

CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPER' S REPORTING ON TERRITORIAL DISPUTES  
WITH THAILAND AND VIETNAM

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การรายงานข่าวของหนังสือพิมพ์กัมพูชาต่อกรณีพิพาทด้านพรมแดน  
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THAILAND AND VIETNAM

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คอลลา ซอย : การรายงานข่าวของหนังสือพิมพ์กัมพูชาต่อกรณีพิพาทด้านพรมแดนกับไทยและเวียดนาม (CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPER' S REPORTING ON TERRITORIAL DISPUTES WITH THAILAND AND VIETNAM) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: เซนโจ นะโก, 111 หน้า.

การวิจัยครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาบทบาทของหนังสือพิมพ์กัมพูชาในการสร้างและการดำรงความรู้สึกชาตินิยม ณ ช่วงเวลาที่มีข้อพิพาทดินแดน (1) ระหว่างกัมพูชาและไทยเหนือปราสาทพระวิหารและ (2) กัมพูชาและเวียดนามผ่านพื้นที่ Cochinchina (โคชินไชน่า) การวิจัยครั้งนี้มุ่งศึกษาเรื่องข้อพิพาทดินแดนระหว่างและหลังช่วงเวลาการรณรงค์หาเสียงเลือกตั้งแห่งชาติในปี 2008 และ 2013

จากการวิเคราะห์เนื้อหาพบว่า มีบทความจำนวน 243 บทความ เขียนเกี่ยวกับข้อพิพาทดังกล่าว ซึ่งได้รวบรวมได้จากการวิเคราะห์เนื้อหาจากหนังสือพิมพ์กระแสหลักของกัมพูชา ได้แก่ : หนังสือพิมพ์ *The Raksmei Kampuchea Daily*, *The Koh Santepheap Daily*, *The Cambodia Daily* และ *The Phnom Penh Post* ระหว่างวันที่ 27 มิถุนายน - 27 สิงหาคม ปี 2008 และ 28 มิถุนายน - 28 สิงหาคมปี 2013 และการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกับผู้เชี่ยวชาญจำนวน 5 คน

ผลการวิจัยพบว่า หนังสือพิมพ์แต่ละฉบับมีวิถีในการนำเสนอเนื้อหาเกี่ยวกับข้อพิพาทดินแดนเป็นของตนเอง โดยหนังสือพิมพ์ภาษาเขมร คือ *The Raksmei Kampuchea* และ *The Koh Santepheap Daily* ได้ตีพิมพ์บทความที่มีเนื้อหาเกี่ยวข้องกับข้อพิพาทปราสาทพระวิหาร จำนวน 161 บทความ ซึ่งหนังสือพิมพ์ทั้งสองฉบับดังกล่าวได้นำเสนอเนื้อหาที่สร้างความเชื่อมั่นให้กับรัฐบาลมากกว่านำเสนอข้อพิพาทปราสาทพระวิหาร ขณะที่นำเสนอกรณีข้อพิพาท Cochinchina เพียง 1 บทความเท่านั้น ด้านหนังสือพิมพ์ภาษาอังกฤษ คือ *The Cambodia Daily* และ *The Phnom Penh Post* ได้ตีพิมพ์บทความที่มีเนื้อหาเกี่ยวข้องกับข้อพิพาทปราสาทพระวิหาร จำนวน 71 บทความ และนำเสนอกรณีข้อพิพาท Cochinchina จำนวน 11 บทความ

ด้านการสร้างความรู้สึกชาตินิยมนั้นหนังสือพิมพ์ในฐานะสื่อมวลชนนับว่ามีบทบาทสำคัญ แนวคิดของความรู้สึกชาตินิยมไม่ได้เป็นเพียงการรวมตัวกันของผู้คนเพียงเท่านั้น แต่ยังหมายถึงการป้องกันดินแดนของชาติหรือบ้านเกิด ซึ่งหากถูกคุกคามโดยประเทศหรือรัฐอื่น หนังสือพิมพ์จะเรียกร้องให้มีการยุติความขัดแย้งภายใน ด้วยเหตุนี้ผู้นำทางการเมืองของกัมพูชาจึงได้พยายามที่จะจูงประกายอุดมการณ์ชาตินิยมบริเวณพื้นที่ๆมีข้อพิพาท ซึ่งข้อพิพาทชายแดนดังกล่าวอาจส่งผลให้ได้รับการสนับสนุนจากผู้มีสิทธิเลือกตั้งในการเลือกตั้งระดับชาติ ดังนั้นหนังสือพิมพ์จึงนำเสนอเนื้อหาเกี่ยวกับผู้นำทางการเมืองที่เน้นเรื่องราวประวัติศาสตร์ความเป็นปึกแผ่นต่อเวียดนามและไทยในช่วงเวลาระหว่างการหาเสียงเลือกตั้ง เพื่อที่จะทำลายชื่อเสียงของฝ่ายตรงข้ามและสร้างความรู้สึกชาตินิยมเพียงชั่วคราว

# # 5785020628 : MAJOR STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION MANAGEMENT

KEYWORDS: NATIONALISM / CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPERS / TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

DOLLA SOY: CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPER' S REPORTING ON TERRITORIAL DISPUTESWITH THAILAND AND VIETNAM. ADVISOR: SENJO NAKAI, Ph.D., 111 PP.

This research aims to investigate the role of Cambodian newspapers in creation and maintenance of nationalistic sentiments during the territorial disputes: (1) between Cambodia and Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple, and (2) Cambodia and Vietnam over the Cochinchina (in Khmer Kampuchea Krom). This research focuses on the newspaper articles on the territorial disputes only during and after the national election campaigns in 2008 and 2013.

243 articles were collected for content analysis of Cambodian mainstream newspapers: *The Reaksmy Kampuchea Daily* (Cambodia Light), *The Koh Santepheap Daily* (Island of Peace), *The Cambodia Daily*, and *The Phnom Penh Post* during 27 June to 27 August 2008 and 28 June to 28 August 2013 periods. In addition to the content analysis, in-depth interviews were employed with 5 key informants.

The results illuminate interesting patterns of new reporting of the territorial disputes: Khmer language newspapers, *The Reaksmy Kampuchea*, and *The Koh Santepheap Daily* published 161 articles related to the Preah Vihear Temple dispute, and supported the government's policy on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute before the 2008 and 2013 general elections, and the number faltered after the elections. However, they had only 1 article related to the Cochinchina dispute. On the other hand, English newspapers, *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* published 71 articles related to the Preah Vihear Temple dispute while they published 11 articles related to the Cochinchina dispute only before the 2013 general election. Both English newspapers supported the opposition party over the Cochinchina dispute.

Nationalism is not only about a shared sense of unity but also about an urge to protect national territory. If it is threatened by other nations or states, national unity is called for despite internal conflicts. For this reason, Cambodian political actors may have strategically utilized nationalist ideology around Cambodia's unsettled border in order to gain support from the voters during the national elections as the research results indicate. Cambodian newspapers offered the political leaders platforms to strategically highlight the historical animosity with Vietnam and Thailand during the election campaigns to discredit the political opponent, and create a temporary sense of unity.

Field of Study: Strategic Communication  
Management

Student's Signature .....

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Significance of Problems

The Kingdom of Cambodia was a former French Protectorate from 1863-1953, which gained independence in 1953. During this period, the French controlled the political system, economic, and social development of Cambodia, along a definite border with the neighboring countries. After gaining independence, Cambodia as a newly independent state came into existence with a border that had been created by French colony.

However, actions taken during the colonial period might have had both positive or negative impacts after independence with respect to the stability of the border with the neighboring countries (Hensel, Kim, & Smith, 2008, p. 367). The border disputes between Cambodia and Thailand over the Preah Vihear (in Thai *Phra Wihan*) Temple is still fresh in Cambodians memories. Also, there is a dispute between Cambodia and Vietnam over the Cochin-china (in Khmer *Kampuchea Krom*). Such disputes have been happening since Cambodia was a French colony and have led to an increase in nationalist sentiment, calling for national unity from both the people and the media outlets.

To strengthen national unity and identity stronger, Cambodian political leaders have for generations attempted to build and construct a nationalist ideology around Cambodia's unsettled border disputes. "Nationalism is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation" (Smith 1991, p. 73). For Smith, the concept of national unity is not only to unite people but also

protect national territory or homeland. If it is separated and invaded by another nation or state, members of a nation are united and mobilized to maintain the territory.

Nevertheless, some political leaders have escalated a border dispute to create a nationalist movement (Chheang, 2015). The topic of territorial nationalism has been raised every time during Cambodian national elections. Some political parties have created a type of nationalism that projects itself against a neighboring country to gain political support. A lack of political knowledge and participation have made the general public more vulnerable to political manipulation and nationalist policy (Chheang, 2015).

“Protecting Our Preah Vihear Temple” was a popular slogan during the 2008 national election. Back in 2008, Cambodians were interested in the Preah Vihear crisis more than any issues. Both the ruling and opposition parties tried to take advantage of the crisis (Quinn & Thul, 2008). Preah Vihear, a nine-hundred old Hindu temple devoted to Shiva, is located on the Cambodia-Thailand border in the Dangrek Mountains, in Preah Vihear province. In 1962, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Preah Vihear Temple belonged to Cambodia territory and ordered Thai troops and citizens evacuated from the disputed area (International Court of Justice, 1962). For Thai nationalists, the ICJ’s judgment has a dimension and covers only the temple compound and not the surrounding 4.6 square kilometers of land. This border dispute has become a tension for the bilateral relationship between two countries (So, 2009).

The ruling Cambodian People’s Party (CPP) would make a substantial political gain if the border conflict is resolved (Chakrya, 2008; "Partial victory at the ICJ,," 2013). Claiming back the temple and territory would substantially increase CPP’s popularity among voters. Notably, during the national election 2008, CPP gained a

majority of support because the CPP's leader, Hun Sen mobilized the nation to stand against Thailand over the Preah Vihear dispute. Moreover, the CPP's popularity was further cemented by the temple's listing as a World Heritage. The CPP leader claimed that the current Cambodian-Thai conflict originated from a historical rivalry between the two countries, and only the CPP could solve the problem.

Nationalism also arises between Cambodia and Vietnam. Anti-Vietnamese sentiment also takes a form of a territorial dispute (Chheang, 2015; Ponniah, 2014). This dispute had been active since 2009 when the opposition leader Sam Rainsy encouraged residents in Svay Rieng province to remove the border cue on the Cambodia-Vietnam border (Cochin-china). The border dispute became more extreme after hundreds of border activists led by the opposition party visited the disputed area, causing a violent clash between Cambodian and Vietnamese activists in June (Chheang, 2015; Sokchea & Turton, 2015; Sokha, 2015).

Growing Cambodian-Vietnamese border issues are increasing tensions between the opposition and the ruling parties. Each party tried to take advantage of the dispute and accused the other before and after the general election of July 2013. The opposition party accused the CPP-led government of being under the influence of Hanoi, and allowing Vietnamese immigrants to live and work in Cambodia illegally, and have allegedly accused Hun Sen of being strongly affiliated with Vietnam and even ceding Cambodian territory to Vietnam (Chheang, 2015). The Vietnamese threat is still a popular choice for political rhetoric. For this reason, the opposition parties could again use the Vietnamese threat for the next national election in 2017.

Newspapers also take part in the nationalist movement. Benedict Anderson explains this concept in his book *Imagined Communities*. Disparate occurrences were

bound together as national experiences as people felt that everyone was reading the same thing and had equal access to the information. Anderson (1991, p. 46) writes:

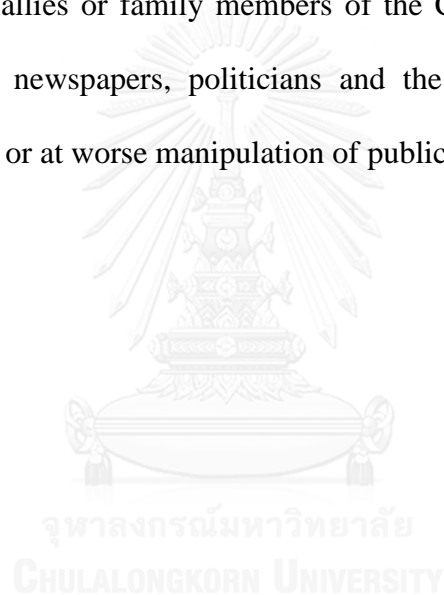
The convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation. The potential stretch of these communities was inherently limited, and, at the same time, bore none but the most fortuitous relationship to existing political boundaries (which were, on the whole, the high water marks of dynastic expansionisms.

Anderson (1991) described the concept as an imagination among members of the nation to have one shared belief, identities, culture, language, and all members live in one sovereign. To achieve this imagined nation, print media including books, magazines, and newspapers serve to unite culturally and ideologically diverse members of the country.

It would be an interesting topic to conduct research about Cambodian newspapers' reports on territorial disputes with Thailand and Vietnam. This study may provide better understandings of the complex relationship among political leaders, nationalism and newspapers in Cambodia. Newspapers in Cambodia cannot be studied in isolation. They are interlinked to external factors, such as politicians, private corporations, and social elites. Popular Cambodian newspapers can be seen as a site of struggle between news organizations and their partners over news contents. One of such examples is the Cambodian press.

Both the opposition party and the government have addressed the border disputes with the neighboring countries. Their goals are to influence the voters in a

favorable manner during the national election campaigns. They strategically utilize the border disputes in order to discredit the opponents and justify their political goals. This way, the political actors may be able to influence the media and by extension the public by addressing border disputes and to gain support from voters. In fact, the majority of media outlets in Cambodia were established by political actors, and still are under their influence. According to *Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights* (2009), mass media in Cambodia are owned by the government, private corporations, tycoon allies or family members of the CPP members. The unhealthy relationship between newspapers, politicians and the government could result in misleading the public or at worse manipulation of public opinions.





