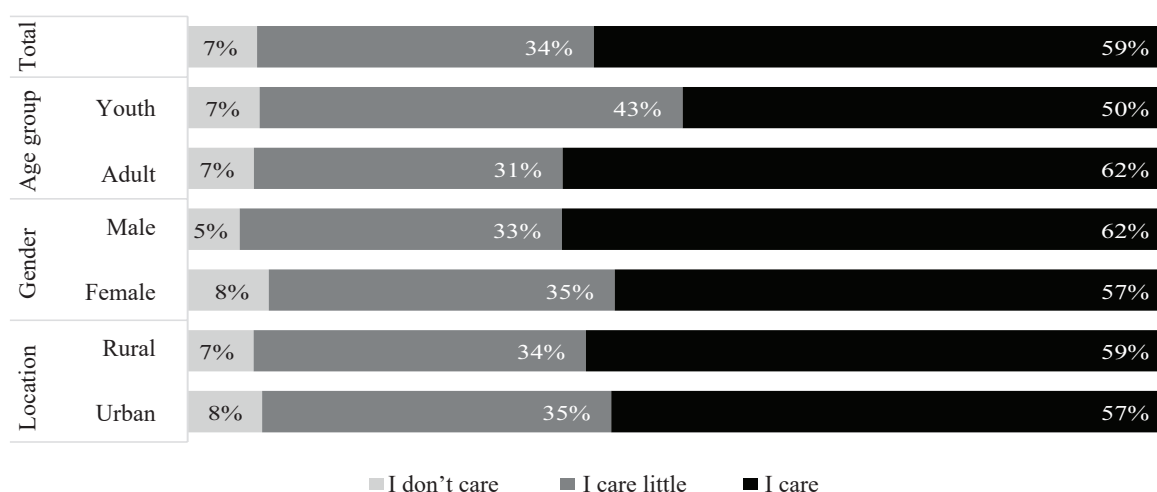
There was little enthusiasm for premarital relationship among the survey respondents. Figure 13 reveals that most Cambodians (86 percent) disapproved of intimate relationships before marriage. Eighty-seven percent of youth and 85 percent of adults disagreed with the statement “a couple can live together before marriage”. Slightly more women (87 percent) than men (83 percent) disapproved of pre-marital relationships.

#### 4.3.2 Attachment towards community, country and religion

In exploring attachments towards their community, country and religion, we found that Cambodians identify more strongly with religion than with community and country.

Figure 14 shows that Cambodians (59 percent) have a strong attachment to country, although this sentiment was weaker among youth than adult Cambodians. Sixty-two percent of adults and only 50 percent of youth said they cared for their country. A further 43 percent of adults and 31 percent of youth said they cared little for their country. More rural residents (59 percent) than urban residents (57 percent) identified as strongly attached to country. There was little variation by education level and gender.

Figure 14: How much do you care about your country? (N=1,600)



Cambodians identified close ties with religion (87 percent) and community (70 percent) (Figures 15 and 16). Attachment to religion, especially among adult Cambodians, was much stronger than attachment to community. Eighty-nine percent of adults and 82 percent of youth said they were closely connected to their religion, and just 73 percent of adults and 62 percent of youth said they were closely connected to their community. This pattern was observable regardless of location or gender; Cambodians related more strongly to religion than to community.

Figure 15: How closely do you relate to religion? (N=1,600)

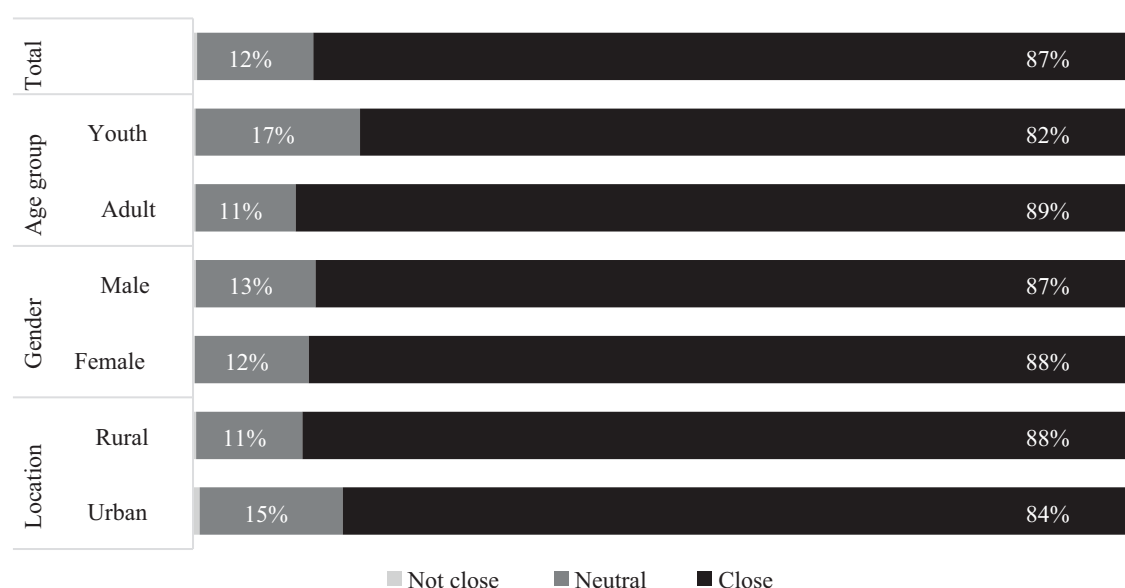
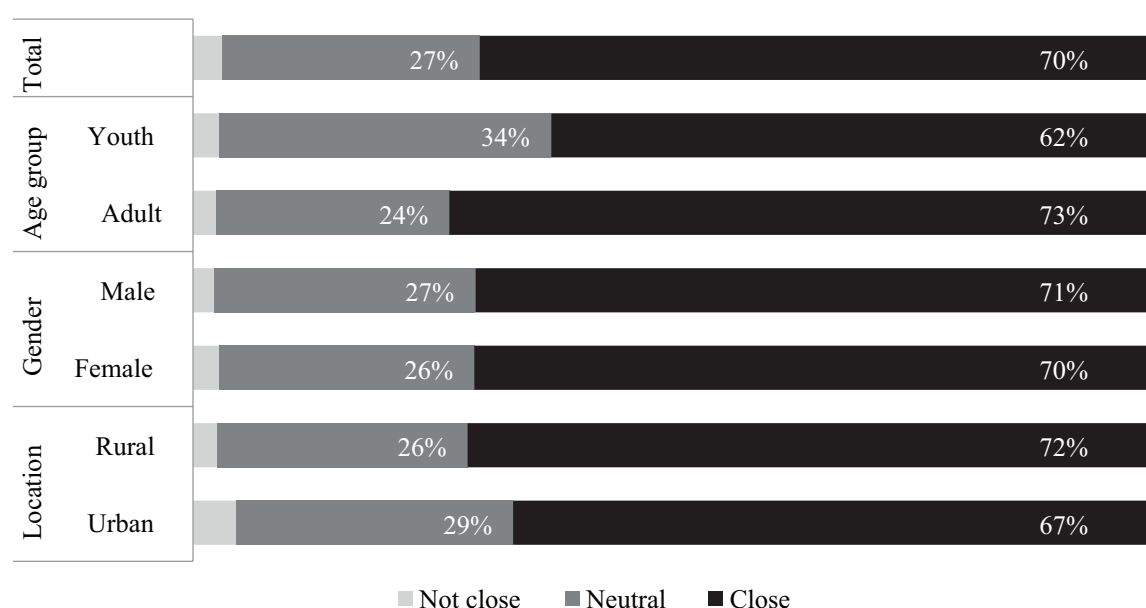


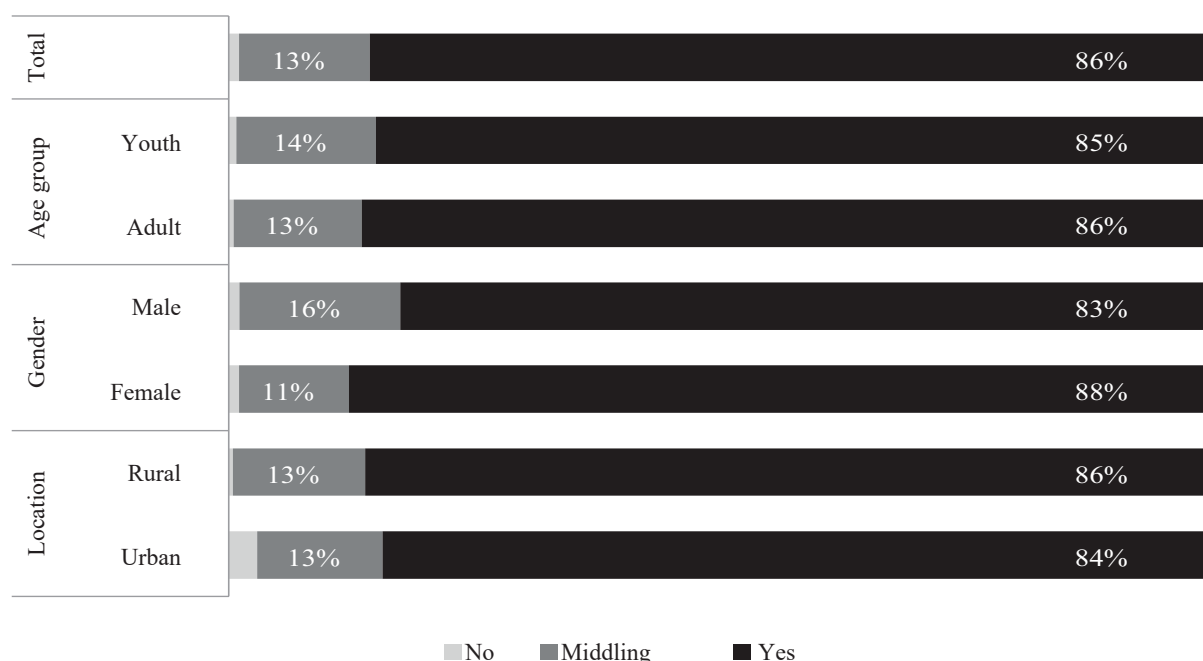
Figure 16: How closely connected are you with your community? (N=1,600)



### 4.3.3 Respect for local authorities

We found that most Cambodians (86 percent) respect their commune chiefs. This attitude was shared widely across generations, location and gender. Eighty-five percent of youth and 86 percent of adults said they respect local authorities, and a further 14 percent of youth and 13 percent of adults said they respect them a little. Respect for local authorities among rural and urban residents was also high at 86 percent and 84 percent, respectively. There was little difference in opinion across the survey group in terms of age, location or educational background, showing that these are commonly held attitudes. Fewer men than women said they respect their commune chiefs.

Figure 17: Do you respect your commune chief? (N=1,600)



## 4.4 Trust

### Main findings

- There was little difference between youth and older Cambodians' trust of institutions. Among the five choices on trust in institutions, social service providers (schools and hospitals) came first, local institutions second, police and courts third, media fourth, and politicians in fifth place.
- Younger and older Cambodians shared similar views towards trusting other people. Interpersonal trust was generally weak; most personal relations were deemed somewhat trustworthy rather than trustworthy or strongly trustworthy.
- Both older and young people viewed people working for civil society organisations positively, and as trustworthy as their extended family. This finding was consistent across location and gender.

#### 4.4.1 Trust in institutions

When we explored the level of trust Cambodians have for a number of public institutions, we found that most respondents had difficulty ranking the institutions from one to five (1 is the most trusted, and five is the least trusted). Consistent with previous surveys,<sup>2</sup> trust in institutions was generally low (Table 11). The most trusted institutions, ranked in first place by 36 percent of respondents, were schools and. Local institutions came in second place with 30 percent. Police and courts came in third place, followed by the media in fourth place and politicians in fifth place. Surprisingly, Cambodians trusted the police and courts more than the media and politicians. Only about 3 percent of respondents trusted none of these five institutions. Youth's views were only modestly different from those of older Cambodians (Table 12). Thirty-eight

<sup>2</sup> See Ninh, Kim, and Roger Henke. 2005. *Commune Councils in Cambodia: A National Survey on their Functions and Performance, with a Special Focus on Conflict Resolution*. San Francisco, CA: The Asia Foundation in collaboration with Center for Advanced Study.

percent of youth and 36 percent of adults ranked schools and hospitals in first place, followed by 29 percent and 30 percent, respectively, for local institutions, and 25 percent for police and courts in third place.