## 1.2 Research Objectives

There are two objectives in this research study. They are:

1. To examine the frequency of articles on territorial disputes between Cambodia-Thailand and Cambodia-Vietnam from the following four leading newspapers in Cambodia: (1) *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* (Khmer Language), (2) *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* (Khmer Language), (3) *The Cambodia Daily* (English Language), and (4) *The Phnom Penh Post* (English Language).

2. To examine the roles of the four newspapers in the proliferation of territorial nationalism, particularly in relation to Cambodian-Thai and Cambodian-Vietnamese territorial disputes before and after the 2008 and 2013 national elections.

## 1.3 Research Questions

1. When and how often did *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily*, *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*, *The Cambodia Daily*, and *The Phnom Penh Post* report on territorial disputes with Thailand and Vietnam during the 2008 and 2013 national elections?

2. Why did *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily*, *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*, *The Cambodia Daily*, and *The Phnom Penh Post* report or fail to report on territorial disputes with Thailand and Vietnam during the 2008 and 2013 national elections, judging from the political economy of Cambodian news media?

#### 1.4 Scope of Research

The scope of this research can be divided into two main aspects: specific populations and specific periods. The population of this study were 383 newspapers among which 35 published international versions. The researcher chose only four mainstream newspapers: *The Raksmei Kampuchea Daily* (Cambodia Light), *The Koh Santepheap Daily* (Island of Peace), *The Cambodia Daily* (English Version), and *The Phnom Penh Post* (English Version) because they enjoy high circulation rates in Cambodia, which will be discussed for more details in Chapter 3.

In addition, the researcher explored the relationship between the rise of nationalistic sentiment and the territorial disputes between Cambodia-Thailand and Cambodia-Vietnam. The territorial disputes referred to the disputes between Cambodia-Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple and Cambodia-Vietnam over the Cochin-china.

The researcher focused only on Cambodian newspapers' reporting on the territorial disputes during the national elections from 27 June to 27 August 2008, and from 28 June to 28 August 2013.

#### 1.5 Definition of the Terms

**Territorial dispute:** A disagreement over the control of land between two or more states.

**Nationalism:** The maintenance of unity, which hold that the state, political actor, and citizen should be congruent. It needs a mechanism and an advancement to create a tangible and readable object to unite people

## **1.6 Expected Benefits**

Print media contributes to the development of democracy, as it allows people to know what is going on every day, to express their concerns and opinions, and to provide constructive criticism to the government. Currently, there are many types of research about Cambodian print media's impact. One among those is to study an increase of nationalism in the area of territorial disputes between Cambodia-Thailand and Cambodia-Vietnam, which are being reported by most Cambodian newspapers.

There are two main benefits of this research study: First, it explains how news about territorial disputes plays a role in promoting nationalism among the Cambodians. Second, it provides a clear idea for the citizens to make a judgment in territorial disputes. It improves their understanding of the relationship among political actors, and newspaper organizations over the territorial disputes. In addition, it encourages citizens to exercise their voting rights wisely.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this chapter, the researcher covers the following literature reviews: (2.1) Nationalism and the Role of Newspaper in Promoting Nationalism; (2.2) Cambodian Nationalism: A shared memory against neighbors; (2.3) History and the Role of Cambodian Newspapers in Promoting Nationalism; (2.4) The Political Economy of Cambodian Newspapers; (2.5) Cambodia and Thai Border Dispute: Preah Vihear Temple; (2.6) Cambodia and Vietnam Border Dispute: Cochin-china, and (2.7) The Conceptual Framework.

#### **2.1 Nationalism and the Role of Newspaper in Promoting Nationalism**

In the following literature reviews, the researcher focuses on three definitions of nationalism proposed by Benedict Anderson (1991), Ernest Gellner (1983), and Anthony D. Smith (1991).

According to Smith (1991, p. 71), the term “nationalism becomes a necessity of political constancy and unity in the modern nation”. Smith (1991, p. 72) argues that the term has been used in several ways. It can be defined as follows:

1. The whole process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states
2. A consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity
3. A language and symbolism of the ‘nation’ and its role
4. An ideology, including a cultural doctrine of nations and the national will and prescriptions for the realization of national aspirations and the national will

5. A social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize its national will.

For the first and second usages, nationalism is the processes and routes of the formation of nations. A nation is a group of people, whose members are tied together with shared and historical memories, culture, and duties for all members to protect its nationhood and territory, which Smith (1991) defines as a process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states.

The third usage, nationalism has been used as a language and symbolism that play an important role to link elites and people through a cognitive and expressive framework in a larger scale. The language and symbolism often connect intellectuals to the mass population, notably through slogans, ideas, symbols and ceremonies.

Finally, the fourth and fifth usage, nationalist ideology, is closely linked with nationalist movement. Smith (1991, p. 73) claims that “nationalism itself can be defined as an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential” ‘nation’.

However, Smith (1991) argues that states, nations, and nationalism are not always concomitant happening. In fact, there are so many conflicts and wars which are caused by nationalism. (We can look at the creation of nationalism which needs all nationalists to build one principle condition to ensure that every nationalist is satisfied.) If nationalists fail to build one principle condition, it can bring a crucial damage to the state and nation.

Nationalism as sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle condition. Gellner (1983, p. 1) argues that nationalist sentiment is the feeling

of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by sentiment of this kind. Thus, Gellner (1983, p. 1) defined the term nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. It requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones. Ethnic boundaries within a given state- a contingency already formally excluded by the principle should not separate the power-holders from the rest.

Furthermore, the concept of nationalism has always rooted in each life of every nation to think and imagine their community. Nations and their fellows will never meet, hear and know each other. Even if they live in a small nation, however in their heart of each life rooted with the images of their community (Anderson, 1991, p. 6).

Anderson (1991, p. 6) proposes the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

Anderson (1991, p. 7) asserts that “The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind”. It is precise that no nation imagines living or sharing its border with other nations. Even if they dream, instead, they prefer to live with their nationhood. Most of the time, the conflict among nations happens because of the desire to protect the elastic boundary of territory.

Significantly, nations are imagined as *sovereign*. To protect the nation means that there must be a sovereign state. A state is an autonomous, legal administration, and political organization with the requirement of authority power to control its nation in a given territory, and absolute administration in diplomatic relation to those outside its

territory. By creating a fixed or permanent language, the state crafts a unified field of exchange among groups. To unite its people, it has a duty to share historical memories and culture as well as to protect its territory. As stated by Anderson (1991, p. 7) “Nations dream of being free, and the gauge and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state”.

Finally, “it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (Anderson, 1991, p. 7). It is imagined as a community because the nation is created by shared sentiment among members of a community rather than naturally given. They share general beliefs, attitudes, and recognize a common national interest. Also, if the boundary is invaded, members of the nation need to protect and be willing to die for their country.

Anderson (1991, p. 44) point out the key aspect of nationalism’s development is the role of print capitalism particularly the role of newspapers. He argues that newspapers create new knowledge and inform the nation about what is happening in their community and other. Newspaper creates a possibility way for people to think and associate themselves with others. Moreover, newspapers can avoid any separation occurrences and unite a nation because people feel that everyone is reading and feeling the same thing.

Furthermore, “print-capitalism gives a new permanency to language, which in the long run helps to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation. Also, print-capitalism creates languages-of-power of a kind different from

the older administrative vernaculars” (Anderson, 1991, pp. 44-45). Print media’s role in promoting nationalism is undeniable because people can understand one another through print, and they then begin to recognize they belong to a particular group defined by what has been written. In other words, the formation of the contemporary nation-state is directly tied to the persistent rise of print media, especially newspapers.

In conclusion, nationalism can be defined as an ideological movement deemed by the members of the nations, for the maintenance of unity, which hold that the political and national unit should be congruent. Also, the concept of nationalism has always been rooted in each life of every nation to think and imagine of their community. Of course, no kind of nationalism can be perfect for each nationalist, but it does show how a nation can be united and integrated together with shared beliefs. It needs a mechanism and an advancement to create a tangible and readable object to unite people, Anderson calls this a print publication revolution.

## **2.2 Cambodian Nationalism: A Shared Memory Against Neighbors**

Anderson’s dissertations make us understand that nationalism is inspired by a shared memory which deep insight all of every member of the nation. Pain and suffering from historical memory are rooted and embarked among members of the nation. Furthermore, nationalism is plowed in cultural systems and has been shared with the common interest of all the members of the nation.

Cambodian nationalism has been inspired by a proud and shared legacy of the ancient Angkorian period, the time when Jayavarman VII, one of the greatest kings, expanded his kingdom's territory in a series of successful wars against neighbors (Chandler, 2008, p. 70; Tully, 2005, pp. 27-29) His territory reaches as far to the west next to Burma, to the north next to China, and to the south next to Malay. His greatest



achievement was the construction of the Angkor Wat temple which is one of the largest religious temples in the world. For Cambodian, Angkor Wat is considered the greatest single architectural work not only for Cambodian but also in the world. The pictures of Angkor Wat temple always appear on the flag of every Cambodian regimes.

After the World War II, there were two types of nationalism against the French Protectorate. The first type of nationalism involves the movement and the rise of nationalism against the French in response to an introduced a plan to replace the Khmer alphabet with the Roman alphabet, but the move was unwelcome by both the Buddhist institutions and King Norodom Sihanouk (Chandler, 2008, pp. 207-208; Tully, 2005, p. 108). Second, the rise of Cambodian nationalism involved the struggle for independence from France by both people and the king (Chandler, 2008, p. 211; Tully, 2005, p. 119)

In contemporary Cambodia, Khmer nationalism is again built up from both the pride and victimization of history. Cambodian people are always reminded of the greatest period when Khmer warriors established a nation through their wars with neighboring countries. Again, the image of Angkor Wat can be found everywhere, and Jayavarman VII represents the greatest of all Khmer empires. On the other hand, all Cambodians were taught about the history of Khmer people under the rule of the Siamese (Thai) many centuries ago and as recently as 1940s and 1954 when Siam temporary owned the northwestern provinces and the Preah Vihear Temple, as well as the loss of territories of Cochin-chinato the Vietnamese (Chandler, 2008, p. 141; Tully, 2005, p. 71).

The attitude of Khmer People toward Thailand and Vietnam has a deep historical basis during the colonial period and the countless war over fourteen centuries.

Cambodian and Thai people are seen as culturally similar. The two countries attempt to differentiate between the ancient builders of historical civilization and the contemporary heritage. The attempt to differentiate offers a reason behind the protest in 2003 anti-Thai that burned down the Thai embassy in Phnom Penh. It was rumored that a Thai actress had said that she would not come to perform in Cambodia unless the temple of Angkor Wat is returned to Thailand. Although, there were many sources claimed that the news was false, the government and ordinary people believed that the news was true. The protest destroyed the whole Thai embassy and resulted in the suspension of diplomatic relation between two countries.

The Vietnamese who are culturally different from Cambodians are seen as competing for territories and resources. The expansion of Vietnam is evident in the destruction of the Champa Kingdom. The encroachment from Vietnam resulted in Cambodian anti-Vietnamese sentiments. The strong nationalist feelings against the Vietnamese were political in nature and intended to organize support after the territorial loss of Cochin-china in 1949 when France ceded the land to Vietnam. Cochin-china, which refers to a geographical area that occupies the Mekong Delta of southern Vietnam, of which Ho Chi Minh City is a capital. The loss of territory divided millions of ethnic Cambodians living in the Mekong Delta from the middle land of Cambodia and resulted in the loss of access to the South China Sea.

Cambodian is implacable to develop a form of nationalism based on hatred towards the neighboring nations. Every Cambodians have a dream of one day reclaiming back the lost territories and unite all Cambodian from separated and protect the current state boundaries.

### 2.3 History and the Role of Cambodian Newspapers in Promoting Nationalism

Cambodia has changed six major political regimes after gained independence in 09 October 1953. The Kingdom of Cambodia (1953 to 1970), The Khmer Republic (1970 to 1975), Khmer Rouge Regime (1975 to 1979), The People's Republic of Kampuchea (1979 to 1989), and later after the Peach Paris Agreement in 1991 and the intervention of United Nation the Kingdom of Cambodia was reestablished since 1993 until now.

According to Chandler (2008, p. 194) there were no Khmer-Language newspapers before 1927, or any journals recorded and written in the kingdom. *Nagara Vatta* means Angkor Wat was the first Khmer language newspaper that was published in 1936. The *Nagara Vatta* newspaper was founded by Pach Chhoeun, Sim Var, and a young man named Son Ngoc Thanh, who was born in Vietnam and graduated from France. These three played an important role in the nationalist movement by collaborating with other Cambodian intellectuals and scholars. The existence of the first Khmer newspaper was significant for Cambodian elites since the newspaper acted as a bridge between public and elites with the French protectorate. The popularity of the newspaper is noted by its readership. In 1937, *Nagara Vatta's* circulation reached 5,000 copies (Mehta, 1997, p. 30).

The political stance of *Nagara Vatta's* editorial was pro-Cambodian. However, the newspaper was not openly anti-French. In fact, it targeted Vietnamese control over the Cambodian civil service, Chinese control of commerce, the inability for graduated Cambodians to find jobs, French delays in modernizing the educational system, the shortage of credit for Cambodian farmers, and the low pay of Cambodian civil servants (Chandler, 2008, p. 199).

The editorial also went too far by creating a nationalist sentiment toward the Vietnamese. As stated in one editorial that compared “Hitler’s territorial aggrandizement in Europe to that Vietnam in the nineteenth century”(Chandler, 2008, p. 200). The perceived threat of Vietnam and anti-Vietnam sentiments subtly emerged in the newspaper and became the ideology of every government during the colonial and after independence.

*Nagara Vatta* became an anti-French and pro-Japanese newspaper when the Japanese arrived in Cambodia in the early 1940s. Between 1940 and 1942, the paper affiliated to the Japanese was increasing and targeted to anti-colonial. During the period, the French censored at least 32 issues of the publications and ceased, at least, ten editorials. Possibly, censorship to the newspaper mostly related to any articles which promoted activities against French administration. During the time, the paper has nothing published related to Japanese and any collaboration activities between Cambodian nationalists and Japanese, but it is undeniable the relationship between them due to its editorials against French.

It was noticed significantly in 1942 when an anti-French Buddhist monk was arrested and defrocked by the French and editors led a demonstration demanding his release. The confrontation between these two groups occurred when the French ceased *Nagara Vatta* publication due to its popular editorials against the administration (Chandler, 2008, p. 205). More than thirty Cambodian were jailed following the demonstration. This demonstration had the greatest impact on the people who were to lead Cambodia’s nationalist movement in the 1940s and 1950s. One of the *Nagara Vatta’s* editors, Pach Chhoeun bravely led the demonstration and was arrested just as he presented a petition to a French official inside the resident. Later, Chhoeun was

brought to trial quickly, and a death sentence imposed on him was changed to life imprisonment.

Son Ngoc Thanh, co-founder of *Nagara Vatta*, who later admitted his involvement in planning the demonstration, is believed to have escaped Thai-controlled city Battambang before seeking asylum in Tokyo Japan in 1943. After he returned from Japan in 1952, Thanh founded another nationalist newspaper *Khmer Krok (Khmer Awake)*. Its editorial urged Cambodians to awaken and compete with the Chinese and Vietnamese minorities in commerce, at the same time reporting incisively on the activities of the Cambodian elite (Mehta, 1997, p. 34). *Khmer Krok* was popular among Cambodian elites and later played an important role in uniting all of the elites to ask for independence from France. It portrayed the failure of the French in finding a suitable solution to improve poor farmers' lives rather than collecting the taxes and grabbing their land.

In the 1960s, there were 13 daily newspapers, two weekly newspapers, and three monthly newspapers, one Sunday addition, one daily press summary, and a daily journal with a combined circulation of about 70,000 (Lor, n.d. as cited by Im, 2011). Most of them were politically influenced. During the 1960s, all political parties coalesced to form one political party, *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*. Head-of-State, Norodom Sihanouk, who practiced autocratic power, formed the political party (Im, 2011). This move restricted freedom of expression. During the period of Cold War, Sihanouk who balanced his country between left and right wings decided to shut down all the press which supported or criticized China and U.S. in 1965 and created his own magazine *Kambuja (Cambodia)* (Mehta, 1997, p. 43). *Kambuja* acted as press to show what life

inside Cambodia was like to the world during the Cold War. The magazine gradually built up loyalty to the royal family, especially Sihanouk. Pictures of him always appeared in the magazine with his quote to the Cambodians.

*Kambuja* attracted Cambodians to a sense of nationalism against the United States and its alliances with Thailand and South Vietnam as a threat to the region and the territory of Cambodia over its war on Vietnam. On 15, September *Kambuja* issued a short headline: “An American helicopter shot down while violating Cambodian air space” (Mehta, 1997, p. 61). In the same issue, one cartoon described an American businessman walking out of the bar in Sihanoukville, the southern Cambodian port city. The cartoon’s caption said he was thinking about bringing the tank, guns, and weapons into the kingdom. Another midyear issue editorial mentioned: “the well-known press campaign against us by the United States and their satellites,” “the professional slanderers of Bangkok and Saigon”(Mehta, 1997, p. 61)

Press freedom was reestablished again in Cambodia after King Sihanouk was taken from power by a military coup on March 18, 1970. During the mid-1970s, there were 30 daily newspapers printed (Lor, n.d.cited by Im, 2011). In June 1972, a press law was created to provide freedom of expression and criticism of the government, but the limited publication of information that harmed the honor of individuals or national security or that violate others’ morality (Clarke, 2000 cited by Im, 2011).

The private newspapers were seen to object and act on behalf of the public to criticize and examine the corruption and mismanagement of the new U.S supported government Led by Lon Nol (Im, 2011). The three main dailies newspapers, *Nokor Thom (Big City)*, *Khmer Ekareach (Independent Khmer)*, and *Koh Santepheap (Island of Peace)*, were seen to enjoy the press freedom into playing a constructive role and

criticized the former Sihanouk's regime. However, for the military government, the three dailies newspapers were gone too far against the law by spreading disinformation, disrupting public order, damaging the unity of Cambodian people, and insulting the government, and that they would be punished (Mehta, 1997, p. 101). The extent of power of the coup government exercised over the press was clear in 1973 when a press campaign supporting higher salaries for teacher became linked to a rebel bombing at President Lon Nol's resident. Urgently, the regime closed all the private newspapers, enforced the martial law, and declared a state of emergency.

*Koh Santhepheap* newspaper at that time published a commentary calling for unity among Cambodians while the country soon would be taken over by Khmer Rouge. Its commentary was directed at depicting the two neighboring countries as threats and fired Cambodia into internal conflict. As stated in the newspaper, “ on 18 March 1970, we were strong hearted and had a spirit of patriotism, but that spirit has melted for years later as the cancer has eaten in to us [...] the country had now entered a period of difficulty, a time when Cambodia had fought each other without thinking of the danger from Vietnam and Thailand”(Mehta, 1997, p. 102).

In 1975, Lon Nol government collapsed. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was created by Pol Pot, who was the leader of Communist party and the movement against Lon Nol during 1970 to 1975. All of the press and publications were under state control. Official monthly state publications, including *Yuvachun ning Yuveakneary Padevat* (*Boys and Girls of the Revolution*) and *Tung Pakdevoat* (*National Flag*), were circulated from January 1974 to November 1978 and from January 1975 to September 1978 respectively (Im, 2011). Many journalists were killed or died of hunger and diseases during this period.

The economy collapsed as the Khmer Rouge attempted a mass 'ruralization' of the country. Moreover, the government perpetrated massive human rights abuses against its citizens. First, they began killing former government officials and members of the intelligentsia. The genocide continued to the point where over one million Cambodians died at the hands of their government. The killings and economic distress of the forced ruralization caused a flood of refugees out of the country.

Vietnamese liberated Cambodia from the Khmer Rouge regime which an estimated three million Cambodians had already lost their lives because of genocide. Under the Vietnam supported the regime of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (1979-1987) was created. There were a number of publications of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party, now known as Cambodian People's Party, were established. Those publications included the weekly Kampuchea newspaper, established in January 1979; the municipality's newspaper, Phnom Penh, established in 1981; and a party newspaper *Pracheachun (The People)*, which appeared in 1985. All of the three newspapers were used as a force targeted Khmer Rouge and their alliances and featured a new government and its policies. Since then, Cambodia Newspapers went through a period of political instability. The newspapers became a tool of the ruling CPP. There was a demand for newspaper reform to be independent and balanced.

Currently, according to Ministry of Information (2012), there are more than 383 newspapers and 35 international newspapers For Cambodia old traditional media, only five newspapers (*Phnom Penh Post, Raksmei Kampuchea, Kampuchea Thmey, Cambodia Daily, and Koh Santepheap*) are daily issued and circulation in average is probably 20,000 to 25,000 numbers of copies (Roberts, 2011, p. 14). Commonly front



page of those newspapers inhabit the top politician article or activities of Prime Minister, Deputy prime minister and ministers in portfolio. They generally have reported or portrayed high ranking officials in an interesting picture or even better.

Although newspapers have a limited reach in Cambodia, they play an important role in disseminating information. Newspapers are popular in the urban areas (BBC Media Action, 2012, p. 7). The urban population is steadily growing to 21.4 percent in 2013 from 19.5 percent in 2008 (Asian Development Bank, 2014, p. 1). In response to the new technology, the mainstream newspapers have transformed themselves from the paper-based publication to online version. They now publish articles in the morning, and later reprint it as the online version in the afternoon on a free to read or a monthly subscription basis. The readers can easily access the newspaper articles any time anywhere. This means that newspapers is still relevant among the Cambodians despite the growing popularity of online media.

#### **2.4 The Political Economy of Cambodian Newspapers**

Today, there are many debates among scholars and publics about newspapers and their roles to ensure democracy in societies. It is so much part of our everyday life that we are not sometimes aware of its presence, let alone its influence. Each day many stories are covered by journalists, but their truthfulness, reliability, transparency, and accuracy are still questionable. Jurgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1991) proposes that newspapers must be free and independent from court, public and private institution, and government. Idealistically, it should be independent of political interests and affiliation, allow the public to free flow of information and encourage social and political diversity in society. To ensure the free movement of information, and keep political actors and government accountable to the

public, Habermas (1991) believes that the decline of “public sphere” can be a threat to democracy. The public sphere is a social space where citizens can speak freely and express their opinion without fear of political persecution, and form opinions about common issues by sharing their ideas and argumentations. In Cambodia, newspapers are one of such public sphere where people can learn a variety of issues and develop their mutual understandings with other readers.

Thus, Harbermas’s explanations made us understood that the greatest challenge for newspapers is to ensure the free flow of information. In a politically oppressive environment like Cambodia, the morally questionable relationship between journalists and political actors and the government could damage to peoples’ rights to know and negatively affect democracy. News organizations are both business enterprises and socially responsible. They are awkward with this dilemma with the government, sponsors, and owners. They try to be independent and act on behalf of the public to make politicians and powerful individuals accountable. However, the political economy of mass media obstructs this process. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in *Manufacturing Consent: A Propaganda Model* (1988, pp. 1-2) argue:

“In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy and powerful individual, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, make it clear that the media serve the ends of dominant elite. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and governmental malfeasance, and aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest. By doing this, it affects the media system on its behavior and journalistic performance.”

Similarly, Vincent Mosco (2009, p. 24) in *the Political Economy of Communication* explains “political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources”. It shows the process of how corporate and powerful individuals transform news into marketable products. Mosco’s view also helps us examine how audiences influence the process of creating news contents via readership.

Another idea of political economy often looks at the processes of making a profit to support the media industry. It looks at how news organizations survive by selling audience and readership to advertisers (Boyd-Barrett, 1995). Media institution cannot depend on revenue from selling alone. For this reason, advertising revenue becomes one of most prominent sources for newspapers. Due to advertising revenue, newspapers can lower the price of the copy below the production cost. In general, advertisers buy spaces in the newspaper to advertise. In return, the newspapers produce contents to please advertisers. As stated in Peter Golding and Graham Murdock’s *Culture, Communication, and Political Economy* (2000), political economy refers to how powerful individuals and advertisers can influence media discourse by financing mass media as sponsors or advertiser.

Herman and Chomsky proposed “the five filters” to uncover how money and power can influence newspapers and other media outlets, and allow the government and dominant private corporations to get their messages across to the public. The five filters enable us to examine political economy in Cambodian newspapers.

The filters can be explained as follows: (1) “Size and ownership” of the mass media refer to the dominant of mass media by a wealthy owner. Financial elites control media by investment. The larger the firm and the more widely the stock and share are

distributed, the larger the number of owners; (2) “Advertising” is the primary income source of the mass media. Before advertising became prominent, the price of newspapers had to cover the cost and salaries of its employees. With the growth of advertising, newspapers afford to lower a copy price well below the production costs and sell to the market. On the other hand, newspapers are considered as seriously disadvantaged, if they depend on selling revenue alone. In fact, their prices tend to be higher than other newspapers, and they would have little people willing to buy their newspapers; (3) “Sources and information” refer to the quality of producing contents of the media. The qualities of producing contents of the media depend on sources such as raw material and people in the government, business, and expert. Only government and corporate sector have the resources to produce public information. Government and corporate can hire professional and expert to collect information and represent them to the media. This is important to the mass media, partly to maintain the image of the organization as journalistic accurate, but also protect themselves from criticisms of bias. Also, taking information from credible sources reduce investigative expense, whereas material from sources that are not credible requires careful checking and costly research; (4) “Flak” refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. It may take the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches threat, punitive action and other modes of complaint. It may be organized by group, or it may consist of the independent actions complaint of individuals. If flak is produced on a large scale by individuals or groups with substantial resources, it can be both uncomfortable and costly to the media; and (5) “Anticommunism” refers to an ideological control mechanism. Communism as the ultimate evil has always been perceived as a threat to the western powers. The anti-communist mobilizes the western

elites because the concept is fuzzy, it can be used against anybody who supports communist states and radicalism or opposes status quo.

As a result, news organizations must not be examined as isolated entities. These organizations are linked with external forces like politicians, private companies, and social elites. Investigating these relationships would reveal the influence these actors have on media. Continued ignorance of the relationship between print media and public officials or corporations serves to allow owners of print media to serve their interests and attack opponents. Moreover, these media owners utilize mass media to control public opinion while making a profit.

Andreas Oldag's *Freedom of the Press and Media Regulation in Cambodia* (2015) reports that only thirty newspapers are published in Cambodia on a regular basis. The BBC's Cambodia (2012) reports that the majority of Cambodian people who read newspapers particularly live in the capital city of Phnom Penh. The BBC shows that the highest urban percentage of the population gets information from newspapers. However, a negative effect of the very limited reach of newspapers is that publishers can barely develop a revenue advertising businesses in the countryside. Cambodian newspapers need a support from politicians because their financial basis is too weak to secure long-term economic survival (Oldag, 2015).

Many Cambodian newspapers are run by political parties or individual politicians; only the foreign language newspapers *The Phnom Penh Post* and *The Cambodia Daily* are considered to be free of political influence. However, many media experts believe that they are linked to the opposition party. Due to lack of English literacy only a small amount of Cambodians read these newspapers especially those who live in the urban areas (Oldag, 2015). The two newspapers find their readers

primarily among expats, non-governmental organizations, and a small critical community of domestic readers. On the other hand, big three Khmer newspapers: *The Kampuchea Thmey Daily*, *The Koh Santepheap Daily*, and *The Raksmei Kampuchea Daily*, are political affiliated. They have daily circulation rate around of 20,000 copies per day (Indochina Research, 2009; Roberts, 2011).