Table 11: Which of these public institutions do you trust most (percent)? (N=1,600)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Media	12	15	20	29	24
Local institutions	31	30	23	13	4
Police/courts	12	22	25	24	13
Hospitals/schools	36	26	23	13	5
Politicians	6	7	10	21	54
Don't trust any of these	3	0	0	0	0

Table 12: Which of these public institutions do you trust most (percent)? (N=1,600)

	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		5th	
	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult
Media	10	12	14	15	21	20	30	29	26	23
Local institutions	28	33	29	30	24	22	13	12	5	3
Police/courts	15	11	28	20	25	25	19	25	9	14
Hospitals/Schools	38	36	23	28	20	24	13	13	8	4
Politicians	7	5	6	7	10	10	24	20	52	56
Don't trust any of these	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

#### 4.4.2 Trust in other people

When it comes to trust in other people, Cambodians rated most of their interpersonal relations as somewhat trustworthy rather than trustworthy. Half of them took a neutral position in rating friends, colleagues, neighbours and extended family as somewhat trustworthy. This suggests they did not have complete trust in anyone they interacted with. Cambodians perceived representatives of civil society organisations positively, and as trustworthy as their extended family. Thirty-one percent of them said they trust and a further 17 percent said they strongly trust development workers. Cambodians trust politicians (22 percent) more than friends (11 percent) and colleagues (19 percent). There was also little generational difference in personal trust in that most youth and adult Cambodians somewhat trust family, friends, development workers and politicians. Level of education was not significant in explaining attitudes towards personal trust.

Table 13: How much can you trust other people (percent)? (N=1,600)

	Strongly distrust	Distrust	Somewhat trust	Trust	Strongly trust
Extended family	3	5	50	20	22
Friends	9	18	59	11	3
Colleagues	7	15	54	19	6
Neighbours	5	13	52	22	8
Development workers	3	6	43	31	17
Politicians	6	12	47	22	13
Strangers	73	22	5	0	0



Table 14: How much can you trust other people (percent)? (N=1,592)

	Strongly distrust		Distrust		Somewhat trust		Trust		Strongly trust	
	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult
Extended family	2	3	4	5	52	50	23	19	20	23
Friends	8	10	15	19	65	56	10	11	2	3
Colleagues	6	7	13	16	58	52	17	19	5	6
Neighbours	6	4	18	11	53	52	18	23	5	9
Development workers	3	3	6	7	46	42	32	30	14	18
Politicians	5	6	11	12	52	46	22	22	10	15
Strangers	65	76	29	20	6	4	0	0	0	0

## 4.5 Political knowledge

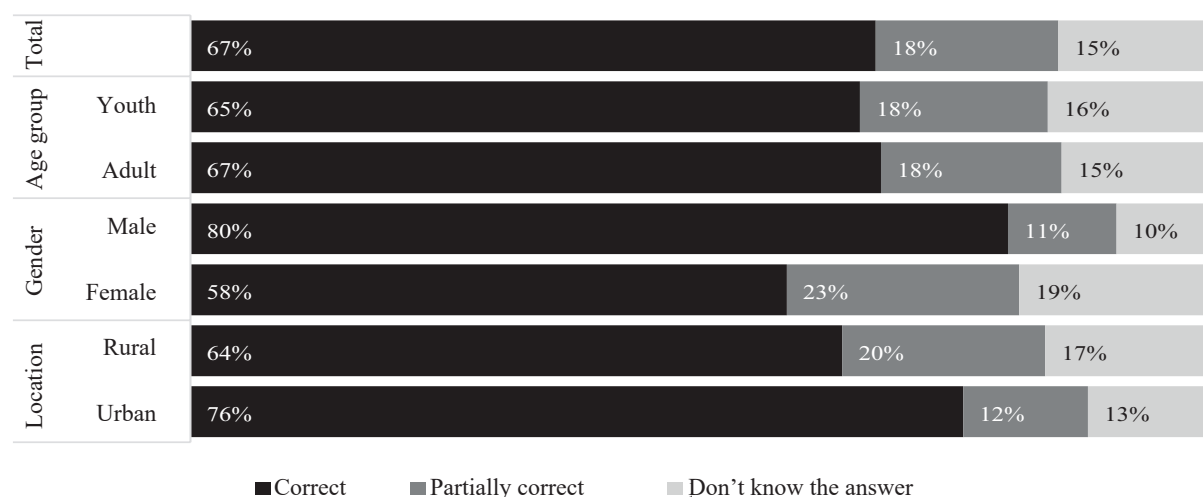
### Main findings

- Two thirds of Cambodians (67 percent) could correctly name national politicians. There was no generational difference, but women were less likely than men to answer correctly (58 percent of women compared to 80 percent of men).
- Most Cambodians (76 percent) had difficulty naming the three branches of institutions: juridical, executive and legislative. Youth performed much better than adult Cambodians, though 68 percent of youth and 78 percent of adults did not know the answer. Women (86 percent) were also less likely than men (61 percent) to know the answer.
- Almost all Cambodians (99 percent) perceived voting as an obligation, and believed it to have a significant impact on the direction of the country (98 percent). Youth and adults were unanimous on this topic.
- Family was identified as the most influential factor shaping Cambodians' political views, followed by politicians and media. Youth and older Cambodians held similar views on this matter.

#### 4.5.1 Knowledge of politicians and institutions

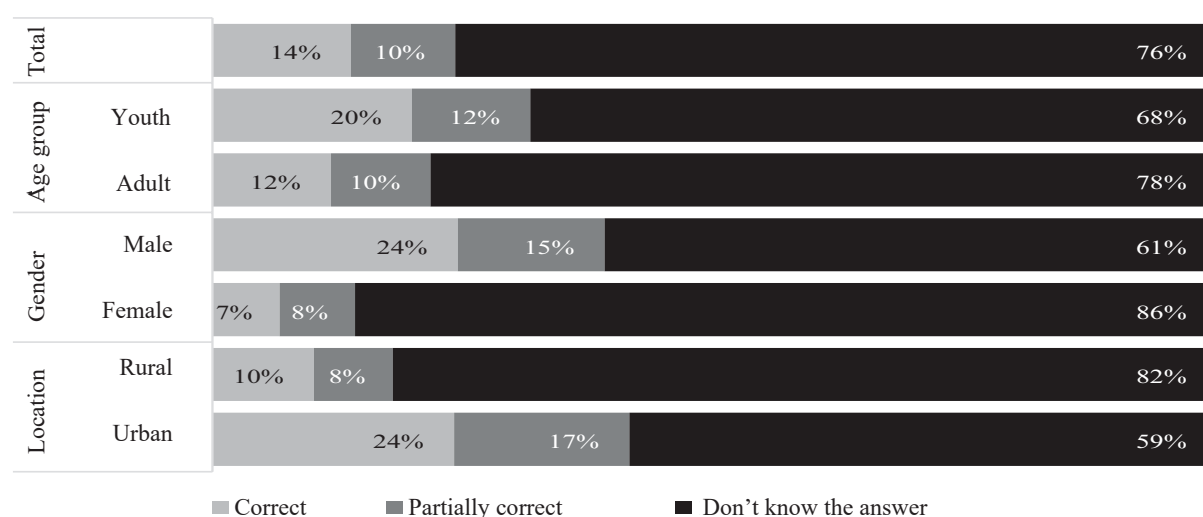
In this section we explore Cambodian's understanding and attitudes towards elections and institutions. Figure 18 shows that two in three Cambodians (67 percent) knew national-level politicians. About 18 percent of both age groups could confidently name at least one or two politicians and a further 15 percent could not provide any name. More urban (76 percent) than rural (64 percent) people could correctly name three national politicians. Such difference was also evident across gender in that most men (80 percent) compared to slightly more than half of women (58 percent) knew national-level politicians. There was also variation by level of education in that those with a better education were more likely to correctly name three national politicians than those with less education.

Figure 18: Can you name three national politicians (excluding the prime minister)? (N=1,600)



In contrast to Cambodians' strong knowledge of national-level politicians, most Cambodians (76 percent) were not able to name the three branches of power outlined in the constitution. Just 14 percent of Cambodians could correctly name the three branches, and a further 10 percent could name only one or two. Young Cambodians performed far better than their older relatives: 20 percent and 12 percent, respectively, correctly named the three branches. Seventy-eight percent of adults and 68 percent of youth did not know the answer. In rural and urban settings, the gap was staggering: 82 percent of rural people did not know the answer as opposed to 59 percent of urban people. In other words, most Cambodians living in rural areas could not name the three institutions. Furthermore, more women (86 percent) than men (61 percent) did not respond to this question correctly.

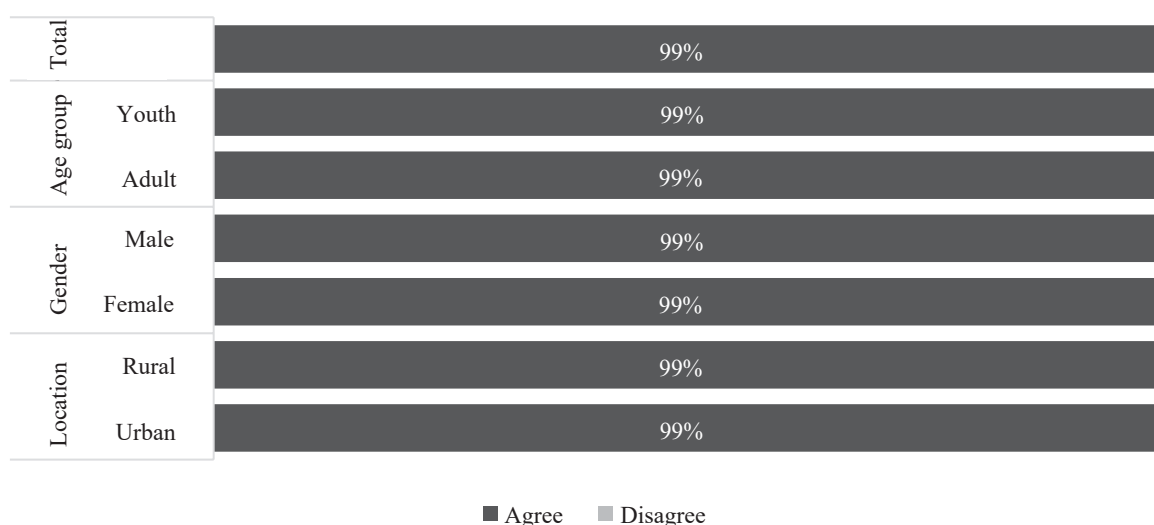
Figure 19: How many branches of supreme power are there? (N=1,600)



#### 4.5.2 Voting

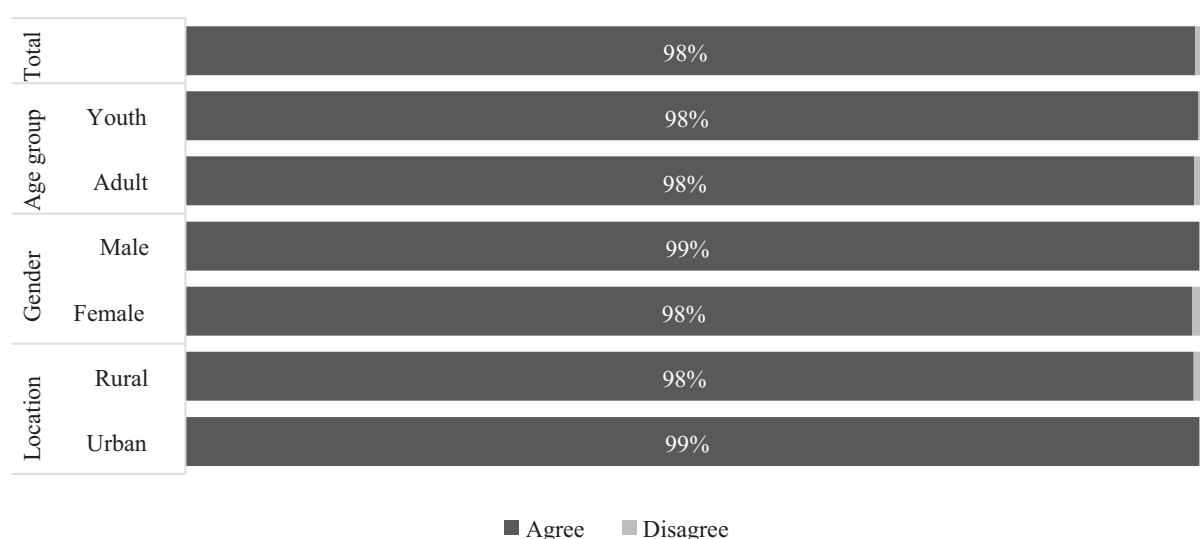
We asked respondents whether they value and believe in elections. The vast majority of Cambodians (99 percent) understood it is their civic duty to vote in elections. Almost all (99 percent) youth and adults agreed with the statement "I feel an obligation to vote". This view was shared across gender and urban-rural residence.

Figure 20: Do you agree with the statement ‘I feel an obligation to vote’? (N=1,600)



Furthermore, almost all Cambodians (98 percent) believed that their votes are important in shaping the future of the country. This view was shared by youth and adults. There was no difference in views after controlling for gender and location.

Figure 21: Do you agree with the statement ‘My vote can have an impact on the future of my country’? (N=1,600)



### 4.5.3 Political influence

We also asked respondents to rank the people they identified as most influential in shaping their political views. Family and politicians were equally identified as having most influence. The media came in third place, teachers in fourth place, religion in fifth and colleagues in sixth place. There was a slight generational difference. For youth, family was ranked first, closely followed by politicians and the media. Adult Cambodians ranked family and politicians as the two most influential factors affecting their political decisions. Religious figures, colleagues and teachers play relatively minor roles in shaping political views.