Political economy in Cambodian media is an important issue for serious attention. There is a concern about Cambodian newspapers' role in ensuring democracy. Although Cambodian newspapers enjoy a considerable level of freedom in reporting, there is still concern toward their unhealthy relationship with powerful individuals, politicians, and wealthy people. According to Chhay Sophal, who is a board member of Club of Cambodian Journalists and a board member of Cambodian Journalists' Council for Ethics, claims that Cambodian newspapers are affiliated with political parties. Sophal (2013, p. 4) argues:

The political parties also run their own newspapers and the reporters, editors, and editor-in-chiefs are the parties' activists. Therefore, their news stories, mainly about political articles, which are not balanced enough but taking only quotes from their respective sides. The powerful and rich politicians then take opportunity to use by all means to attract poor local journalists and their organizations to serve their political wills.

For example, Prime Minister's daughter Hun Mana owns the popular television station *Bayon TV* and *The Kampuchea Thmey Daily*. During the 2008 general pre-election, she was appointed as an assistant to her father's office and used her television station and newspaper for the election campaign of her father's party (Sokha, 2008).

Article 10 of the Cambodia Press Act states that “if any person believes that any article or text, even if the meaning of the article or text is implied, or any picture, drawing or photograph of any press is false and harm his or her honor or dignity, that person has the right to demand a retraction from the right to reply to the publisher of the statement and the right to sue on the charge of defamation” (p.308). Those who are convicted of defamation potentially face a fine of 10 million riel (2,500 USD). Cambodia Center for Human Rights (2013, p. 17) reports that Cambodian journalists and media professionals have been jailed for defamation since 1994. Defamation and libel action against journalist are often related to prominent politicians. Worse, journalists are subject to physical attacks, and threats or even murders.

Besides state control and regulation, Cambodian businessmen established newspapers and other media firms for financial profit rather than the journalistic mission for the public. They rarely publish and broadcast anything related to opposition parties or critics. For example, Kith Meng the CEO and chairman of the Royal Group own the companies in Cambodia including newspapers and television stations (for more detail visit this website <http://www.royalgroup.com.kh/>). *The Financial Times* (2008) reports, Mr. Kith Meng had a strong relationship with Cambodia’ Prime Minister Hun Sen. His companies is rarely seen to attack the government or involved in politics.

Cambodian newspapers and other media are still subject to influence from government and private corporations on their contents. Therefore, popular Cambodian newspapers can be considered as a site of struggle between news organizations and their partners over news contents via business interest, ownership, and political agendas.

## **2.5 Cambodia and Thailand Border Dispute: Preah Vihear Temple**

Thai Cambodian relations have fallen into the crisis for the past years. The tension requires us to understand the historical challenges between the two countries. To study about Cambodia-Thai relation, one must study the ongoing conflict at the border of the Preah Vihear Temple, where the military tension from both sides resulted in a weak relationship between two countries. To understand the problematic of the border conflict and complex relations between these two neighboring, we need to look at the origin of the conflict and history which leads to unsolved borders from both countries.

In 1863, Cambodian King Norodom signed a treaty which allowed the French to establish a protectorate government in the kingdom. French Colonialism arrived due to neighbors' invasion of the kingdoms from Thailand (Siam) and Vietnam (Annam). The invasions from both countries from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries nearly destroyed Cambodia. The Thais in the West and the Vietnamese in the East gradually grabbed away most of the territory (Pouvatchy, 1986, p. 440; Sok, 2011, p. 4). During this period, the king had no choice but to ask the French to protect his country or give up and see his country deleted from the map.

After the creation of French Protectorate in Cambodia, in 1896, Cambodia's three provinces Battambang, Seam Reap, and Sisophon remained under Thai control. In the Franco-Thai Treaties of 1887 and 1893, Thailand took control of all three provinces which are on the left bank of the Mekong River (Leifer, 1961, p. 361; Singh, 1962, p. 23). However, in the 1904 and 1907 treaties, Thailand returned the three provinces to France (Leifer, 1961, p. 362; Singh, 1962, p. 23). During the Second World War, France lost its power over Indochina by the arrival of the Japanese Army. Thailand



took advantage of an alliance and their corporation with Japan by claiming back the three provinces and in the Tokyo convention March 1941, Japan agreed to give the three provinces to Thailand (Leifer, 1961, p. 362; Singh, 1962, p. 23). After the Second World War had ended, France returned to Indochina and demanded Thailand give back the three provinces. In Washington, 1946, Thailand ceded the three provinces to France once again (Leifer, 1961, p. 362; Singh, 1962, p. 23). After Cambodia gained independent from France in 1953, King Sihanouk refused to join SEATO. Thailand, under the guise of edifying its border, created a military post in The Dang Raek Mountains and lifted the Thai flag over the temple.

With both sides claimed the ownership of the temple, In October 1959, Cambodia brought the case to the International Court of Justice. In 1962, the majority of the judges voted in favor of Cambodia. In its judgment, the Court stated that the Temple of Preah Vihear, located on the head of Dangrek range of mountains is situated in Cambodia. The application of the Treaty of 13 February 1904 was, in particular, involved” (International Court of Justice, 1962; Sok, 2011, p. 11). The court found that the treaty between Thailand from 1904-07 was the exact boundary and was made by the mixed commission of the two countries. Thailand was under an obligation to remove any military and police from the disputed area and placed the temple under Cambodia. Thailand was obligated to return to Cambodia any sculptures, stelae, fragments of monuments, sandstone model, and ancient pottery since the date of the occupation of the Temple by Thailand in 1954 that had been removed from the area by Thai authorities.

Thailand, on the other hand, had rejected that the map not part of the Mixed Commission’s work and if Thailand had accepted it at the time only because of a

mistaken belief that the frontier indicated the Temple was on the Thailand side (International Court of Justice, 1962). However, Thailand never filed a complaint against the Court's judgment and remained quiet.

The dispute between the two countries happened again in 2008 when Cambodia had been enlisted the Preah Vihear Temple to World Heritage Sites. Thailand responded to Cambodia's claim over the disputed area by sending hundreds of troops to confront Cambodia along the border. So far, both countries have conducted many bilateral talks, yet a compromise to the problem between both sides has yet to be reached. A ceasefire agreement at the border has repeatedly been broken from 2008 to 2011 destroying hundreds of households, and many soldiers have been wounded or killed.

In recognition of this, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of Indonesia, as a chairperson of ASEAN, has sent his foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa, to Cambodia and Thailand on 7 and 8 February 2011, respectively. The new ASEAN Charter allows the parties to request the Chairman of ASEAN or the Secretary-General of ASEAN to provide a good solution, assist and keep peace on the border of both countries (Kesavapany, 2011). It resulted that Thailand rejected Indonesia intervention and called for bilateral talk negotiations. On the other side, Cambodia welcomed Indonesia as a third-party in finding a solution and rejected the bilateral talk with Thailand. For the Cambodian government, only a coalition talk referred to Indonesia and called on to send observers to both sides of the disputed territory.

Despite the fact that the International Court of Justice (ICJ)'s 1962 judgment that Preah Vihear Temple belonged to Cambodian territory and ordered Thai troops and citizens be removed from the disputed area, some Thai nationalists have argued and never recognized the ICJ's judgment that the temple is on Cambodia territory (So,

2009). For some Thai nationalists, the ICJ's judgment has a dimension and covers only the temple and not the surrounding 4.6 square kilometers of land. This border dispute has become a tension for the bilateral relationship between two countries. Thousands of Thai nationalist Yellow Shirts which are known as People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) took to the streets to protest against Thailand government after Cambodia successfully listed the temple into the UNESCO's World Heritage Site. The Yellow Shirts have accused Cambodia of using the incorrect maps to support better its claim.

To solve the dispute once and for all, Cambodia filed a request for interpretation of the 1962 judgment, as well as a request for the indication of provisional measures, in the Registry of the International Court of Justice, referring to Article 60 of the Statute and Article 98 of the Rules of Court on 28 April 2011. The court delivered its judgment on 11 November 2013. In its judgment on Cambodia's request for interpretation, the Court declared that Cambodia had sovereignty over the whole territory of the area of Preah Vihear, and again, Thailand was under an obligation to withdraw military or police from that territory (International Court of Justice, 2013).

The opposition and nationalist groups both in Thailand and Cambodia are protesting against each other. The potential tensions between the two countries after the court's verdict have been decreasing although the commitment from both countries lives up their promises to find a scenario for a border dispute remains to be seen.

## **2.6 Cambodia and Vietnam Border Dispute: Cochin-china**

The border conflict that poisons Cambodian-Vietnamese relations happened since before the colonial period. There was a claim that the ambitious of Vietnamese people, in their long journey in the seventeenth century toward the south of the Indochina peninsula by swallowed up the land which belongs to their neighbors including Khmer (Pouvatchy, 1986; van der Kroef, 1979). To protect his country from being swallowed up by neighbors, King Norodom during the time asked the France to be the protectorate. Since then, Cambodia was a French colony (1863-1953).

During that period, the French Protectorate controlled the Cochin-china territory and used it as a capital and administrated other territories including Cambodia. To conveniently control the Indochina peninsula, the French created borders of Indochina by separating Cochin-china from Cambodia and has never given it back (Pouvatchy, 1986, p. 441). In 1870, the treaty to create the border between Cambodia and Cochin-china was created by King Norodom and The French protectorate (Office of The Concil Ministers, 2012). Based on the treaty, from 1870 to 1873, 124 border markers were rooted along the Cambodia and Cochin-china border. Later, the Cochin-china was temporary controlled by the French administration located in Vietnam and became a part of Vietnam's territory.

Cambodia has claimed the area formerly known as the French colony of Cochin-china and now a part of South Vietnam as an integral part of its territory. When Cambodia received a nominal measure of self-government which led by King Sihanouk from the French in November 1949, confirmation was expressed by the Cambodian concerning the territory of Cochin-china. For this reason, in June 1949, the Cambodian government had protested strongly and expressed its concern over the French transfer

of the whole of Cochin-china to the Vietnamese pointing that the French had acknowledged the validity of Cambodia's claims but had no attention to the case and, therefore, acting improperly (Leifer, 1961, p. 367).

The French Protectorate kept changing the border line without informing, discussing, and accepting from the countries which they colonized. This kind of ignorance led to the unsettle dispute after independence between citizens and the local authorities who live along the border between both countries Cambodia and South Vietnam (Office of The Concil Ministers, 2012). After the Geneva Conference in 1954, Vietnam was divided into two countries -the North and South (Willbanks, 2013, p. xi). South Vietnam remains in control over the Cochinchina. The citizens and local authorities who live along the border kept living and farming without realizing that the border of both countries had changed.

After Cambodia gained independence from France in 1953, King Sihanouk led a nationalist movement and demanded both the United Nations and the international community recognize Cambodian territory which remained from the French Protectorate. King Sihanouk during the time had no choice besides accepted the existing border which made by France or seeing his country was divided like Vietnam during the cold war. Even, King Sihanouk and his government try to persuade the United Nations and powerful countries by demanded recognition to Cambodia' territory, the rights to claim back the Cochin-china territory was considerably not over.

During the Geneva discussions in 1954 held to decide the future of Indo-China, the Cambodian Foreign Minister Tep Phan told the conference that the final declaration of the conference to respect for the territorial integrity of Vietnam did not "imply the abandonment of such legitimate rights as Cambodia might assert with regard to certain

regions of South Vietnam about which Cambodia had made express confirmation” (Leifer, 1961, p. 367). For Cambodian nationalist this is not the end yet, some of Cambodian never recognized the treaty which was forced to sign by France and still think the possibility of claiming back the territory. The losing territory always mentioned in every regime after the collapse of King Sihanouk in 1970.

After, the Geneva Conference ended in 1954, South and North Vietnam were established. The internal disputes between two countries created tension in diplomatic relations with Cambodia but did not lead to open military fire. The basic strategy for Cambodia was to save the country from involvement in the Vietnam War in the short run and protect its border from Vietnam neighbors over the long term. Sihanouk wanted an assurance and respect for the Cambodia demarcation from both North and South Vietnam not to fire on Cambodian’s territory. Later, the King went to persuade the Saigon ( the capital of South Vietnam) and Hanoi ( the Capital of North Vietnam) to recognize the shared border between the two countries, but the mission failed (Amer, 1997, p. 80; Pouvatchy, 1986, p. 442).

As a result, Cambodia broke off diplomatic relation with South Vietnam and removed its embassy in 1963 (Amer, 1997, p. 80; Pouvatchy, 1986, p. 443). Cambodia justified its decision with the reason that the Khmer minority who live in Cochin-china which controlled by Vietnam suffered from political policies implemented by the Vietnamese authorities and the South Vietnam raided its territory as a way to fight against North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, the root of the tension was over the disagreements on border issues which certainly contributed to the problem of the bilateral relations.

The border conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam was little noticed until 1979 when Vietnam invaded and overthrown the Khmer Rouge regime. Once the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia was accomplished a new government was set up in Phnom Penh, relations between the Khmer and Vietnamese took a new direction. The two countries have promised each other to continue negotiations to sign treaties delimiting the countries boundaries between the two nations. These treaties aimed to solve the current border which left by the France. Both parties guaranteed to resolve and make this border one of peace and lasting friendship between the two countries. These border treaties were finally signed in 1982 and 1983 by Hun Sen and Nguyen Co Thach (Amer & Thao, 2009, p. 55; Office of The Concil Ministers, 2012, p. 10). An agreement on border regulations was signed on December 27, 1985, and the two countries signed the Treaty on the Delimitation of the Vietnam-Kampuchea Frontier (Amer & Thao, 2009, p. 55; Office of The Concil Ministers, 2012, p. 11). This treaty further signed On October 10, 2005, a Supplementary Treaty to the 1985 Treaty.

In May 1994, King Sihanouk said that Vietnam had taken away Cambodian territory by rolling the border demarcation marks which highlighted the continuum of tension over the disputed area (Amer, 1997, p. 82). Vietnam's response was to deny the allegation and to state its willingness to resolve the border dispute by peaceful means through negotiations. Following King Sihanouk's accusations, anti-Vietnamese protests were reported to have taken place in Phnom Penh. Vietnam reacted by expressing its concern about the demonstrations.

The relation between the two countries became tension and brought to an abrupt diplomatic in January 1996 with the reports of military ceasefire along the border (Amer, 1997, p. 83). Cambodia's First Prime Minister, Prince Ranariddh claimed that

Vietnamese farmers who support by Vietnam' military had taken control over Cambodian territory in three of Cambodia's provinces: Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, and Kompong Cham since the beginning of the year (Barber & Munthit, 1996, Jan 26). Ranariddh said that Vietnam's moving of the border between the countries "even one centimeter" still represented an invasion of Cambodia.

The Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh immediately responded by rejecting the allegation in an official statement. The statement said that Vietnam had a consistent policy of respect for the territory of its neighboring countries and declared that Vietnam's working group on border issues was ready to meet its Cambodian counterpart to discuss and handle all of the border problems (Amer, 1997, p. 83). More, On 18 January the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry made a press conference in regarded to the military fired along the Cambodia-Vietnam's border; the spokesman said that Vietnam's policy was to make peace and friendship along the border between the two countries. He also stated that all the border issues should be negotiated and solve peacefully through the joint border commission of the two nations.

In 2005, Lawmakers from the two primary political parties voted on November 11 to approve a supplemental border treaty with Vietnam after discussion on the issue that spanned seven hours and which saw Sam Rainsy Party members walk out of the Assembly in protest before the final vote. The remaining 97 parliamentarians from the ruling Cambodian People's Party and FUNCINPEC Party voted unanimously to approve the supplemental treaty by a raised-hand vote. A lawmaker from the opposition said the border negotiations have been based on maps with a scale of 1:100,000 and 1:50,000, but this was contrary to Article 2 of the Cambodian Constitution. According to Article 2 of the Constitution says the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia is



inviolable, with the border defined using 1:100,000 scale maps made between the years 1933 and 1953 and internationally recognized between the years 1963 and 1969.

Since then, Cambodian nationalist and Opposition Parties viewed Hun Sen's government as being strongly influenced by the government of Vietnam because his government was set up by Hanoi, which ruled Cambodia from 1979 to 1989. They disagreed with the treaty and accused Hun Sen of ceding some of Cochin-china territory to Vietnam (Alex & Kuch, 2015; Sokchea, 2015). They claim Vietnam has been steadily taking away of Cambodian territory up to 15 kilometers in some places since the army's withdrawal in 1989 and that the new treaty will codify those gains.

They say it is not acceptable that now Cambodia and Vietnam are using the four treaties from 1982-1985 and 2005 signed by Hun Sen and Vietnam as the basis to resolve the border issue. For them, it is against the Paris Peace Accords, the Cambodian Constitution, and international practices. The border agreements Vietnam signed with Cambodia in the 1980s, at a time when Vietnam was an occupying force and the government in Phnom Penh then was not recognized by the United Nations and lacked international legitimacy. Allegations of such activities have prompted Cambodian nationalist and lawmakers to call on the National Assembly and the Senate to reject the four treaties.

In 2009, opposition leader Sam Rainsy uprooted six demarcation poles on the Cambodia-Vietnam border. Sam Rainsy said that the poles he removed were not border markers accepted by both countries but had been erected only recently by Vietnam. Sam Rainsy said the people who lost their land told him that officials from Vietnam and one Cambodian came to measure their land and then set up poles on it, declaring that the area fell within the "white zone".

Later, Sam Rainsy's parliamentary immunity was stripped away by the National Assembly, paving the possibility for his prosecution in relation to the incident. Svay Rieng provincial court Prosecutor Keo Sothear charges Sam Rainsy with incitement of racial discrimination and destruction of property under Articles 52 and 61 of the UNTAC criminal code. Sam Rainsy is convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. In 2013, he was pardoned by the king.

However, the government said that Cambodia and Vietnam had not used maps during the negotiations that would cause Cambodia to lose territory and that the maps used to negotiate the treaty signed in 1983 between the then People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) and Vietnam were the same as those made in 1964. Hun Sen promised to the National Assembly that the government was committed to maintaining Cambodia's existing territorial integrity and said he was working to build an exact and peaceful border between Cambodia and Vietnam (Office of The Concil Ministers, 2012).

Cambodia perceives the boundaries drawn by the French as being favorable to the Vietnamese, and historically the Cambodians have viewed Cochin-china as the "lost land" of Cambodia. Due to this, the largest foreign policy issue since Cambodian independence has been the redrawing of the boundary with Vietnam. There are also two important political actors who have been displaying negative attitudes towards Vietnam. The first was King Sihanouk, who has been sparked his statements about Vietnam, and the second actor is Sam Rainsy, the opposition leader who has continuously used an anti-Vietnamese ideology. The relations between the two countries since independence have not been stable because of the political conditions

in each country and so negotiations on the border have not been conducted steadily. That is why the border problem of the two countries has not been resolved until now.

## 2.7 Conceptual Framework

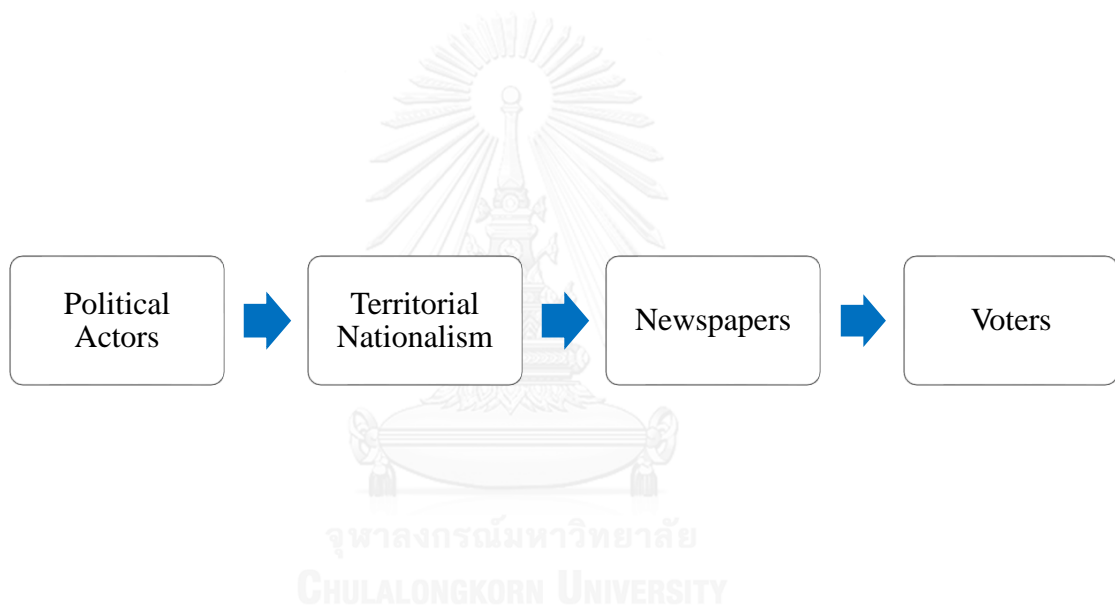
The conceptual framework of this research focuses on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991). Anderson was an expert on Southeast Asian nationalism, and also border conflicts between Cambodia, Vietnam and China. In the late 1970s, he examined the importance of political attraction to nationalism. The result was *Imagined Communities* which mirrored the root and spread of nationalism.

Anderson points out three key aspects, two of which relate directly to the development of nationalism. This research involves what he simplified; the role of print capitalism, and particularly the role of newspapers.

First, Anderson (1991, p. 44) argues that “newspapers created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars”. Print-capitalism gives speakers who may find it difficult or impossible to understand one another in a conversation due to the wide variety of different languages, the capability to read one another's ideas via print media even if they cannot communicate with each other orally. For example, in print media, particularly, newspapers often report unrelated and many simultaneous events within the territory so that people can envision unknown community members, and thus giving audiences a sense of unified identity and community.

Second, “Print capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation”(Anderson, 1991, p. 44). Cambodian newspapers intentionally construct many

news articles to continually foster historical animosity so that Cambodians always reflect about their nationhood and of a culturally unified nation. Print publications remind all Cambodians that they all share the same subjective image the nation's creation. In fact, there are many internal conflicts within Cambodian society that are caused by nationalism. For years, Cambodian newspapers have reported on the topic of nationalism and in so doing bring damage to the state and nation. Newspapers are dividing Cambodians which in the long run is partitioning the country.



**Figure 2.1** The conceptual framework of this research

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Quantitative Content Analysis was the main research methodology of this research study which developed by Treadwell (2014). In this research study, content analysis was used to examine frequency by systematically sampling, coding, and counting newspaper articles. In addition to the content analysis, the researcher further employed an In-depth Interview with five key informants. The purpose of in-depth interview was to support the results of the content analysis by giving more context and evidences on the research topic.

#### **3.1. Content Analysis**

##### **3.1.1 Research Sample and Sampling Method**

The deliberate selection of the newspapers aimed to meet the objectives of this study. Researcher deployed the following steps to select the newspapers outlets: First, the researcher analyzed only newspapers printed and located in the capital of Phnom Penh due to the accessibility of data. Second, researcher analyzed Cambodian newspapers based on high readership and circulation rate.

According to Cambodia Ministry of Information's report (2012), in Cambodia, there were 383 Khmer language newspapers , 35 international newspapers, 14 imported newspapers, and 199 magazines.

**Table 3.1** Type of Cambodian newspapers

Type of Newspapers	Amounts
Local Newspapers	383
International Newspapers	35
Imported Newspapers	14
Total	432

Source: *Ministry of Information (2012)*

According to table 3.1, from 432 newspapers only 13 printed daily issues, or a minimum of six issues per week (Cambodia Center for Independent Media, 2014). Among 13, only five Cambodian mainstream newspapers gained high readership and circulation rates (Indochina Research, 2009; Roberts, 2011, p. 14). The three Khmer language newspapers: *The Kampuchea Thmey Daily* (New Cambodia), *The Raksmei Kampuchea Daily* (Cambodia Light), and *The Koh Santepheap Daily* (Island of Peace) had a circulation of 20,000 copies per day. The two English newspapers: *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* had a circulation of 10,000 copies per day.

To effectively conduct a research with a limited time frame, the researcher selected only two Khmer language newspapers and two English language newspapers. They were *The Raksmei Kampuchea Daily* (Cambodia Light), *The Koh Santepheap Daily* (Island of Peace), *The Cambodia Daily* (English Version), and *The Phnom Penh Post* (English Version).

### 3.1.2 Time Frame

The researcher selected a period of one month before and after the national election. The researcher divided the study period into two time frames. The first time frame was from **27 June to 27 August 2008**, and the second time frame was from **28 June to 28 August 2013** for any articles on the border dispute between both Cambodia-

Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple, and Cambodia-Vietnam over the Cochin-china disputes. Usually, the national election campaign is conducted one month before the Election Day in the fourth week of July 27 or 28. The results of the election are announced shortly after. Within these periods, the researcher collected all stories about territorial disputes in the selected newspapers.

A total two months was sufficient enough to demonstrate typical picture of newspapers coverage on the issues. The topic of territorial nationalism has always been raised during every Cambodia national election. Both opposition and Cambodian's People Party have created a form of nationalism that projects itself against neighboring countries to gain voters' support.

### **3.1.3. Coding**

The researcher defined the content to be analyzed as Cambodian newspapers' reporting on territorial disputes. The coding unit of the territorial dispute between Cambodia-Thai, was any articles which included the word "Preah Vihear Temple" as this word is the most obvious and consistent component of the dispute between Cambodia-Thai during the study time frames.

The coding unit of the territorial dispute between Cambodia-Vietnam was any articles which included the word "Youn", and "Vietnamese" since political actors used this two words to advocate directly on the territorial dispute with Vietnam over the Cochin-china, and mentioned the most by the four newspapers during the study time frame.

### 3.1.4. Data Analysis

Data analyzing conducted into two steps. First, the researcher made an index of headline, type of article, date, and examined frequency by counting the occurrences of the coding units. Second, the researcher continued to report their frequencies distribution in according to the total coverage, the monthly coverage, the daily coverage, and the frequency category of newspaper articles on the territorial disputes. The goal of showing the frequency distribution was to answer to the first research question as mentioned in the Chapter 1.

“Type of article” was categorized into five categories: news, feature, editorial, front page, and others article. “*News*” was any articles which found inside the newspaper. They told reader about general information related to the issues. “*Feature*” was any articles which explained the news stories in more detail by giving and explaining reasons to the readers in a more entertaining way. “*Editorial*” was any article which showed the opinions of the newspaper organizations. “*Front page*” was any articles which appeared on the front of newspapers.

### 3.2. In-depth Interview

The researcher used Treadwell (2014) qualitative approach by doing in-depth interview with five key informants. The purpose of doing in-depth interview was to support the result of the content analysis by giving more contexts and evidences on the research topic. It provided a deeply concept from the key individuals who are the editors of the newspapers and media experts on this research study. Significantly, it gave answers to the research questions why each newspapers reported or failed to report the territorial disputes.



### 3.2.1 Research Sample

The researcher purposely selected 5 key individuals as the following:

1. Teav Sarakmony the editor-in-chief of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily*,
2. Kay Kimsong the editor-in-chief of *The Phnom Penh Post*,
3. Colin Meyn the editor-in-chief of *The Cambodia Daily*,
4. Chhay Sophal journalism professor at Department of Media and Communication of Royal University of Phnom Penh, and a board member of Club of Cambodian Journalist
5. Moeun Chhean Nariddh director of Cambodia Institute for Media Studies.

### 3.2.2 Research Questionnaires Design and Analyzing

The interview questions were different from one individual to another, and flexible depended on the newspaper organizations which aimed to meet the research objectives and fitted with the content analysis. The results of the in-depth interview were categorized in relation to the research questionnaires.

The following were the main research questions with the key informants:

1. Teav Sarakmony
  1. Why did the newspaper publish many articles related to Preah Vihear Temple disputes during the 2008 national election?
  2. Why did many articles and editorials of the newspaper give credit to the government on the listing of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Sites during the 2008 national election?
  3. Why was there no article related to Cochinchina dispute with Vietnam during the 2008, and 2013 national election?