Table 15: Who most influences your political views (percent)? (N=1,433)

	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		5th		6th	
	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult
Family	32	28	18	19	17	19	19	20	15	18	8	12
Politicians	31	28	32	31	19	20	12	12	6	11	0	0
Media	22	25	18	18	19	14	13	16	16	18	17	15
Teachers	10	10	17	15	19	17	20	19	20	16	7	9
Religious figures	3	7	9	11	10	15	17	13	17	15	41	28
Colleagues	3	2	6	6	16	14	20	21	27	21	28	36

## 4.6 Local participation

### Main findings

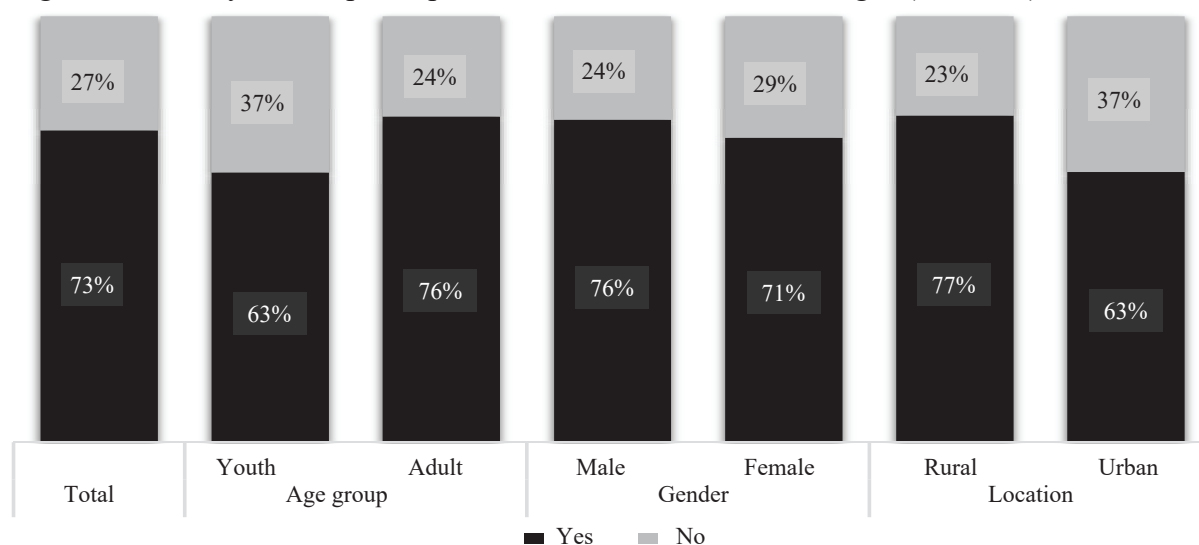
- Most Cambodians (73 percent) had some exposure to local meetings. Youth were less actively involved than older Cambodians in local affairs such as commune development projects and public forums, but were active in school and health-related meetings.
- Women were less likely than men to take part in local meetings, except health centre meetings, which 46 percent of women attended compared to 38 percent of men. As for commune meetings, only 33 percent of women had attended such meetings compared to 44 percent of men.
- One in three Cambodians reported asking questions when attending a local meeting. Slightly more youth than adults reported speaking up during local meetings.
- Young and older Cambodians did not respond when asked whether they were afraid to ask questions during local meetings, suggesting that Cambodians are generally reluctant to express views and engage in public discussions.
- Most Cambodians (89 percent youth and 88 percent adults) wanted their communes to provide more services and local projects using the Commune/Sangkat Fund. These include local infrastructure upgrading, social services provision and social protection programs.

#### 4.6.1 Local meetings

How decentralisation reform has enabled Cambodians to interact with public officials and influence decision making at local level is an important policy discussion. In the survey we asked respondents a series of questions about their experience in local-level meetings, particularly at commune/sangkat level.

Most Cambodians (73 percent) had experienced participating in local consultative meetings. Fewer youth than older Cambodians had been involved in local meetings: 63 percent of youth and 76 percent of adults reported taking part in local activities. Men were slightly more active than women: 76 percent and 71 percent, respectively. There was a big difference in local participation among rural and urban residents: 77 percent of rural residents had participated in meetings compared to only 63 percent of urban residents. Despite the high level of participation, about one in four Cambodians (27 percent) had not participated in local meetings.

Figure 22: Have you ever participated in local activities or meetings? (N=1,600)



Further enquiry into the kind of local meetings Cambodians had taken part in revealed that most Cambodians were mainly exposed to a very local-level activities and far fewer to commune-level activities. Most (58 percent) had attended village meetings while only 37 percent had attended commune meetings, and a mere 21 percent had taken part in monitoring of commune projects. Few Cambodians (17 percent) had experienced public forums. Participation in school and health centre meetings was strong at 31 percent and 43 percent, respectively.

Young Cambodians participated far less than to older Cambodians, with the exception of school meetings. Only about one in three youth had participated in commune council meetings. Fewer youth (37 percent) than adults (65 percent) had attended village meetings. This huge difference was also evident in commune meetings, with participation from fewer youth (19 percent) than adults (43 percent). Participation in monitoring commune projects and in public forums indicated that youth were also significantly less engaged than adults at this level. Youth were more involved in school and health centre meetings: 37 percent of youth and 30 percent of adults attended school meetings, and 37 percent of youth and 45 percent of adults attended health centre meetings.

There was also important gender variation in local level participation. Participation among men and women in village and school meetings was similar: 57 percent of women and 60 percent of men participate in village meetings, and 31 percent of women and 32 percent of men participate in school meetings. At commune level, the participation of women was much lower than that of men. In other words, more men than women took part in commune council meetings and in monitoring of commune projects, and public forums. For instance, only 33 percent of women reported having observed commune meetings compared to 44 percent of men. Only in health centre meetings did women (46 percent) outnumber men (38 percent).

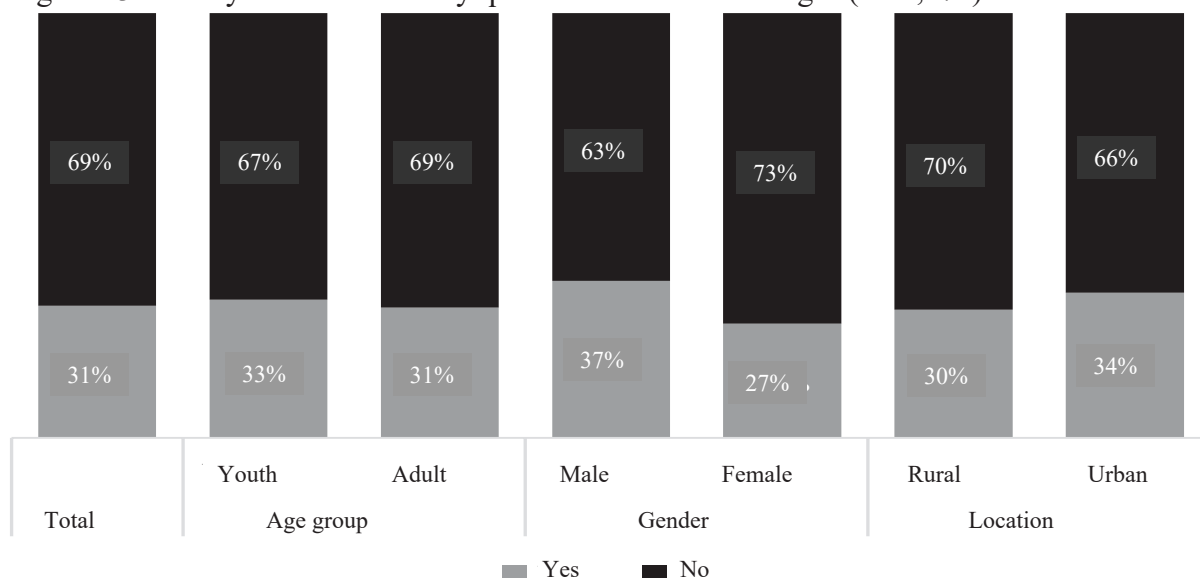
Urban residents were less likely than rural residents to report participating in local meetings, across the different forums. A combination of plausible reasons lies behind this lack of participation among urban residents. There might be fewer meetings organised by authorities in urban areas compared to rural areas, and there is a higher likelihood that meeting times might conflict with work even if urban residents were invited to attend.

Table 16: Have you participated in any of these events (percent)? (N=1,600)

	Total	Age group		Gender		Location	
		Youth	Adult	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Village meetings	58	37	65	60	57	63	46
Commune meetings	37	19	43	44	33	37	38
Monitoring of commune projects	21	13	23	27	16	22	18
School meetings	31	37	30	32	31	34	25
Health centre meetings	43	37	45	38	46	48	28
Public forums	17	10	20	23	13	18	15

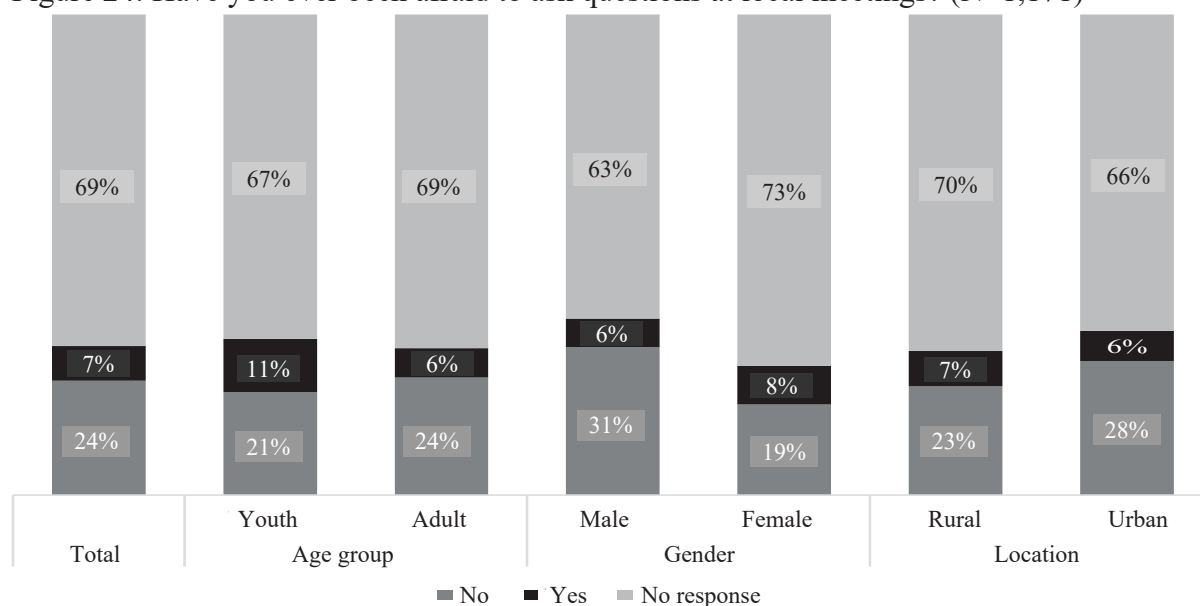
Contribution during local meetings, for instance, by asking questions, was not widely observed. One in three Cambodians reported asking questions at a local meeting. The other 69 percent only attended meetings and did not ask questions. Moreover, young Cambodians, men and urban residents were more likely to ask questions during meetings than older Cambodians, female and rural residents.

Figure 23: Have you ever asked any questions at local meetings? (N=1,171)



One reason why Cambodians who have participated in local meetings but have rarely posed questions might be because they were afraid of speaking up. Interestingly, most respondents (69 percent) chose not to respond to the question whether they were fearful of asking questions during meetings. This suggests that Cambodians are generally reluctant to engage in public discussions requiring exposing one's view point in the presence of authority figures. A further 24 percent said they were not afraid to ask questions, and only 7 percent said they were afraid. This view was common across generations, gender and location.