2. Kay Kimsong, and Colin Meyn
  1. Why does the newspaper have no editorial?
  2. How did the Cambodian newspapers report on Preah Vihear Temple dispute during the 2008 national elections?
  3. Why did the newspaper portray the opposition party's activities related to Cochin-china dispute with Vietnam during the 2013 national election?
3. Chhay Sophal, and Moeun Chhean Nariddh
  1. How do politicians use the four newspapers as platforms to disseminate their views on Preah Vihear Temple and Cochin-china disputes? And what are the possible impact of newspapers' reporting on these territorial disputes?
  2. Why do the opposition party rarely mention the territorial dispute between Cambodia and Thai? And why instead is the territorial issue with Vietnam such an important topic for the four newspaper?
  3. What are the challenges of newspaper's reporting on territorial disputes?

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESEARCH RESULTS**

This chapter presents the results of the research. As discussed in chapter 3, the Quantitative Content Analysis is the main research methodology of this study which is developed by Treadwell (2014). In addition to the content analysis, the researcher further employed in-depth interviews with the key informants.

The researcher selected a period of one month before and after the national elections. The researcher divided the study period into two separate time frames. The first time frame was from **27 June to 27 August 2008**, and the second time frame was from **28 June to 28 August 2013** for any articles on the border dispute between both Cambodia-Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple, and Cambodia-Vietnam over the Cochinchina. Usually a national election campaign begins one month before the Election Day in the fourth week of July. The results are announced shortly after the election day. The results of this study are presented in the following sections:

#### **4.1 Cambodian Newspaper's Reporting 2008**

##### **4.1.1. Total Amounts**

In 2008, the border conflict between Cambodia and Thai escalated when Cambodia successfully listed the Preah Vihear Temple to a World Heritage Site. Thailand during the Samak Sundaravej administration wanted it to be a joint Thai-Cambodia listing. Later, Thailand formally withdrew its support over the listing. Thailand responded to Cambodia's claim over the disputed area by sending the troops to confront Cambodia along the border on July 16, 2008. On August 3, a military conflict took place, leaving one Cambodian soldier injured. Both countries have

conducted bilateral talks, but hundreds of households were destroyed, and many soldiers have been wounded or killed.

While the confrontation occurred, the topic of the Preah Vihear Temple dispute was publicized in Cambodia. It was regarded as important to the whole nation because newspapers informed the citizens of the territorial dispute.

The resulting total coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes was 228 articles. Khmer newspapers' coverage on territorial disputes reached the highest number, among which 92 articles were published by *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* and 67 articles by *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*. For the English newspapers, *The Cambodia Daily* reported 54 articles, and *The Phnom Penh Post* had the lowest report rate on territorial disputes with the total number of 15 articles.

The Cambodian newspapers published articles related to the Preah Vihear Temple dispute only during the first time frame. No article on the Cochin-china was published by the Cambodian newspapers. It may be because Cambodians focused more on the Preah Vihear Temple than the Cochin-china disputes. In addition, during 2008, the ruling Cambodian People's Party took advantage of the border conflict by increasing their popularity among voters (Chakrya, 2008; "Partial victory at the ICJ.," 2013). Cambodian newspapers reported the activities of the leader of the CPP as Cambodians developed antagonism against Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple dispute.

**Table 4.1** The total coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes from 27 June to 27 August 2008

Newspapers	Total of Articles for the 2008 election	
	Preah Vihear Temple	Cochin-china
<i>The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily</i>	92	0
<i>The Koh Santhepheap Daily</i>	67	0
<i>The Cambodia Daily</i>	54	0
<i>The Phnom Penh Post</i>	15	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>0</b>

#### 4.1.2 Monthly Coverage

The Cambodian national election was held during the fourth week of July 2008. The national election campaign started one month before July 27, and the results were official announced in August. The monthly coverage showed that Cambodian newspapers published many articles during the national election campaign in July, and the number of articles decreased after the election in August. During the month of July, the coverage of the newspapers related to territorial disputes with Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple was high as compared to that of August. We can see that the coverage peaked during July, which was the national election campaign period.

As mentioned in the literature review, Cambodian newspapers are still subject to influence from the government and their business partners on their content. The Cambodian government may use the issue for political gain. (Wagener, 2011) argued that the ruling party tried to unite Cambodian people by inciting the resentment against Thailand. Prime Minister Hun Sen and other members of his Cambodian People's Party used the dispute to create nationalistic sentiment and gained voters' support during the national election in July. Hun Sen claimed himself as "the defender of the Khmer

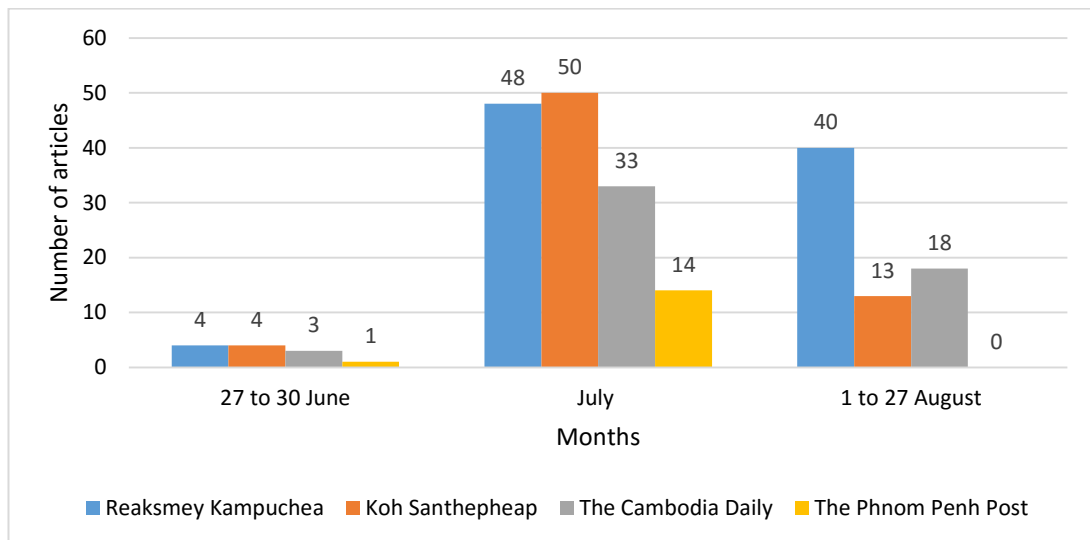
people” (Wagener, 2011). The results of the national election showed that his party was winning 93 out of 123 seats in the Parliament.

Khmer language newspapers tended to support Hun Sen over the Preah Vihear Temple dispute by publishing articles during the month of July. *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published 48 articles in July, and the number dropped to 40 articles in August. Another Khmer language newspaper *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* Published 50 articles in July and dropped to 13 articles in August. Articles of the Khmer language newspapers described the success of Hun Sen in listing the Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site. The newspaper even gave credit to him (for more detail see appendix 2). The editor-in-chief of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* said that news about the Preah Vihear dispute needed to be told to the public. He added that his newspaper stood with the government on the issue.

However during the period, Sam Rainsy, the leader of the opposition party, claimed that Hun Sen used the border conflict between Cambodia and Thailand to turn the people’s attention from the border dispute with Vietnam (Ganjanakhundee, 2009). Sam Rainsy referred to the territorial dispute with Vietnam over the Cochin-china. Moreover, the opposition leader urged Hun Sen to stay neutral over Thailand’s internal disputes. Sam Rainsy argued that if Hun Sen does not remain neutral, it could set Cambodia ablaze (Ganjanakhundee, 2009).

The English newspapers *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* seemed to report Sam Rainsy more Vihear Temple often than the Khmer language newspapers. Articles of the English newspapers did not describe the success of CPP in listing the Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site. In addition, the number of English language articles was lower than that of the Khmer newspapers. *The Cambodia*

*Daily* published 33 articles in July, and 18 articles in August. *The Phnom Penh Post* published only 14 articles in July only. Both editors-in-chief of *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* said that they were making sure that their newspapers remained neutral on the issue.



**Figure 4.1** The monthly coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes from 27 June to 27 August 2008

#### 4.1.3 Daily Coverage

According to the figure showed that the daily coverage of Cambodian newspapers' reporting on Preah Vihear Temple disputes was from one to a dozen articles per day. It is notable that when UNESCO listed Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site on 8 July 2008, *The Reaksmeay Kampuchea Daily* gave credit to the government for the temple's listing as a World Heritage Site. The highest number of articles of *The Reaksmeay Kampuchea Daily* was seven articles published on 6 August and followed by six articles on 10 July. Two of the six articles published on 10 July reported that the enlisting of the temple as a World Heritage Site was a success of the Cambodian government, and all of the Cambodia's provinces celebrated the Preah Vihear Temple's registration.

Another Khmer language newspaper, *The Koh Santepheap Daily* published ten articles during from the 25th of July through the 26th of July, the day before the election on 27 July. On July 26, *The Koh Santepheap Daily* described the conflict as “the Thailand’s invasion of Cambodia” and emphasized the role of Cambodian government in protecting the country. For example, on 25 July, two of its articles refer to Cambodian Minister of Defense’ order to mobilize Cambodian troops to protect the temple.

Among the English newspapers, *The Phnom Penh Post* published 12 articles on 25 July, which was the highest daily coverage among all the newspapers. *The Cambodia Daily* published three articles on 15 and 28 July. As mentioned in the monthly coverage above, both English newspapers seemed to be supportive for the opposition leader Sam Rainsy over the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. Both English language newspapers published many news and feature articles. Some of their headline described the border talk and tension between Cambodia and Thai, and quoted words of the opposition party leader and lawmakers that critiqued the government of failing to resolve the border dispute (for more detail see Appendix 2). The editor-in-chief of both English newspapers told that they are making sure that they do not add the fuel to the fire when they reported the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. They said that they tried to maintain their neutrality on the conflict by writing their articles with evidence. Colin Myen, the editor in chief of *The Cambodia Daily*, told that “Whenever it’s possible, we try to place it [news] in context so that people can decide whether information is accurate”.



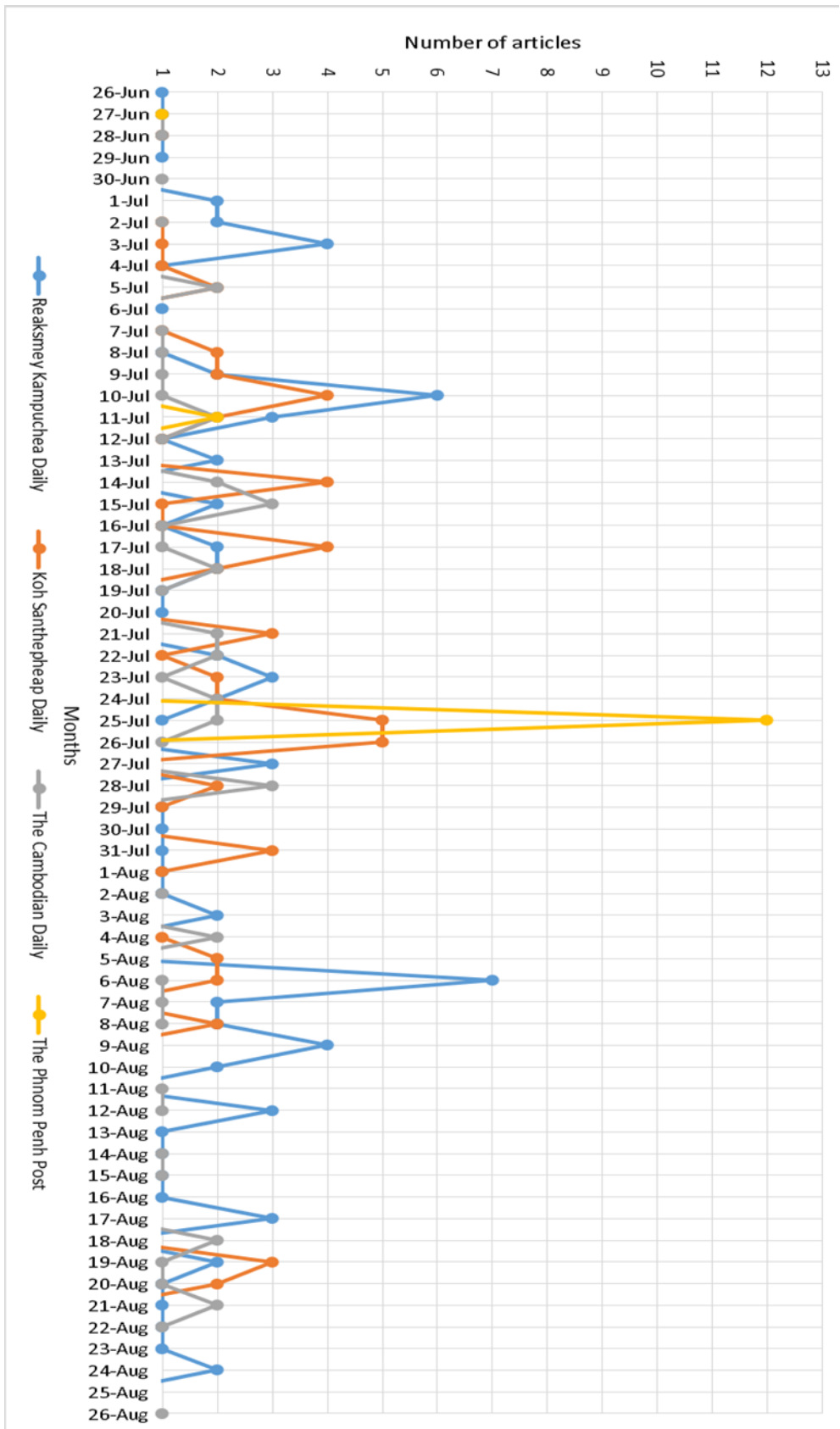


Figure 4.2 The daily coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes from 27 June to 27 August 2008

## 4.2 Cambodian Newspapers' Reporting 2013

### 4.2.1 Total Amounts

The researcher found both articles on the border disputes between Cambodia and Thai over the Preah Vihear Temple, and between Cambodia and Vietnam over the Cochin-china during the second time frame of 2013. The total coverage of the newspapers on the territorial disputes was 15. However, the number of articles was less than the first time frame 2008. *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published only one article on the Cochin-china dispute and two articles on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. No article on the territorial dispute was published by *The Koh Santepheap Daily* during this second time frame. Among the English newspapers, *The Cambodia Daily* published six articles on the Cochin-china dispute as well as one article on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. *The Phnom Penh Post* published four articles on the Cochin-china dispute and one article on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute.