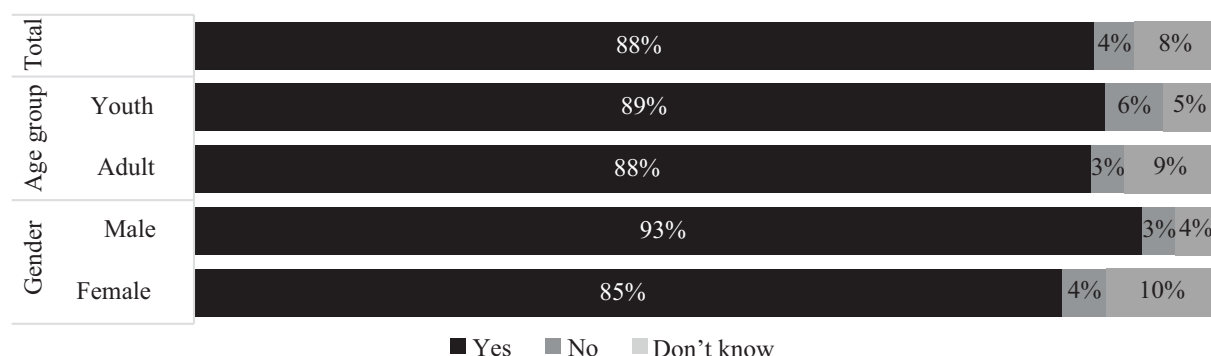
Figure 24: Have you ever been afraid to ask questions at local meetings? (N=1,171)



#### 4.6.2 Commune responsibilities

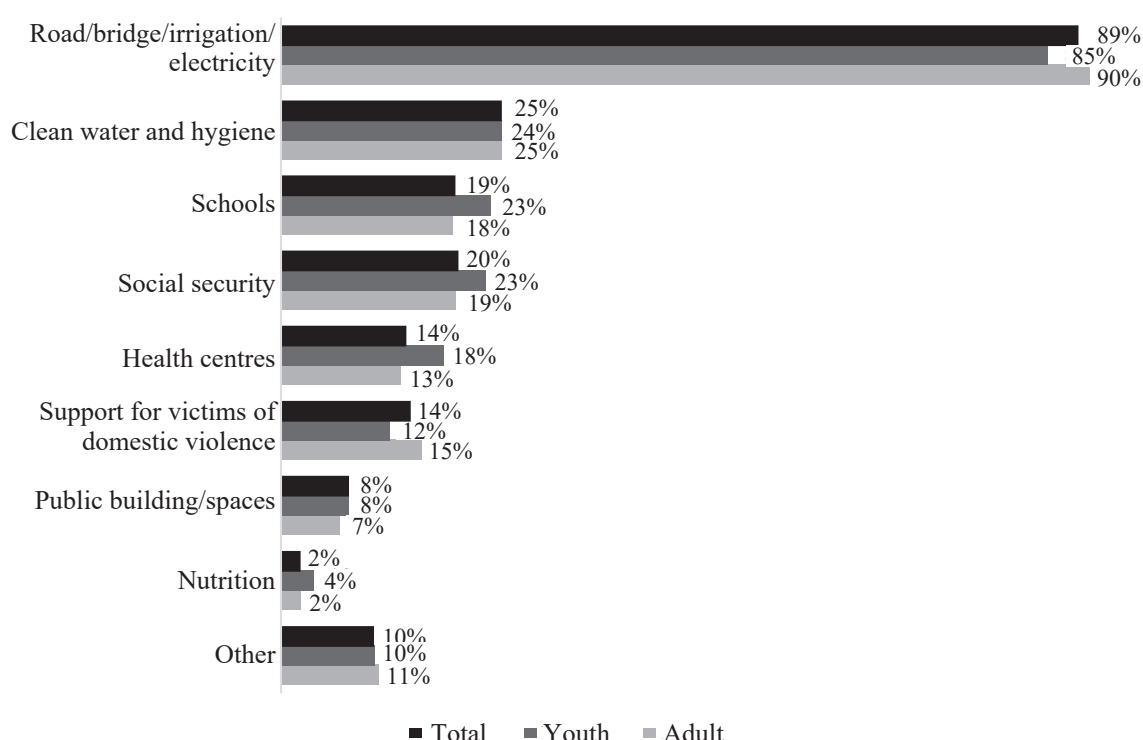
Cambodians expected commune councils to have done more than what they have achieved in terms of services delivery provision and development activities. Most youth (89 percent) and adults (88 percent) said that they would like to see their commune providing more of the services and projects that the current Commune/Sangkat Fund had been focussing on. This perception was shared across gender, with 93 percent of men and 85 percent of women saying that the commune should use the Commune/Sangkat Fund to deliver projects to develop their locality.

Figure 25: Were any services or development projects not funded by the commune but should have been? (N=1,415)



The services and projects that most Cambodians (85 percent of youth and 90 percent of adults) expect of commune councils fall into three broad categories: (1) infrastructure such as roads, bridges, irrigation system, electricity, rural water supply, sanitation and hygiene promotion, (2) social services such as school and health centre improvements, and (3) social security program for poor, elderly and orphans.

Figure 26: Which services or projects should the commune have funded? (N=1,415)



## 4.7 National institutional assessment

### Main findings

- Both youth (70 percent) and adults (72 percent) approved of the country's direction. Rural residents (74 percent) were more likely than urban residents (64 percent) to agree that the country was moving in the right direction.
- More youth (90 percent) than adults (86 percent) agreed that their economic status has improved in the last five years.
- More than half of Cambodians approved of the government's record for maintaining political stability, and this view was shared among youth and older Cambodians.
- Cambodians were critical of the government's record for helping poor people (30 percent) and creating jobs for youth (39 percent). There were no generational differences in Cambodians' assessment of these issues.
- Most Cambodians reported satisfaction with education, healthcare and infrastructure. Youth and adults were more satisfied with social service providers than with law enforcement and representative institutions.

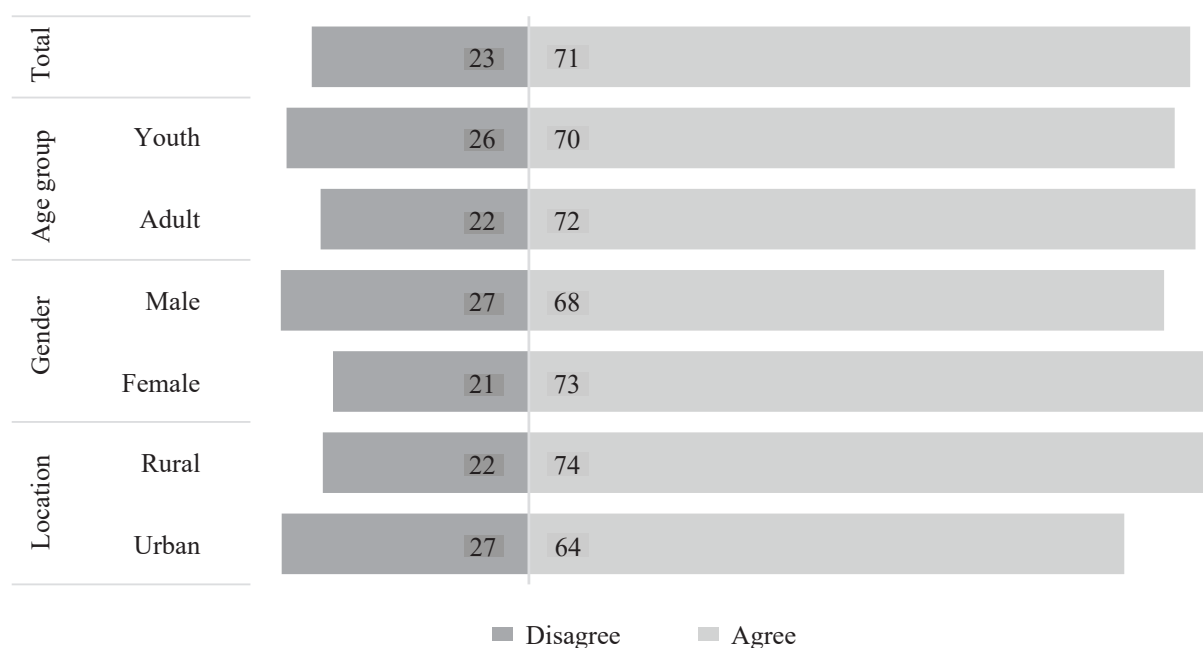
### 4.7.1 General assessment

This section discusses Cambodians' attitudes towards the direction of the country and the performance of national institutions. Figure 27 indicates that Cambodians (71 percent) are generally satisfied with the direction the country is taking. This view was shared across



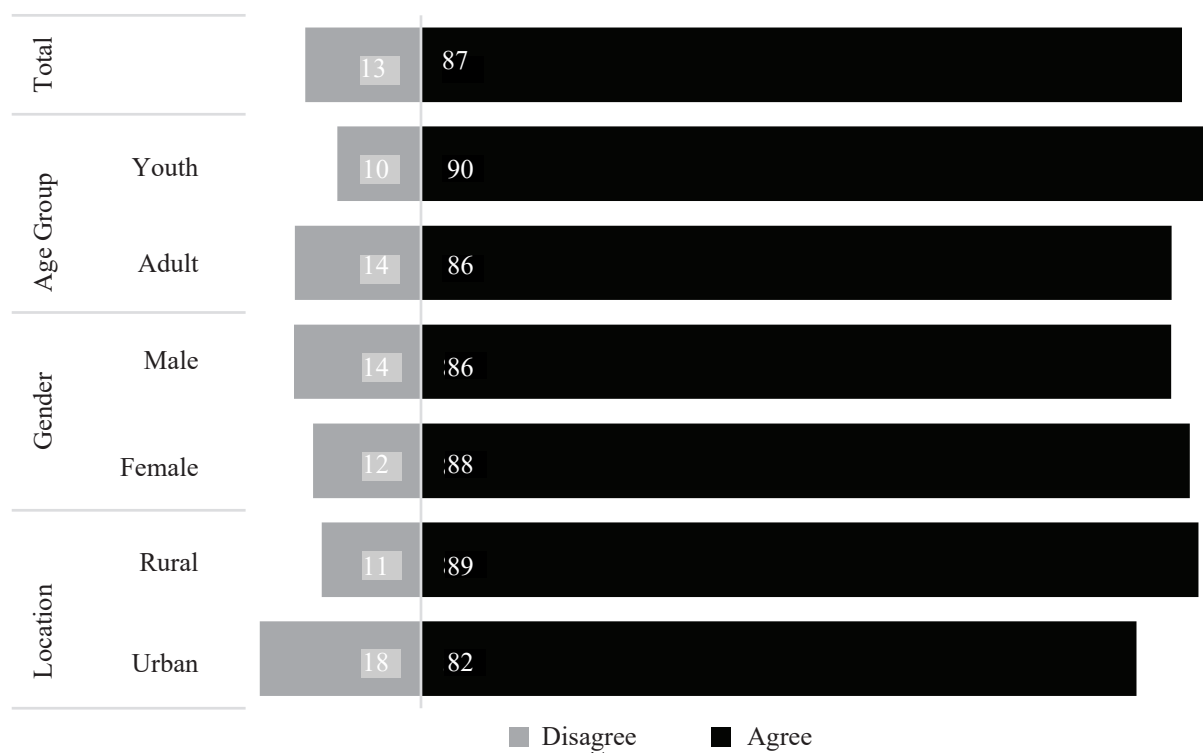
generations with adults slightly more satisfied than youth: 70 percent of youth and 72 percent of adults agreed that the country is on the right track. Satisfaction with the country's direction was stronger among rural people (74 percent) than among urban people (64 percent).

Figure 27: Do you agree that the country is on the right track? (percent) (N= 1,600)



Note: The figures do not add up to 100 percent because 'No response' data is not included

Figure 28: Do you agree that most Cambodians are doing better than five years ago? (percent) (N=1,600)

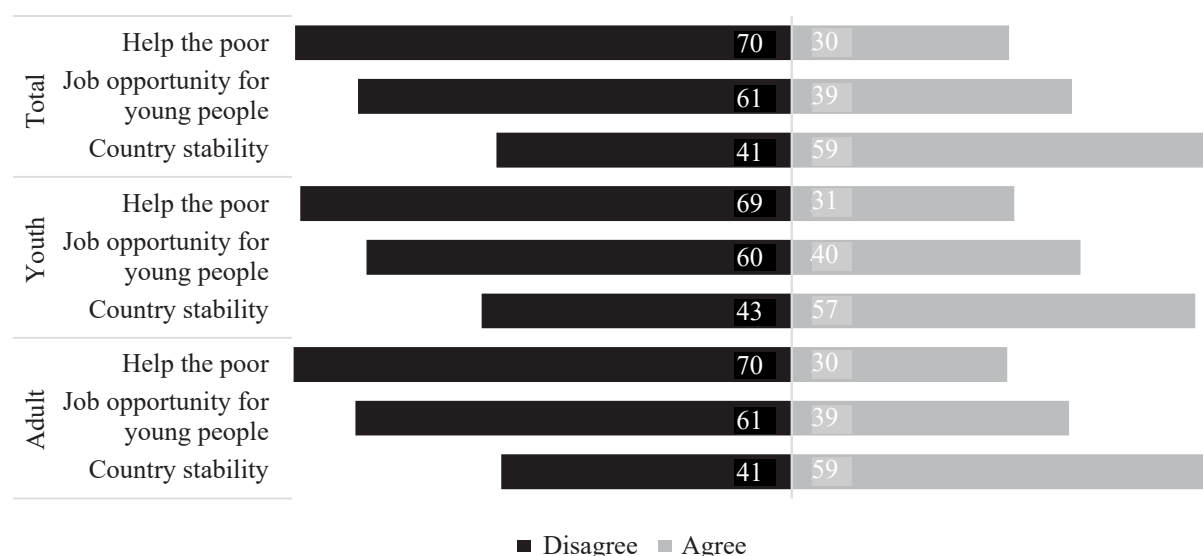


In terms of economic wellbeing, a majority of Cambodians (87 percent) believed that they are doing better economically than five years ago. This view was shared enthusiastically among youth and older Cambodians, men and women, rural and urban residents. Ninety percent of youth and 86 percent of adults, 86 percent of men and 88 percent of women, and 89 percent of rural and 82 percent of urban residents reported improvements in their economic standing compared to five years ago.

#### 4.7.2 National institutional assessment

We sought to explore Cambodians' views on a number of national institutions and the government's performance on several important topics. Figure 29 breaks down responses when respondents were asked whether government performance related to helping poor people, creating employment for youth, and maintaining political stability was good enough. More than half of them (59 percent) approved of government performance for maintaining political stability, but they were less satisfied when it came to support for the poor and job creation for youth. Only 30 percent and 39 percent were happy with government performance in helping the poor and in creating job opportunities, and 70 percent and 61 percent, respectively, disapproved of the government's record in these areas. There were small differences between youth and older Cambodians' perspectives. For instance, 59 percent of adults and 57 percent of youth approved of government performance with respect to political stability.

Figure 29: Do you agree that government is doing enough in these areas? (percent) (N=1,600)



Cambodians are more satisfied with the performance of service provider institutions than with law enforcement and representative institutions (parliament). Cambodians rank education, health and infrastructure as the top three institutions they are most satisfied with. Cambodians are happier with the performance of the police than with that of the courts and parliament, with police ranked in fourth place, followed by courts in fifth place and parliament in sixth place. Both old and young Cambodians have similar perspectives, rating education and health as the top two institutions they are most satisfied with. Cambodians are least satisfied with the courts and parliament. This could be partly due to a lack of information about these institutions, or to dissatisfaction with performance practices.

Table 17: Which of these institutions are you most satisfied with in terms of performance?  
(percent) (N=1,549)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Education	46	26	15	8	7	4
Health	24	41	20	8	6	4
Infrastructure	16	17	33	19	11	11
Police	4	8	22	39	17	14
Courts	3	4	5	13	36	30
Parliament	6	4	5	12	23	37

Table 18: Which of these government institutions are you most satisfied with in terms of performance? (percent) (N=1,157)

	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		5th		6th	
	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult	Youth	Adult
Education	49	46	26	27	12	16	7	9	8	7	5	4
Health	20	26	39	42	23	20	10	8	7	6	7	3
Infrastructure	14	17	16	17	26	35	21	18	13	10	14	9
Police	6	4	9	8	29	19	33	41	12	19	13	14
Courts	5	3	4	3	5	5	18	11	28	39	35	28
Parliament	6	5	6	3	5	5	10	13	32	20	26	42

## 4.8 Access to and use of political information

### Main findings

- Cambodians mainly get political information from local sources such as television (71 percent), family members (59 percent) and neighbours (51 percent). Youth stand out in terms of accessing the internet for such information, with more than twice as many youth (58 percent) as adults (25 percent) using the internet for political news.
- Both youth and adult Cambodians reported using the internet for entertainment and keeping in touch with friends and family, and were less likely to use it for self-study purposes.
- More youth (35 percent) than adults (29 percent) reported being afraid to look up political content online, and were equally cautious when it came to online discussion and sharing of political content.
- Half of Cambodians said they were afraid to share and discuss politics offline and online. Similarly, youth and adults preferred to share and discuss politics with family only and a trusted circle of friends and neighbours.
- Men were more likely than women to engage in political discussions both offline and online, suggesting that politics remains a male-dominated affair.

#### 4.8.1 Sources of political information

We were also interested to understand how recent changes in information and technology penetration may have affected youth and older Cambodians' access to political information. Table 19 sets out responses on sources of political information. Cambodians accessed political information from many sources, although local sources such as television, family members, neighbours and local authorities remained important. People in close circles such as family (59 percent), neighbours (51 percent), friends (41 percent) and local authorities (42 percent)

were a key source of political information. One in three Cambodians depend on the radio and the internet for political information, whereas only 8 percent of Cambodians rely on printed newspapers and civil society actors.

There were dramatic differences across generations, gender and location. Television was the first main source for political information, 73 percent for youth and 71 percent for adults. Family was the second main source, 61 percent for youth and 58 percent for adults. Neighbours was the third, 48 percent for youth and 51 percent adults. Local authorities were also a key source of information, more so for adults (44 percent) than for youth (35 percent). The internet has increasingly become a main source of political information for youth (58 percent), but not so much for adults (25 percent). Youth were also more likely than adults to access printed newspapers.

Men and women differ in following the news. The survey results suggest that women relied more heavily on family and television for political news, and significantly less on the internet and peers. Sixty-two percent of women and 54 percent of men depended on family, and just 25 percent of women compared to 44 percent of men used the internet.

Rural-urban difference was also notable in that rural Cambodians depended on traditional media platforms and personal relations including local authorities for political information. Forty-four percent of rural residents and 36 percent of urban residents depended on local authorities as sources of information. Similarly, 53 percent of rural Cambodians and 46 percent of urban Cambodians relied on neighbours. In contrast, more than half of urban residents and a quarter of rural residents rely on the internet.

Table 19: Where do you get political information from? (percent) (N=1,600)

	Total	Age group		Gender		Location	
		Youth	Adult	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Television	71	73	71	77	67	70	79
Family	59	61	58	54	62	59	60
Neighbours	51	48	51	51	50	53	46
Authorities	42	35	44	45	39	44	36
Friends	41	45	39	52	33	38	49
Radio	35	40	34	44	30	38	30
Internet	33	58	25	44	25	25	55
Colleagues	29	33	27	37	23	28	33
Printed newspapers	8	11	7	13	5	5	16
CBOs/NGOs	8	12	6	10	6	8	9
Don't get any political information	6	5	6	2	8	6	2

Further enquiry into the reasons for accessing the internet revealed that a main reason was to look for political information on social media. Among those who were internet users, the vast majority (91 percent) said they used the internet to access news and political information, in addition to entertainment (79 percent) and keeping in touch with friends and family (72 percent). There was not much difference between youth and adults, and rural and urban residents in this regard, with 91 percent of adults and 89 percent of youth reading the news and finding political information on the internet. The second most popular use of the internet was for entertainment: 90 percent of youth and 70 percent of adults used the internet to listen to music and download videos. Keeping in contact with family and relatives was the third reason, for 77 percent of

youth and 67 percent of adults. About a third of youth and less than one-quarter of adults used the internet for purposes related to their studies and work.

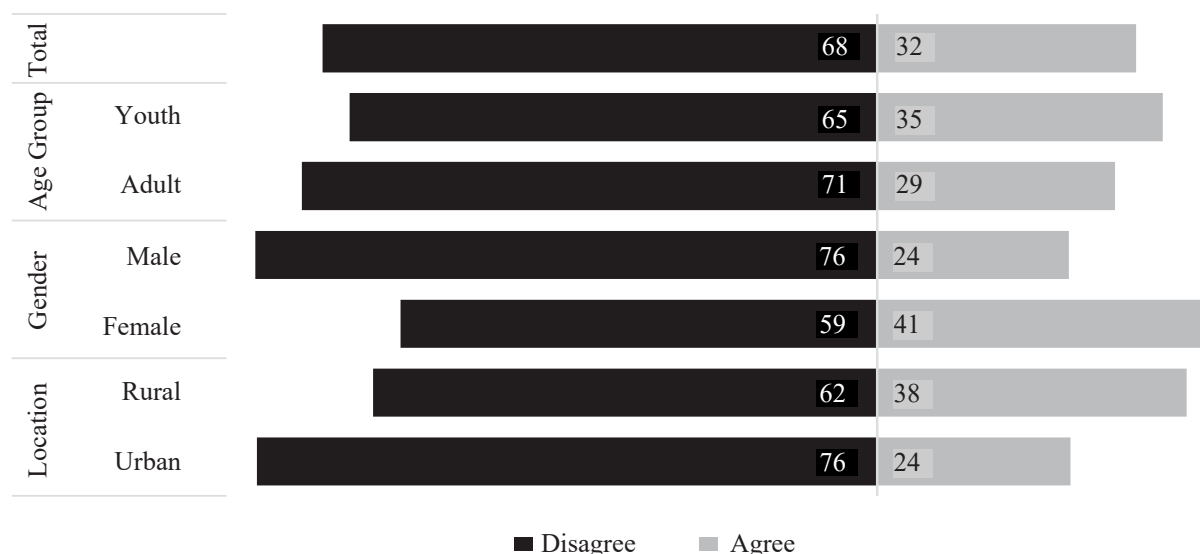
Table 20: What do you use the internet for (percent)? (N=553)

	Total	Youth	Adult	Rural	Urban
Keep in touch with family and relatives	72	77	67	69	75
Contact friends	64	79	53	61	69
Access music and television shows	79	90	70	83	73
Read news and political information	91	89	92	91	90
Find study materials	24	36	14	21	28
Learn new skills	29	39	21	25	35
Information for work and business	25	29	22	16	37

#### 4.8.2 Views on political freedom

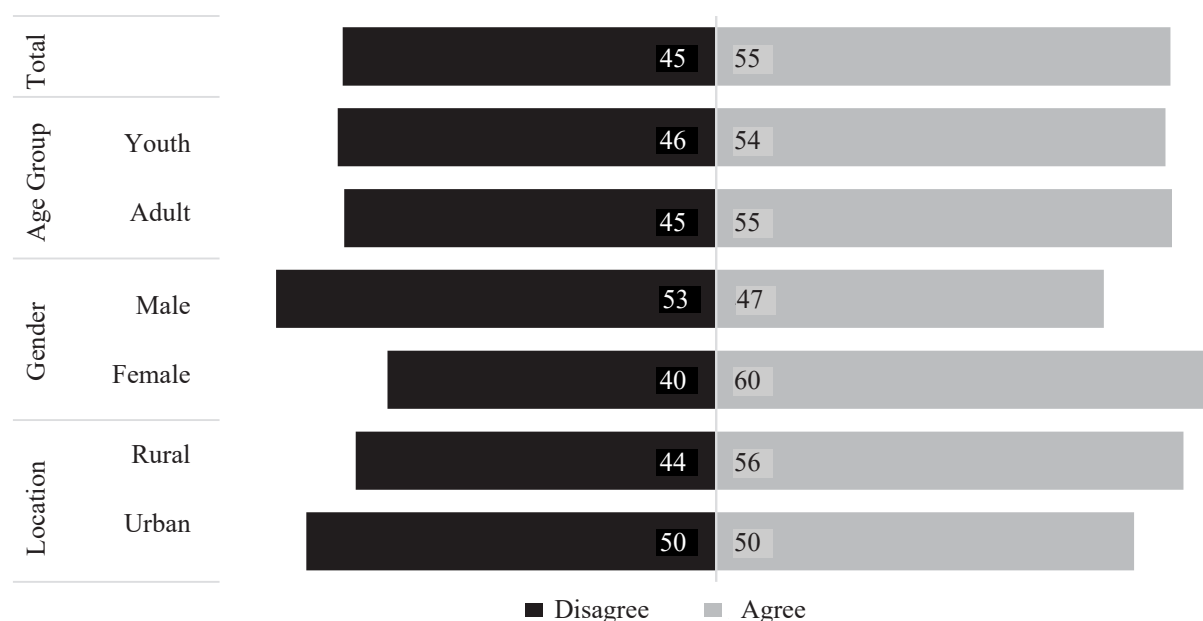
Two-thirds of Cambodians believed the internet to be relatively free, and were therefore not afraid to look up political content online. By contrast, 68 percent of Cambodians said they were afraid to look up political content online, while 32 percent felt it was not safe to search for sensitive news online. More adult Cambodians (71 percent) than youth (65 percent) were not afraid to look up political news online. More rural residents (38 percent) than urban residents (24 percent) were scared to search for political content online. And more women (41 percent) than men (24 percent) were reluctant to engage in online political content.

Figure 30: Do you agree with the statement ‘I feel afraid to look up political news online’? (percent) (N=553)



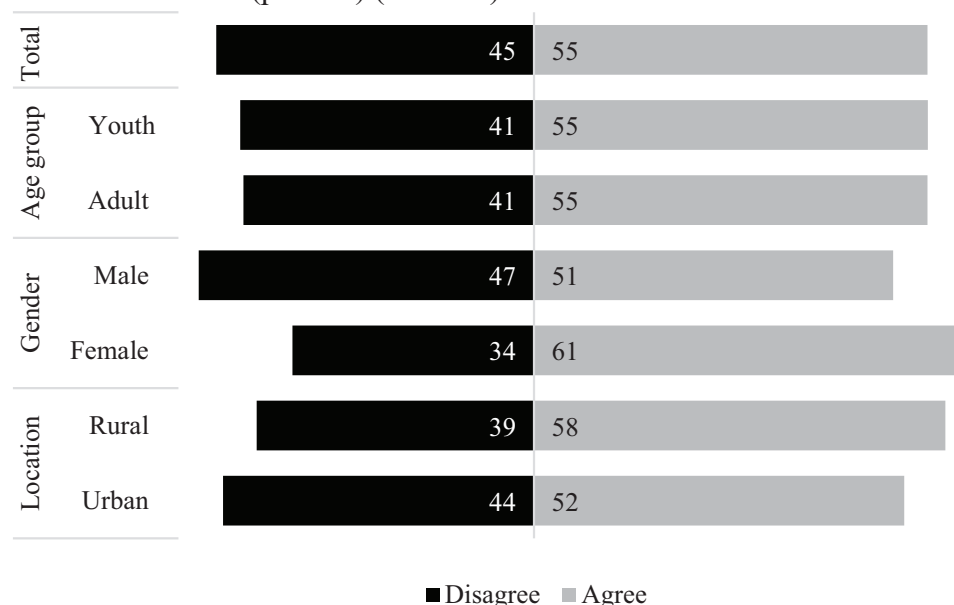
Cambodians were divided when asked whether they felt safe to express and discuss their political views openly. Just over half of them (55 percent) believed disclosing their political views openly offline to be risky, although just under less than half (45 percent) were not at all concerned. More than half of youth (54 percent) and adults (55 percent), rural (56 percent) and urban (50 percent) residents said they were afraid to discuss politics openly offline. More men (53 percent) than women (40 percent) were not afraid to engage in political discussions.