According to the table, the issue of the Preah Vihear Temple dispute was less publicized in the media during the second time frame of 2013. During the period, the Cambodian government organized a ceremony to celebrate the anniversary of listing the temple as a World Heritage Site. However, the territorial dispute with Vietnam was a more publicized topic in Cambodia because the opposition party campaigned against alleging the CPP-led government of permitting Vietnamese immigrants to live and work in the country illegally (Chheang, 2015). What is more, Cambodian newspapers also took part in this matter by reporting the opposition party's activities on the dispute.

**Table 4.2** The total coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes from 28 June to 28 August 2013

Newspapers	Total of Articles 2013	
	Preah Vihear Temple	Cochin-china
<i>The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily</i>	2	1
<i>The Koh Santepheap Daily</i>	0	0
<i>The Cambodia Daily</i>	1	6
<i>The Phnom Penh Post</i>	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>

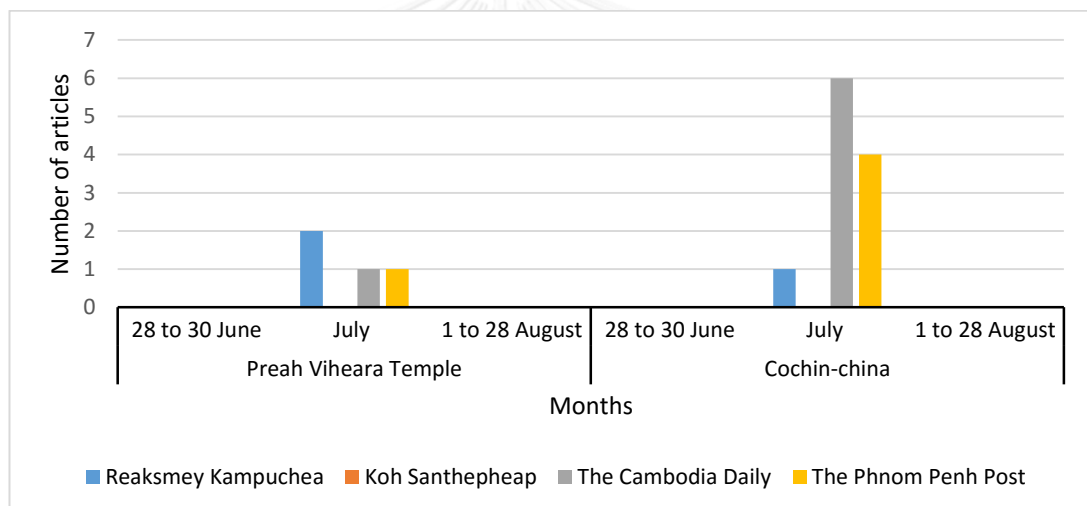
#### 4.2.2 Monthly Coverage

According to the figure, Cambodian newspapers' reporting on the territorial disputes on Vietnam and Thailand from 28 June to 28 August 2013 was less frequent than the first time frame of 2008. *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published one article on the Cochin-china dispute with Vietnam, and two articles on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute with Thailand. No article on the territorial dispute was published by *The Koh Santepheap Daily* during this second time frame. For the English newspapers, *the Cambodia Daily* published six articles related to the Cochin-china dispute with Vietnam and including one article related to Preah Vihear Temple dispute with Thailand. *The Phnom Penh Post* published four articles on the Cochin-china dispute with Vietnam and one article on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute.

During the month of July, both the government and the opposition party attempted to take advantage of the territorial disputes with Vietnam and Thailand. The Cambodian-Vietnamese border conflict created a tension between the ruling and the opposition parties. The newspapers' coverage of the Cochin-china dispute was more frequent than that of the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. The leader of the opposition party Sam Rainsy blamed the Vietnamese for living and working in Cambodia illegally.

Moreover, he used the anti-Vietnamese rhetoric that “if we do not rescue our nation, in four or five years more Cambodia will be full of Vietnamese” (Denis, Allan, & Stefanie, 2013). The Vietnamese embassy responded by accusing Sam Rainsy of using the anti-Vietnamese rhetoric for political gain.

Similarly, the ruling party also attempted to use the Preah Vihear Temple dispute in order to gain support from the voters. During the period, the government celebrated the anniversary of the Preah Vihear Temple’s listing as a World Heritage Site. The celebration was held in Phnom Penh along with 10,000 attendees, including Deputy Prime Minister Sok An.



**Figure 4.3** The monthly coverage of the newspapers on territorial disputes from 28 June to 28 August 2013

### 4.2.3 Daily Coverage

According to figure, the daily coverage of Cambodian newspapers' reporting on territorial disputes was from 1 to 2 articles per day.

*The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published one article a day. Articles of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* reported the fifth anniversary of the Preah Vihear Temple's listing as a World Heritage Site at Phnom Penh's Olympic Stadium on the evening of July 7, 2013. On July 2 and 3, *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* reported that all Cambodians should not forget the anniversary of the Preah Vihear Temple's listing as a World Heritage Site. However, there was no article related to the territorial dispute was published by *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*.

The daily coverage of *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* was also from one of two articles per day. The daily coverages of the English newspapers on territorial disputes peaked one week before the national election date on 28 July. From 22 to 26 July, both English newspapers reported that Sam Rainsy promised to expel Vietnamese immigrants if he wins the 2013 national election. In addition, he said that he is the only one who could protect the Cambodian territory from the invading Vietnamese. He accused the current government of being influenced from Vietnam. For example, during the second time frame, no article on the territorial dispute was published in August. This may be due to two reasons. First, all of the newspapers focused more on the election results. Second, the leader of the opposition party Sam Rainsy stopped sparking anti-Vietnamese sentiment after the election results were announced.

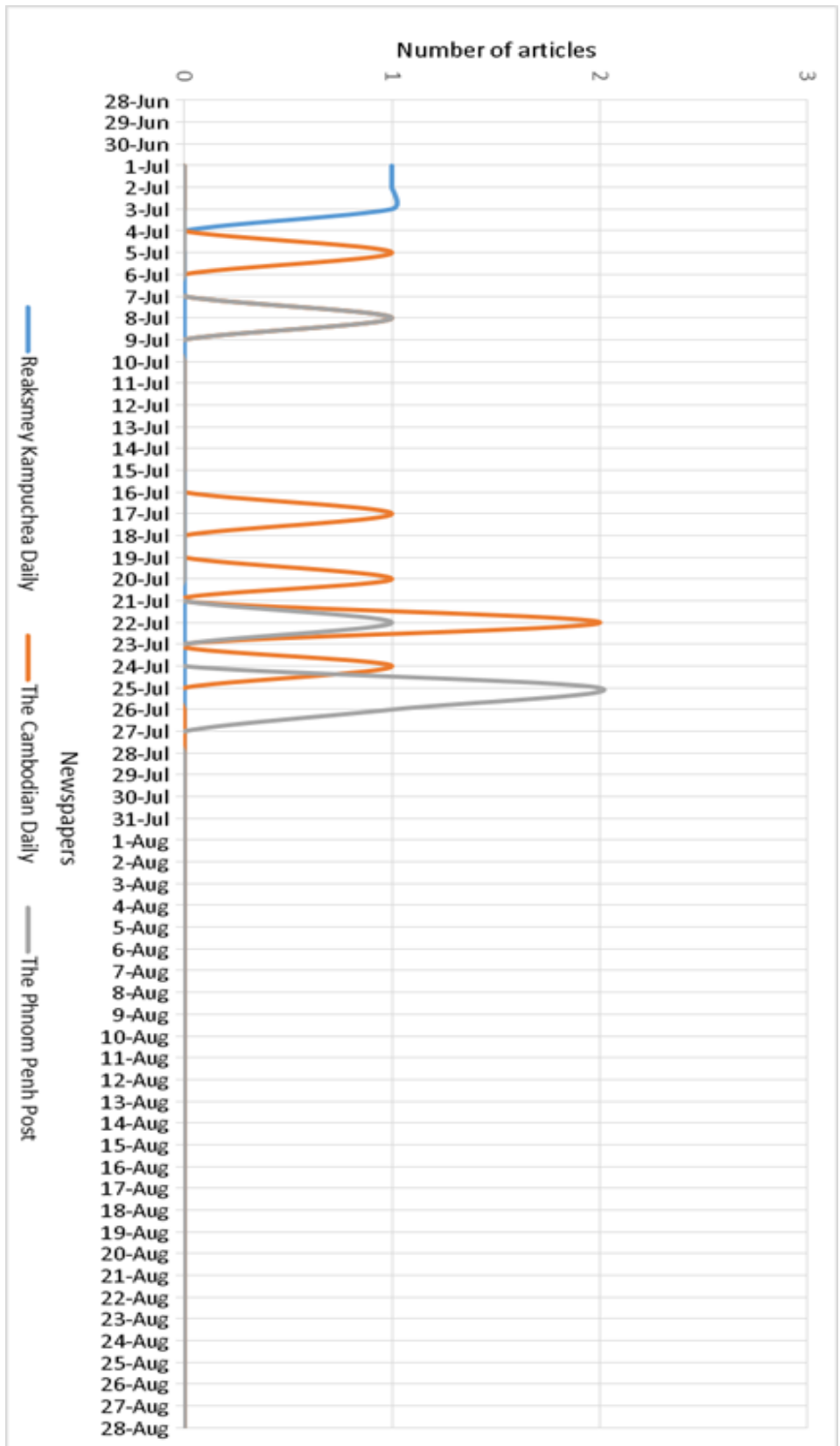


Figure 4.4 The daily coverage of Cambodian newspapers on territorial disputes from 28 June to 28 August 2013

#### 4.3.4 Results of In-depth Interviews

The results of the monthly and daily coverage on the territorial disputes with the neighboring countries explained the Khmer language newspapers' interest in the territorial disputes over Preah Vihear Temple during the 2008 national election campaign. They also indicate the coverage peaked during the pre-election period of the election.

Teav Sarakmony the editor-in-chief of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* reasoned that the Preah Vihear Temple dispute was an important issue. It was something that readers wanted to know. In addition, he argued that his newspaper must stand with the government to against the foe (Thailand) because the government was working hard to protect the people during that time.

However, the coverage of Khmer language newspapers on the territorial disputes, especially that with Vietnam, was extremely low during the 2013 national election campaign. *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published one article on the Cochinchina dispute with Vietnam, and two articles on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. There was no article on the territorial disputes published by *The Koh Santepheap Daily* during this second time frame. Teav Sarakmony said that "Cambodian were interested in the national election more than any issues. Small border conflicts might not be as interesting as the national election news". Regarding the territorial dispute with Vietnam, which were being promoted by the opposition party during the period, he said that the newspaper needed to publish a story based on readers' preference.

Both the English newspapers reported the territorial disputes between Cambodia and Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple and between Cambodia and

Vietnam over the Cochin-china dispute. *The Cambodia Daily* published 55 articles on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute, and six articles on the Cochin-china dispute. *The Phnom Penh Post* published 16 articles on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute, and four articles on the Cochin-china dispute.

The editor-in-chief of the *Cambodia Daily* Colin Meyn said that Hun Sen spoke strongly against Thailand. During the conflict, Meyn tried to stay neutral over the dispute, and “tried to not to add more fuel to the fire”. He said that Hun Sen had said things, but had never provided evidence to prove it. However, he said that the readers wanted to know what Hun Sen was saying. When *The Cambodia Daily* published the story, he gave more context and background information over the dispute to the readers so that they could decide whether or not the information was accurate.

In responding to the Cochin-china dispute, *The Cambodia Daily* criticized the government for not enforcing immigration policy and intentionally allowing Vietnamese to live in Cambodia illegally. He emphasized that his newspaper provided data to support the news. He argued that if political leaders make claims against the Vietnamese in their campaign for policies or party politics, the newspaper needs to show the readers what political leaders are saying.

Similar to *The Cambodia Daily*, the editor-in-chief of *The Phnom Penh Post* Kay Kimsong said that his newspaper revealed the fact about the Preah Vihear Temple disputes. He wanted readers to form their own judgment on the issue. His newspaper told them “the story as it is”, and gave evidence in order to back up the story. He argued that if the newspaper reports something wrong, readers may reach the wrong decision on the issue. He took an example of the 2003 conflict with Thailand after one Cambodian newspaper wrongly reported that a popular Thai actress had said that she



would not come to perform in Cambodia unless the temple of Angkor Wat was returned to Thailand. Ordinary Cambodians believed that the news was true, and resulted in widespread protests against Thailand, including the destruction of the Thai Embassy.

In regard to the territorial dispute with Vietnam, Kay Kimsong claimed that his newspaper is independent, and not under the control of the government. His newspaper publishes any stories as long as they are facts. He wanted to quote both the government and the opposition party, but the government refused to respond to the territorial dispute with Vietnam. He said that the government does not like his newspaper because it tells the truth. He argued that Cambodia's former territory of Cochin-china was ceded to Vietnam. He added that if the government did something wrong, the newspaper needs to tell readers.

Each newspaper has its own reason in reporting or not reporting the territorial disputes between Cambodia and Thailand, and between Cambodia and Vietnam. The Khmer language newspapers tend to give more credit to the government on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute while the English newspapers tend to report the opposition's view on the territorial dispute with Vietnam.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESEARCH DISCUSSION**

#### **5.1 Summary**

##### **5.1.1 Cambodian Newspaper's Reporting 2008**

In 2008, four Cambodian newspapers published a total of 228 articles on the territorial disputes. There were articles only on the Preah Vihear Temple dispute published by the Cambodian newspapers. The border conflict between Cambodia and Thailand occurred when Cambodia successfully listed the Preah Vihear Temple to a World Heritage Site. During the period, no article on the Cochin-china dispute was published by the Cambodian newspapers.