Figure 31: Do you agree with the statement ‘I feel afraid to discuss my political views offline’?  
(percent) (N=1,600)



Similarly to offline attitudes, Cambodians showed mixed feelings about engaging in political discussions and exposing their political views online. Slightly more than half of the respondents (55 percent youth and 55 percent adults) said they were afraid to share and post their political views online. Nonetheless, a substantial number of Cambodians (41 percent youth and 41 percent adult) said they were not afraid to do so. Fewer urban residents (52 percent) than rural residents (58 percent) said they were afraid to share political content online, and women (61 percent) were more likely to be afraid than men (51 percent).

Figure 32: Do you agree with the statement ‘I feel afraid to share and/or post my political views online’? (percent) (N=1600)



When it comes to sharing political information, the survey results suggest that Cambodians act cautiously and share political content mainly within a trusted circle of family members and to a lesser extent with neighbours and friends. Fifty-eight percent would share such information with family only, with very little variation by generation (youth (60 percent, adults 58 percent), location (urban 61 percent, rural 57 percent) and gender (women 57 percent, men 61 percent). A further 38 percent shared information with neighbours and 37 percent with friends.

Online sharing of political content, whether with known or unknown people, was very low at 7 percent and 5 percent, respectively.

One-third said they did not share political content with anyone, either online or offline, with little variation by generation (31 percent youth, 37 percent adults). Gender was significant in that just 28 percent of men said they did not share political information compared to 40 percent of women. Urban residents were more likely than rural residents to share such information online.

Table 21: How and with whom do you share political information (percent)? (N=1,600)

	Total	Age group		Gender		Location	
		Youth	Adult	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
With family (offline)	58	60	58	61	57	57	61
With neighbours (offline)	38	33	40	43	35	40	32
With friends (offline)	37	42	35	49	28	34	43
With colleagues (offline)	24	26	23	34	17	22	27
Online, with people you know well	7	15	4	9	5	4	14
Online, with people you don't know	5	11	3	7	4	3	11
Don't share political information	35	31	37	28	40	37	31

## 4.9 Priorities and future prospects

### Main findings

- Youth and adult Cambodians have similar life priorities, both putting obligation to parents and becoming a role model above earning money and completing higher education.
- There was also little generational difference in priorities for country. Both youth and adult Cambodians identified elections, infrastructure, social services, employment and the environment as top priorities. Migration, inequality and injustice were the three areas of least importance.
- Cambodians were generally optimistic about their own future (62 percent) and that of the country (61 percent). Youth seemed more optimistic than adult Cambodians. Seventy-four percent of youth and just 58 percent of adults were optimistic about their own future. The generation gap was narrower when it came to Cambodia's future prospects, although slightly more youth (66 percent) than older Cambodians (60 percent) had an optimistic outlook.

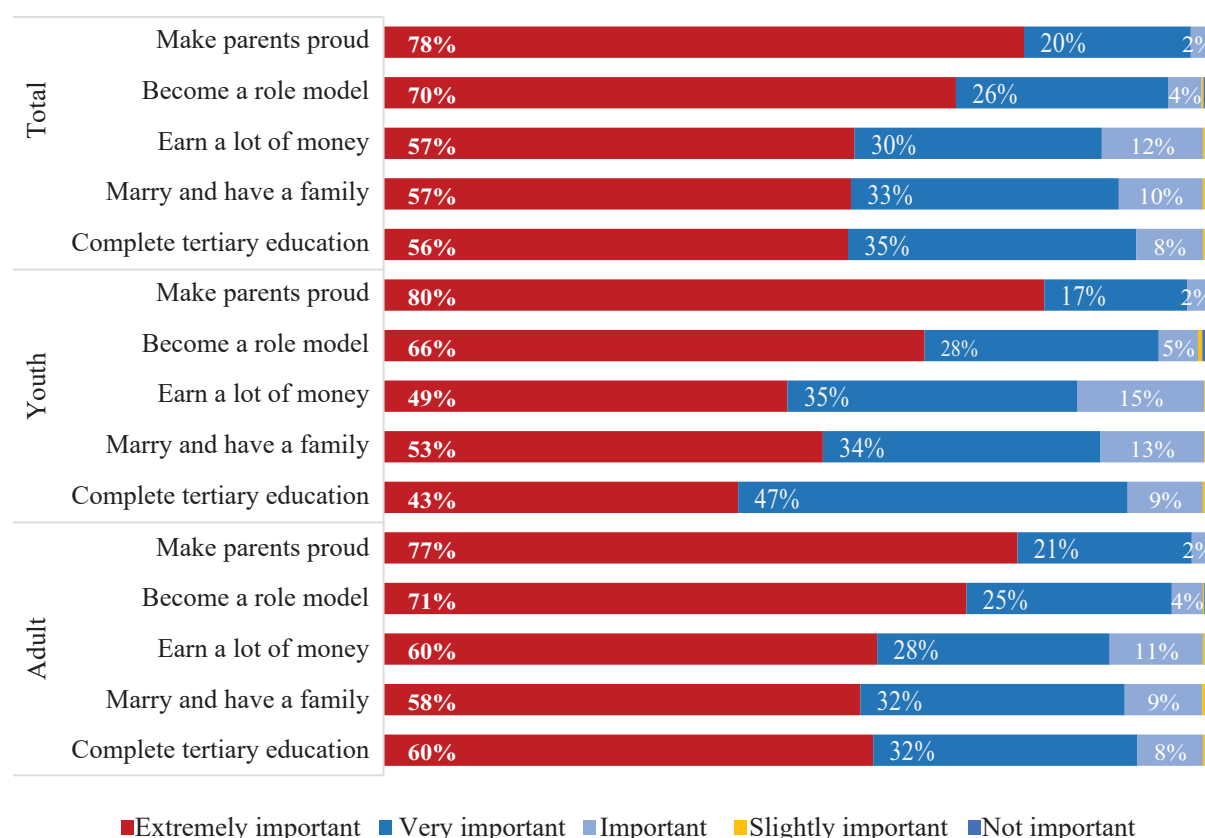
### 4.9.1 Priority issues for individuals

We asked respondents to rank in order of importance areas that people should give priority to in life. It turned out, as shown in Figure 33, that obligation to family was highly prioritised, followed by becoming a role model. This view was held by both young and old Cambodians, with 80 percent of young Cambodians and 77 percent of older Cambodians rating “making parents proud” as extremely important. There was also a unanimous view among youth and adults (66 percent and 71 percent, respectively) identifying “becoming a role model” as the



second most important priority. More than half of youth and adults also agreed that marriage and having a family is “extremely important”. There were, however, variations in views and priorities when it came to earning a lot of money and completing higher education. Youth prioritised earning a lot of money (49 percent) over completing tertiary education (43 percent) while older Cambodians valued these life priorities equally (60 percent for each aspect). The data seems to suggest that there was no significant difference between youth and old Cambodians in the way they ordered life priorities. Harmonious family, family standing in society, and marriage were strongly emphasised by both generations, and represented a crucial source of identity.

Figure 33: In your opinion, how important are these life priorities? (N=1587–1589)



#### 4.9.2 Priority issues for the country

We also asked respondents to put in order of importance a dozen topics for the country. Figure 34 indicates that most Cambodians identified elections, infrastructure, access to education and health, the economy and employment, and the environment as top priorities for the country. Migration, inequality and injustice were least important to them. Access to healthcare was ranked as extremely important by 76 percent of Cambodians, followed by the economy and jobs (71 percent), the environment (64 percent), poverty and landlessness (51 percent). Inequality, injustice and migration were the bottom three issues identified as “extremely important” for Cambodia. Notably, just 29 percent of youth and 31 percent of adults agreed that migration is extremely important for Cambodia.

Youth and adults shared the same top three priorities (elections, access to education, and infrastructure), although in a different order. Youth identified elections as the first priority, then education and infrastructure. Adults put infrastructure first, then elections followed by



education. There was no significant variation in views on issues of priority for the country, by gender, location or education level.

Figure 34: In your opinion, how important are these issues for Cambodia? (N=1,529–1,589)

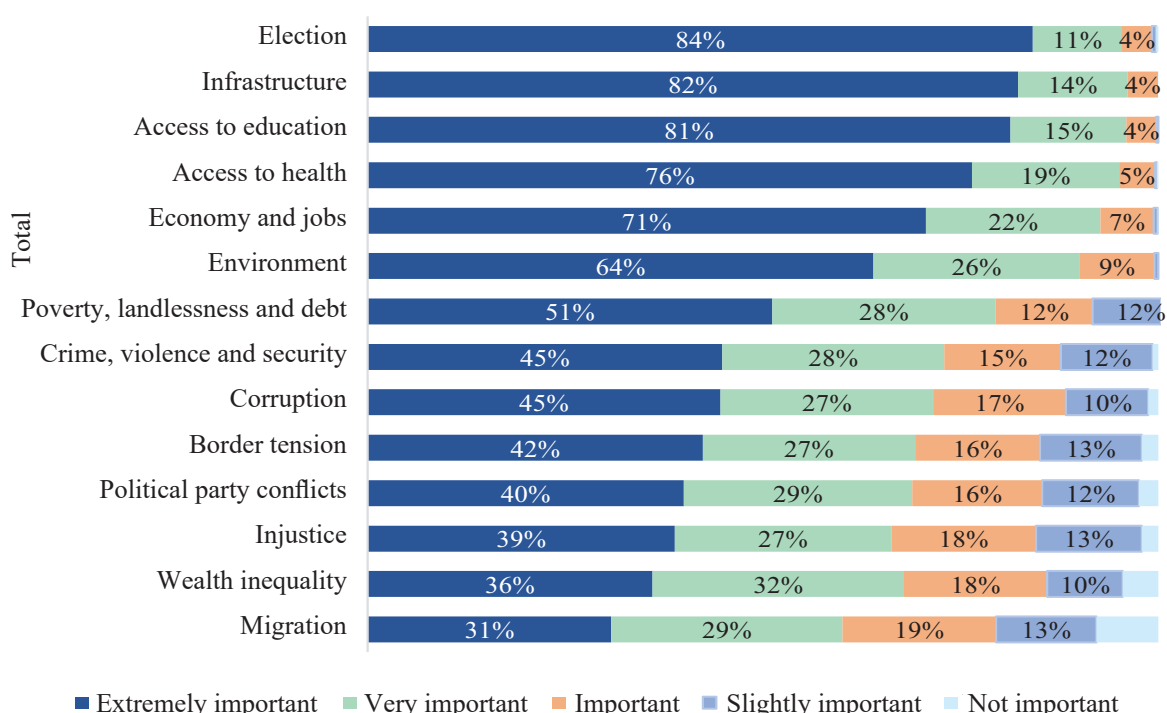


Figure 35: Order of priorities for Cambodia among youth (N=392-397)

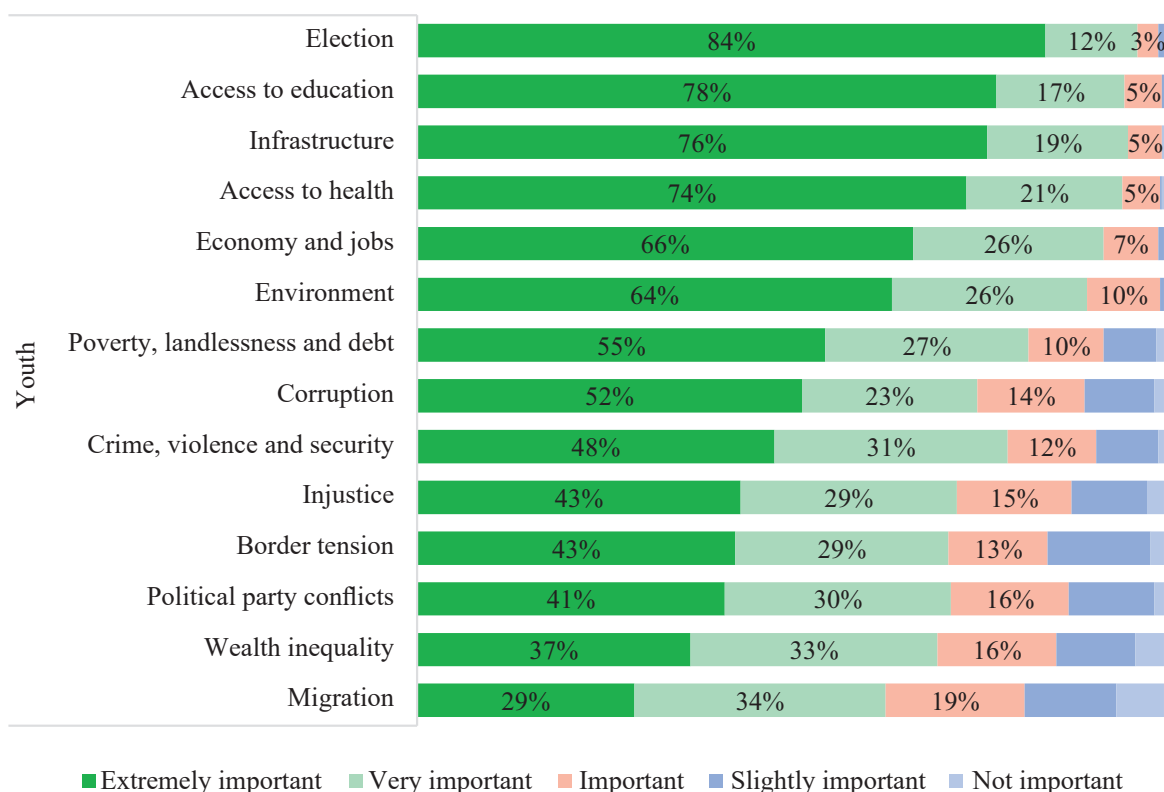
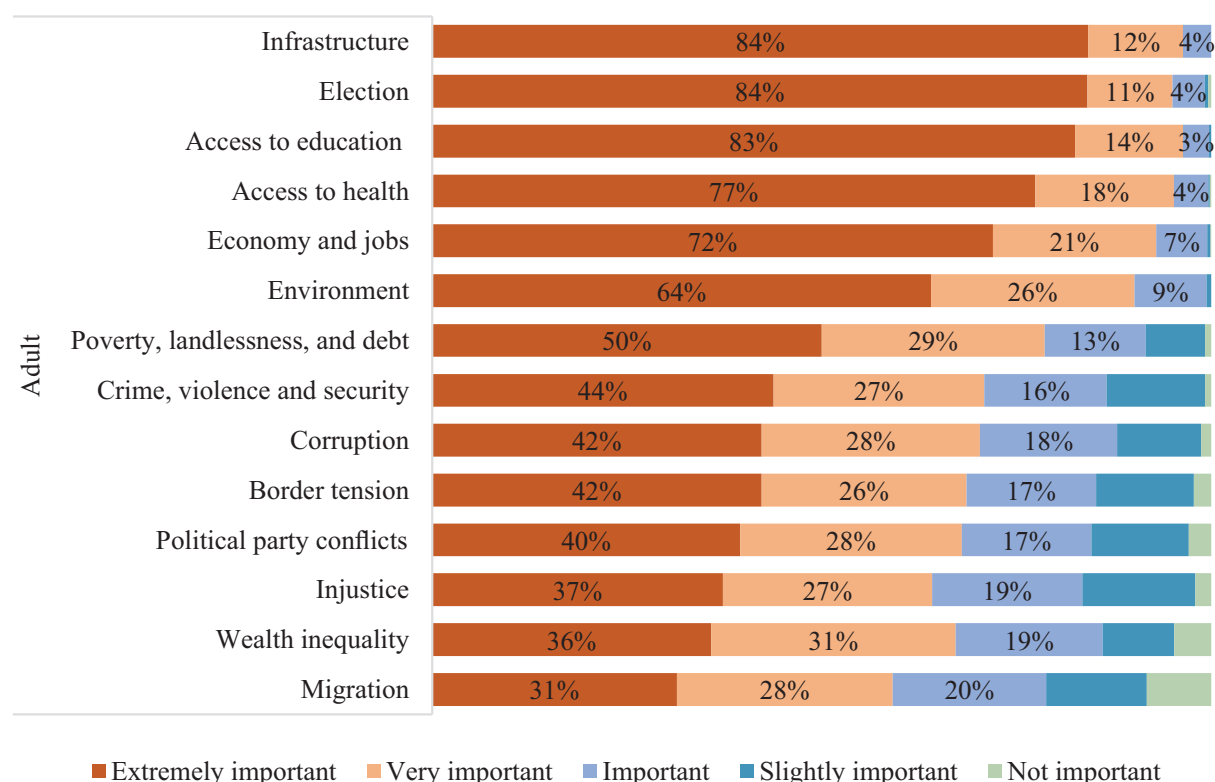


Figure 36: Order of priorities for Cambodia, among adults (N=1,137–1,192)



### 4.9.3 Future prospects

When asked about the future, Cambodians were generally optimistic about their own future and that of Cambodia as a whole. At individual level, 62 percent said they were optimistic about their own future and a further 11 percent were positively optimistic. Similarly, 61 percent were optimistic and 19 percent were positively optimistic about the country's future. However, a sizable number of Cambodians (22 percent) were more pessimistic, expecting their own future to remain the same, and about 13 percent felt the same about the country's future.

Young people were more likely than older Cambodians to feel confident about their own future, reported by 74 percent of youth and just 58 percent of adults. A further 15 percent of youth said they were positively optimistic compared to just 9 percent adults. The generation gap narrowed slightly when it came to optimism about the future prospects of the country, with 66 percent of youth feeling optimistic compared to 60 percent of older Cambodians. A further 20 percent of youth felt positively optimistic about the future of the country. More adults (26 percent) than youth (10 percent) said the future held little change for them. Likewise, more adults (15 percent) than youth (10 percent) said the future prospects of the country would likely stay the same.

Views on the country's future prospects were similar across gender and location. Rural and urban residents were similarly optimistic about the country's future: 61 percent for rural and 64 percent for urban. Men and women also held similar perceptions: 59 percent of men and 63 percent of women were optimistic. Disaggregation by education level showed that people with higher levels of education were generally more optimistic about Cambodia's future prospects than those who had never attended school or had fewer years of education.

Figure 37: How optimistic are you about your future prospects and Cambodia's future prospects? (N=1,557)

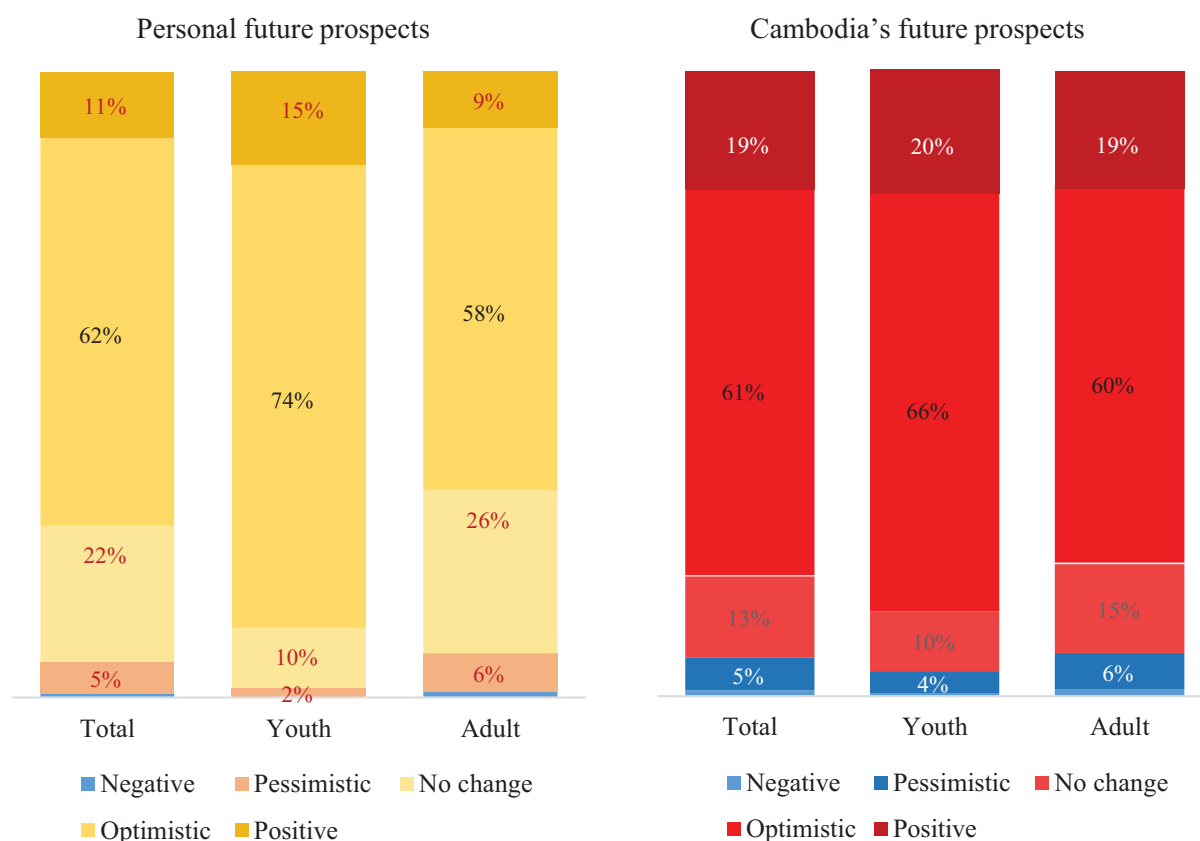
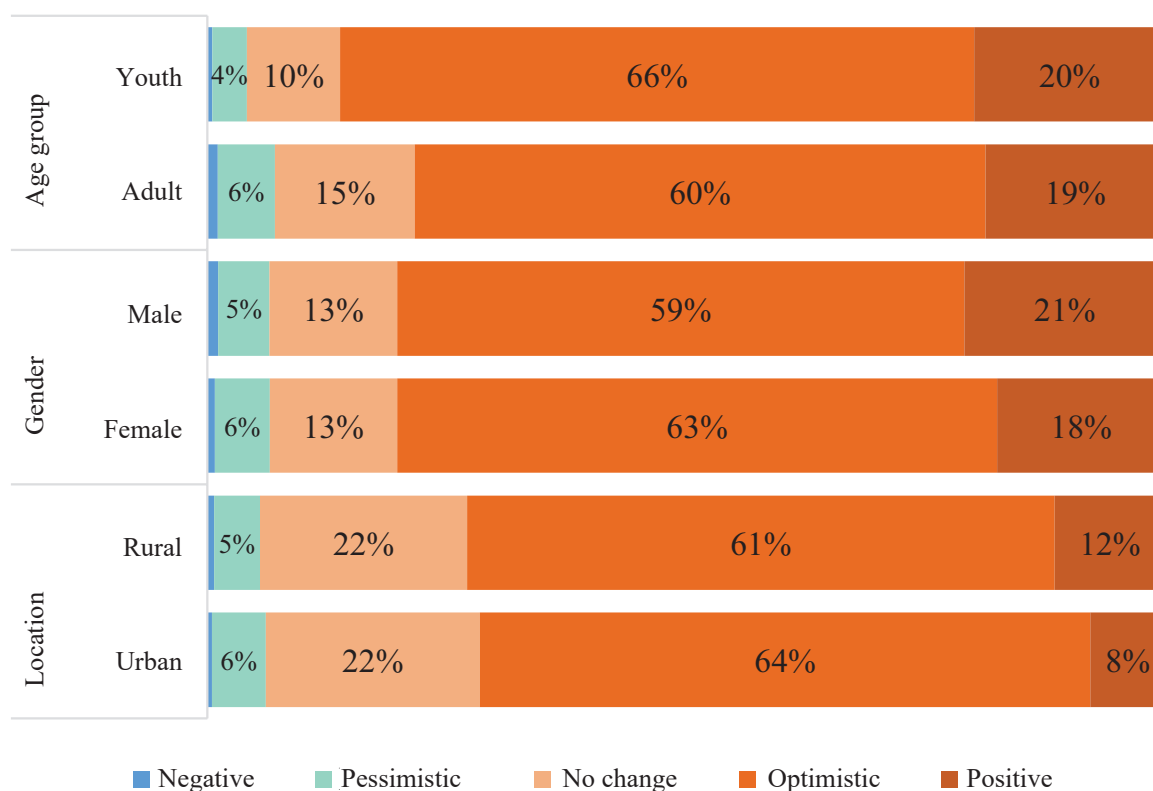


Figure 38: How optimistic are you about Cambodia's future prospects? (N=1,557)



## Annexe 1: Survey Questionnaire

Z0. Village code [number]

Z1. Household code [text]

Z3. Did any family member/friend/neighbour observe the interview? [two choices]

1. Yes
2. No

Z4. Did any local official/authority observe the interview? [two choices]

1. Yes
2. No

Z5. If you spend short or long time to interview, why?

1. Interview was delayed by the respondent
2. Respondent understood all the questions
3. Someone interrupted the interview
4. Respondent stopped in the middle of interview
5. Respondent didn't understand some questions
6. Other

### A. Demographics

A1. Gender [QuickTapSurvey type: list]

1. Male
2. Female

A2. How old are you? [number]

A3. What is your highest level of education? [list]

1. Never attended school
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. High school
5. Vocational training centre
6. Tertiary (university) level
7. Other
8. No response

A4. Ethnic background [list]

1. Khmer
2. No response
3. Other ethnicity [specify]

A5. What is your marital status? [list]

1. Single (never been married)
2. Married
3. Widow
4. Separated/divorced
5. No response

A6. What is your current employment? [list]

1. Self-employed (own business)
2. Homemaker/family care taker
3. Working in family business/farm

4. Paid employee – working for the government
  5. Paid employee – non-profit
  6. Paid employee – working for a private business/for profit
  7. Unemployed
  8. Student
  9. No response
- A7. Did you switch jobs several times in the last year? [list]
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. No response
- A8. How much money do you earn per month? [number]
- A9. What's your family's income? [number]
- A10. Do you know your family's income is? [Don't ask this question again if they have already responded to A9]
1. Yes
  2. No
- A11. What is your house made of? (Don't ask this question if you noted this during the survey) [list]
1. Concrete
  2. Wood
  3. Wood/concrete
  4. Thatch
- A12. Do you live with your family? [list]
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. No response
- A13. How many members are there in your family? [number]
- A14. How many hectares of farmland do your family own? [list]
1. None
  2. < 0.5 ha
  3. 0.5 ha–1 ha
  4. 1 ha–2 ha
  5. 2 ha–3 ha
  6. 3 ha–4 ha
  7. 4 ha–5 ha
  8. > 5 ha
  9. Don't know
  10. No response
- A15. How much housing land does your family own? [list]
1. None
  2. < 100 m<sup>2</sup>
  3. 100–200 m<sup>2</sup>
  4. 200–300 m<sup>2</sup>
  5. 300–400 m<sup>2</sup>
  6. 400–400 m<sup>2</sup>
  7. 500–600 m<sup>2</sup>

8. > 600 m<sup>2</sup>
9. Don't know
10. No response

A16. Have you ever migrated for work? [list]

1. Yes
2. No
3. No response

A17. How long have you been living in this village? [list]

1. < 6 months
2. 6–12 months
3. 12–18 months
4. 18–24 months
5. > 24 months
6. Since birth
7. No response

## **B. Identity/values**

B1. In the last month, did you do participate in any of these activities [multiple choices – more than one allowed] (random)

1. Art and culture
2. Sport
3. Training/learning
4. Volunteering (community work, environment, charities, NGOs)
5. Clubs and associations
6. Religious ceremonies
7. Political activities
8. Didn't participate in any of these
9. No response

B2. It is better for a boy than a girl to study at university [list]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. No response

B3. Men make better political leaders than women [list]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. No response

B4. My gender is an obstacle to my success [list]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. No response

B5. Couples should not live together before marriage [list]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. No response

- B6. How much do you care about your country? [slide]
1. I care
  2. I somewhat care
  3. I don't care
  4. No response
- B7. Do you respect your commune chief? [slide]
1. I do respect
  2. I somehow respect
  3. I don't respect
  4. No response
- B8. How different is your generation from other generations? [slide]
1. Not different
  2. Somehow different / little different
  3. Very different
  4. No response
- B9. How closely do you relate with your religion? [slide]
1. Not close
  2. Neutral
  3. Close
  4. Not response
- B10. How closely do you care with your community? [slide]
1. I care
  2. I somewhat care
  3. I don't care
  4. No response
- B11. Who should be in charge in making these choices for youth/your children? Education [multiple choices] (random)
- B12. Who should be in charge in making these choices for youth/your children? Employment [multiple choices] (random)
- B13. Who should be in charge in making these choices? Marriage [multiple choices] (random)
- B14. Who should be in charge in making these choices? Buy a new mobile phone [multiple choices] (random)
- B15. Who should be in charge in making these choices? Voting [multiple choices] (random)
1. Youth/your children
  2. Parents
  3. Relatives
  4. Friends
  5. Authorities (political authorities, teachers, etc.)
  6. Elders and monks
  7. No response
- B16. It is acceptable for youth to disagree with their parents [slide]
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Not response





B17. Having your own political opinion is important [slide]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Not response

B18. What is more important? [rank]

1. Friends
2. Leisure time
3. Family
4. Politics/community
5. Education and work
6. Religion

### **C. Trust / respect**

C1. What/who do you think can you trust more [institutions]? [rank]

1. Media [picture: a TV and a radio]
2. Local institutions [picture: commune hall]
3. Police/courts [picture: police]
4. Hospitals/schools [picture: hospital/school]
5. Politicians [picture: enumerator will explain picture of somebody sitting in parliament]
6. No confidence in any of those

C2. How much can you trust [extended family (such as cousins, uncles, aunts)]? [slide]

C3. How much can you trust [friends]? [slide]

C4. How much can you trust [colleagues, people you work with]? [slide]

C5. How much can you trust [neighbours/community]? [slide]

C6. How much can you trust [people doing development work in your community (not the government)]? [slide]

C7. How much can you trust [politicians]? [slide]

C8. How much do you trust [strangers]? [slide]

1. Strongly distrust
2. Distrust
3. Somewhat trust/somewhat distrust
4. Trust
5. Strongly trust

### **D. Outlook**

D1. From 1 to 5, how much do you think people should value [complete tertiary education]? [slide]

D2. From 1 to 5, how much do you think people should value t [marriage and having a family]? [slide]

D3. From 1 to 5, how much do you think people should value [earning a lot of money]? [slide]

D4. From 1 to 5, how much do you think people should value [becoming a role model]? [slide]

D5. From 1 to 5, how much do you think people should value [making parents proud]? [slide]

D6. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [access to education]? [slide]

D7. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [access to health]? [slide]

D8. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [infrastructure]? [slide]

D9. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [crime, violence and security]? [slide]

D10. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [economy and jobs]? [slide]

D11. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [environment]? [slide]

D12. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [poverty, landlessness, debt]? [slide]

D13. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [poor are getting poorer, rich are getting richer]? [slide]

D14. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [injustice]? [slide]

D15. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [political party conflicts]? [slide]

D16. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [corruption]? [slide]

D17. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [election]? [slide]

D18. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [border issues]? [slide]

D19. From 1 to 5, in your opinion, how important is this issue for Cambodia [migration]? [slide]

1. Not important at all
2. Slightly important
3. Important
4. Very important
5. Extremely important

D20. How optimistic are you about your own future prospects? [slide]

1. Very pessimistic/negative
2. Pessimistic optimistic
3. Mixed feelings
4. Optimistic
5. Very optimistic/positive

D21. How optimistic are you about the future prospects of Cambodia? [slide]

1. Very pessimistic/negative
2. Pessimistic optimistic
3. Mixed feeling
4. Optimistic
5. Very optimistic/positive

## **E. Political participation**

E1. Have you participated in ...? [Multiple choices – more than one answer] (random)

1. Village meeting
2. Commune meeting
3. Monitoring of commune project
4. School meeting
5. Health centre meeting
6. Public forum
7. None of these
8. No response

E2. *Refer to answer above* Have you ever asked questions in these local activities? [Multiple choices – more than one answer] (random)

1. Village meeting
2. Commune meeting
3. Monitoring of commune project
4. School meeting
5. Health centre meeting
6. Public forums
7. Never asked questions (skip to E4)
8. No response (skip to E4)

E3. *Refer to answer above* Have you ever been afraid to speak in these local activities? [Multiple choices – more than one answer] (random)

1. Village meeting
2. Commune meeting
3. Monitoring of commune project
4. School meeting
5. Health centre meeting
6. Public forum
7. Never been afraid
8. No response

E4. Were there any services or projects that were not funded by the commune and should have been? [list]

1. Yes
2. No (skip to C6)
3. Don't know (skip to C6)
4. No response (skip to C6)

E5. Which service or project was not funded by the commune and should have been? [multiple choices – more than one answer] (random)

1. Road
2. School
3. Clean water
4. Health centre
5. Social security
6. Nutrition
7. Support for victims of domestic violence
8. Public buildings/spaces
9. Other
10. No response

- E6. Did you vote in the June 2017 commune election? [list]
1. Yes (skip to E8)
  2. No
  3. No response (skip to E10)
- E7. If No, why not? [GO TO C10] [ multiple choices] (random)
1. Busy
  2. Unable to reach polling station
  3. Not interested in local politics
  4. Not interested in politics in general
  5. Too young
  6. Not enough information about voting
  7. No identification document to vote
  8. No response
- E8. In the commune election, did you cast your vote based ...? [list] (change to multiple choices) (random)
1. Political party (policy of the party and party leader)
  2. Candidate
  3. Other influence (family, friends, colleagues)
  4. Don't know
  5. No response
- E9. In the June 2017 commune election did you vote for the same party that you voted for in the 2012 communal election? [list]
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Never voted
  4. No response
- E10. How much do you agree with the following statement? “The country is on the right track” [slide]
- E11. How much do you agree with the following statement? “The government is helping poor people enough” [slide]
- E12. How much do you agree with the following statement? “ The government is doing enough to help young people have jobs” [slide]
- E13. How much do you agree with the following statement? “ The government is doing enough to make the country stable” [slide]
- E14. How much do you agree with the following statement? “Most people in Cambodia are doing better than five years ago” [slide]
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Don't know
- E15. Did you pay any attention to the following events: [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)?
1. Prey Kok ceremony
  2. Farmer demonstration on the drop of rice price
  3. Trial and release of the five ADHOC staff
  4. Minimum wages
  5. Prime Minister's speech

6. Commune election
7. Change of law on political parties
8. Change of capital and provincial governors
9. Performance of new commune councillors
10. No response

E16. Which institutions/state organisations you are most satisfied with in terms of their performance? [rank]

1. Education
2. Health
3. Infrastructure
4. Police
5. Court
6. Parliament

E17. Did you vote in the 2013 national election? [list] [IF NO/NO RESPONSE GO TO C22]

1. Yes
2. No
3. No response

E18. In the national election, did you cast your vote based ...? [multiple choices] (random)  
Political party (policy of the party and party leader)

1. Candidate
2. Other influence (family, friends, colleagues)
3. Don't know
4. No response

E19. Have you always voted for the same party in the national elections? [list]

1. Yes
2. No
3. Never voted
4. No response

E20. Can you name at least three national politicians (excluding the prime minister)?

1. Correct answer
2. Partially correct answer (one or two named)
3. Incorrect answer
4. Don't know
5. No response

E21. How many branches of supreme power are there? [list]

1. Correct answer
2. Partially correct answer (one or two named)
3. Incorrect answer
4. Don't know
5. No response

E22. How much do you agree with the following statement? "I feel an obligation to vote"  
[slide]

E23. How much do you agree with the following statement? “ My vote can have an impact on the future of my country” [slide]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Don't know

E24. Do you plan to vote in the 2018 national election? [list] [If no/no response, go to C25]

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure
4. No response

E25. Who do you think most influences your political views? [rank]

1. Religious authority [picture: monk]
2. Community, political and state authority [picture: police, commune council, prime minister?]
3. Colleagues (people working together) [picture: office and people farming together]
4. Teachers [picture: person teaching to class]
5. Friends [picture: people standing, embracing]
6. Family [picture: people as nuclear family, portrait]

## **F. Media**

F1. Do you use the internet? [list] [If no/no response, go to D7]

1. Yes
2. No
3. No response

F2. From where do you access the Internet [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)

1. Smartphone
2. Personal computer
3. Office computer
4. Public computer
5. No response

F3. In your typical day, how many hours do you spend on the internet? [number]

F4. What do you use the Internet for? [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)

1. Keep in touch with family and relatives
2. Contacts friends
3. Access music and television shows
4. Read news and political information
5. Find materials for study
6. Learn new skills
7. Information related to work and business
8. No response

F5. How much do you agree with the following statement? “I feel afraid to look up political news online” [slide]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Don't know

F6. How much do you agree with the following statement? “I feel afraid to share and/or post my political views online” [slide]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Don’t know

F7. Do you own any of these? [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)

1. Mobile phone
2. Smartphone
3. Computer
4. Television
5. Radio
6. None of these
7. No response

F8. In your typical day, how many hours do you spend watching TV? [slide]

F9. In your typical day, how many hours do you spend reading printed newspapers?

F10. Where do you get political information from? [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)

1. Printed newspapers
2. Internet
3. Television
4. Radio
5. Friends
6. Family
7. Neighbours
8. Colleagues
9. Authorities
10. CBOs/NGOs
11. Don’t get political information
12. No response

F11. How do you share political information? [multiple choices – more than one answer allowed] (random)

1. Online, with people you know well
2. Online, with people you don’t know
3. With friends (offline)
4. With family (offline)
5. With colleagues (offline)
6. With neighbours
7. Don’t share political information
8. No response

F12. How much do you agree with the following statement? “I feel afraid to discuss my political views offline” [slide]

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. No response

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