It should be noticed that the number of articles raised from June to July, and it dropped in August. In July, the coverage of the newspapers on the territorial dispute with Thailand was high as compared to that of August. The peak of the media coverage on the dispute along with the national election campaign in July. The result also showed that both the ruling and opposition parties campaigned to publicize the territorial disputes in July.

The coverage of the Khmer language newspapers was mainly about the celebration of the temple as a World Heritage Site, and portrayed the listing of the temple as the government's achievement. The Khmer language newspapers also portrayed the government as the protector of the national territory.

##### **5.1.2 Cambodian Newspaper's Reporting 2013**

The researcher found articles on the border disputes between Cambodian and Thai over the Preah Vihear Temple, and between Cambodia and Vietnam over the

Cochin-china during the second time frame of 2013. The total coverage of the newspapers on the territorial dispute was 15. However, no article on the territorial dispute was published by *The Koh Santepheap Daily* during this second time frame.

During the month of July, both the government and the opposition parties attempted to take advantage of the territorial dispute with Vietnam and Thailand. The topic of the Preah Vihear Temple dispute caught less public attention of the Cambodians. During that period, the Cambodian government organized a ceremony to celebrate the anniversary of listing the temple as World Heritage Site. *The Reaksmeay Kampuchea Daily* took part in this ceremony.

In contrast, the territorial issues with Vietnam was a more popular topic among the Cambodians in 2013 because the opposition party campaigned against the CPP-led government of allegedly permitting Vietnamese immigrants to live and work in the country without legal status. The English newspapers were more willing to report the opposition leader Sam Rainsy's view than the Khmer language counterparts. The daily coverage of the territorial disputes by the English newspapers peaked one week before the National Election Day.

During the second time frame, no article was published on the territorial dispute in August. This may be due to two reasons. First, all of the newspapers focused more on the election results. Second, the leader of the opposition Sam Rainsy stopped his anti-Vietnamese rhetoric after the election.

## **5.2 Discussion**

In this discussion, based on data presented in Chapter 4, the researcher will elaborate each Cambodian newspaper's reportage on the territorial disputes and its association with the political parties. First, the researcher explores how In addition, the

researcher elucidates the historical relationship between Hun Sen and Vietnam, which led to a void of coverage on the Cochinchina dispute with Vietnam by the Khmer language newspapers during the two separate time frames. Second, the researcher elaborates the relationship between the English newspapers and the opposition party Cambodian National Rescue Party over how the newspapers reported the territorial dispute with Vietnam. The researcher further explains why Sam Rainsy, the opposition leader, attacks Hun Sen over the territorial issue with Vietnam, and how each English newspaper reported him in covering the abovementioned dispute.

In general, a territorial dispute is likely to happen when there is an involvement of political actors and newspapers. According to Anderson, nationalism is rooted in shared memories of pains and suffering in the past. Such memories are shared by every member of a nation. Furthermore, nationalism is planted in cultural systems and reflected in the common interest of the members of the nation. Both Hun Sen and Sam Rainsy strategically used territorial disputes and stirred antagonism towards the neighboring countries in order to develop a sense of nationalism during the national election campaigns. They tried to spark nationalistic sentiment in the minds of the voters and attack the political opponent by calling them being influenced or controlled by the rivaling countries. Media outlets are ideal tools of disseminating their views, especially on the border disputes, and by extension gaining support from the voters.

The 'alliance' between Hun Sen and Vietnam is well documented. During the 1970s, Hun Sen fought against Khmer Rouges. After taking power in April 1975, Khmer Rouge created labor camps in the countryside, which resulted in the tragic deaths of 1.7 million Cambodians or nearly a quarter of the population. Led by Pol Pot, the regime. This situation allowed Hun Sen to escape to Vietnam and asked Vietnam

for help to overthrow Khmer Rouges. In 1977, Hun Sen, then appointed as a high ranking commander in the army, was supported by Vietnam.

When the Vietnamese army overthrew Khmer Rouge in January 1979 and installed a socialist government in Phnom Penh, Hun Sen became foreign minister. Then, he quickly evolved with many activities with the Vietnamese government, which continued to virtually control the country through the late 1980s. Later, the Cambodian Communist Party appointed Hun Sen as Prime Minister. Hun Sen is a fluent speaker of Vietnamese, and to this day strongly defends the decade-long occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam. Hun Sen claimed that without the help from Vietnam during the Khmer Rouge regime, Cambodians might have all been dead (Thanhkien News, 2012).

The relationship between Hun Sen and Vietnam may have influenced the Khmer language newspapers not to publish on the territorial dispute with Vietnam. Instead, the coverage of the Khmer language newspaper are all about the territorial dispute with Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple during the study time frame. Teav Sarakmony the editor-in-chief of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* said:

The Preah Vihear Temple dispute was an important issue for our country. It was something that our people wanted and needed to know. In addition, news about war and conflict need to be published to tell the readers what was exactly happening at the border. We stood with the government against the enemy [Thailand].

The newspapers are influenced by political elites and powerful individuals who are the owners and members of the CPP. The owners established the newspapers for business interest and political gain. The owner and director of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* is Say Chhum, the president of Cambodian Senate and co-vice

president of the CPP. According to Ministry of information, Say Chhum is also the license holder of Apsara TV, Apsara Radio, and the Seila Angkor Radio. *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* is owned by Thong Uypang, a Cambodian businessman, which is believed to have linked with the CPP.

Articles of the Khmer language newspapers supported the CPP. The daily coverage described the success of Hun Sen in listing the Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site. For example, *The Reaksmev Kampuchea Daily*'s editorial published on 9 July 2008, titled "The Success of the Owner". The newspapers published many articles related to the CPP and its leader Hun Sen during the national election campaign in July 2008, as he mobilized the nation against Thailand over the Preah Vihear dispute. Some full pages of the newspaper celebrated the temple's listing as a world heritage site along with the picture of Hun Sen.



**Figure 5.1** Picture of Hun Sen along with the Preah Vihear Temple published by *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*

The editorials mostly attacks the Thai government, Thai military, and gives credit to the Cambodian government for defending the temple. The editorials of the

Khmer language newspapers used emotionally charged words. For example, on 5 August 2008, *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* published an editorial “You Liar”, which referred to Thailand. This editorial argues that Thailand distorted the fact about the Preah Vihear Temple. Similarly, on 10 July 2008, *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published an editorial titled “Too Cowardly”, which refers to some Thai nationalists. The newspapers accused Thailand’s People Democratic Alliance (so called Yellow Shirts) of being cowardly and used the Preah Vihear Temple dispute to their own advantage.

But Hun Sen certainly felt uncomfortable with the strong anti-Vietnamese sentiment of the opposition party, especially that of Sam Rainsy. The leader of the opposition has been known as an anti-Vietnamese nationalist while he has rarely attack Thailand. Sam Rainsy was a former member of FUNCINPEC (French acronym for *Front uni national pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique, et coopératif*, which translates as “National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia”), a political organization which aimed to topple the Hun Sen government during the 1980s. FUNCINPEC, Khmer Rouge and other alliances were supported by China, the United State, western countries, and even Thailand. During the Cold War, the surrogate wars between the US and the Soviet Union were still raging around the world. The US and its allies imposed a ban on any aids to Cambodia, as a result forcing the Hun Sen regime to survive by support from Vietnam and the Soviet. Hun Sen accused Thailand for providing a haven for Khmer Rouge and FUNCINPEC in order to form a large army against his communist government. Hun Sen accused Sam Rainsy for siding with Thailand, and unfairly attacking him on the Vietnamese issue.

The editorial of the Khmer language newspapers attacked Sam Rainsy for not taking any actions against Thailand. On 12 July 2008, *the Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* published an editorial titled “Success for the Khmer and the CPP’s Greatest Achievement”. It reported that a politician (from the opposition party) had told that the Preah Vihear Temple’s enlisting as a World Heritage Site was nothing extraordinary because the temple belongs to Cambodia, and it was an obligation of the government. The editorial responded to this politician’s remark by maintaining that the UNESCO would not have listed the temple if the Cambodian government would not have tried. The editorial added that the successful listing of the temple was a gift from the CPP, which every Khmer needs to admire. It then continued to tell voters to vote for Hun Sen if they want more to the country.

The editorial of *The Koh Santhepheap* on 26 July 2008, titled “Cold but Hot”, also attacked Sam Rainsy. The editorial linked Sam Rainsy to the Thai court’s decision over the joint agreement between Cambodia and Thailand in listing Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site. It accused Sam Rainsy for being too favorable to Thailand because he allegedly said that the Thai court is more independent than the Cambodian court. The editorial questioned if the Thai’s court was fair as Sam Rainsy claimed.

Judging from these articles, both *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* and *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* are more sympathetic to the CPP. Only one article on the Cochinchina dispute with Vietnam was published by *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily*. The lack of media attention to the Cochinchina dispute might be due to the owner’s link with the CPP. Teav Sarakmony said that the territorial dispute with Vietnam is small and might not be as interesting as other national election campaign related news:



Because the opposition party's campaign on territorial issues with Vietnam was small and the press was not well informed. Moreover, we had such a limited amount of time and employees, and we don't have enough resources and time to cover all events at the same time.

Judging from the results of the current study indicate that political actors strategically use 'history' to support their own claims. Smith (1981, p. 193) explains that:

Nationalists do not have a monopoly on history. State elites, as well as others, can invoke "history" to validate their own claims. The territorial extent of a nationalist claim may become the subject of the dispute through rival interpretations of the historical record, so may the antiquity of a given nation.

The anti-Vietnamese sentiment is used by the leader of the opposition party Sam Rainsy. Sam Rainsy was charged by the court several times for criticizing the government on the territorial issue with Vietnam. In 2009, he uprooted six demarcation poles on the Cambodia-Vietnam border. He said that the farmers who had lost their land told him that Vietnamese officials and one Cambodian came to measure and take their land and then set up poles on it, declaring that the area fell within the "white zone". Later, Cambodia's National Assembly stripped away his parliamentary immunity, paving the possibility for his prosecution.

Again, during the 2013 national campaign he accused Hun Sen's government of being influenced by Hanoi. He even said Hun Sen had ceded the Cambodia territory to Vietnam. English newspapers *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* supported Sam Rainsy over the issues on the territorial dispute with Vietnam. On July

24, 2013, a few days before the election date, *The Cambodia Daily* published an article titled “In Border Provinces, Sam Rainsy Talks Justice and Lost Territory”. According to the article, Sam Rainsy argued that “many Youn (Vietnamese) are coming to Cambodia and removing borders posts.” He also alleged that the Vietnamese vote for Hun Sen. He promised that if he wins the election, he will give all of Cambodia’s property back to Cambodian people.

Another article from *The Cambodia Daily* on 5 July 2013, titled “In CNRP Campaign, a Subtler Approach to Vietnamese Issues”, also attacked Hun Sen over the territorial dispute with Vietnam. The newspaper reported the vice president of the opposition party’s campaign in the border province. He argued that pro-Vietnamese policy of Hun Sen’s government has led to lax enforcement of Vietnamese immigration policies, favorable treatment of Vietnamese investors, and even the loss of Cambodian land to Vietnamese. He accused the current government led by Hun Sen was a former communist party, which was installed by Vietnam in 1979. In addition, he claimed that Hun Sen is controlled by the Vietnamese and the country will remain under Vietnamese control, and if voters want their country to survive and not to be run by the Vietnamese, they must vote for his party. He ensured to the voters that his party would protect Cambodia land because he and Sam Rainsy are not indebted to Vietnam. The editor-in-chief of *The Cambodia Daily*, Colin Myen, responded as follows:

The opposition party has long criticized the government for not enforcing immigration policy. I think that since the 2013 national election the government has also recognized this problem, yet they have done something on the issues. [...] There are a lot of undocumented and illegal Vietnamese are living, fishing, and working in the construction sector. The scale of the problem is very difficult to say. It is hard to know

how many they are. [...] We think that our readers want to know if political leaders are making a strong claim on territorial issues with Vietnam.

Another English newspaper, *The Phnom Penh Post*, also supported Sam Rainsy over the territorial issues with Vietnam. On 22 July 2013, *The Phnom Penh Post* published an article titled “Return Spark CNRP”. According to the article, Sam Rainsy cautioned Cambodian people about the risk of Cambodia turning into “a province under the control of Vietnam” like Kampuchea Krom (Cochin-china). He said that this is the last opportunity for voters if they care to rescue their nation from becoming “slaves of Vietnam” in four or five years.

Another article in *The Phnom Penh Post* on 26 July, the newspaper reported that Sam Rainsy wants to start a new era in the Cambodian history by “writing a new page on the protection of Cambodian territory.” Sam Rainsy argued that “many Yuons [derogatory term for Vietnamese] have come, and they move their border posts closer into Cambodia territory”, and the authorities protect “the invading Yuons”. The editor-in-chief of *The Phnom Penh Post*, Kay Kimsong, responded to the articles:

We are an independent newspaper. We are not under the control of the government. We portray every politician as it is a matter of fact. We collect all the information and sources and transmit them to our readers. When a politician (the opposition) say something, it can be a fact that we need to publish. [...] Then the government doesn't like us because we tell the truth. We as a journalist go to the border and acknowledge that our territory was taken by Vietnam.

On the other hand, when it comes to the border dispute between Cambodia and Thailand, both the English newspapers remained less enthusiastic than the Khmer

language newspapers about the enlisting Preah Vihear Temple as a world heritage site. Instead they published articles which are critical of the government for failing to resolve the border dispute between Cambodia and Thailand. For example, on 25 July 2013, *The Cambodia Daily* published the news article titled “Border Dispute could Affect Turnout, Voter’s Choice in Election”. The articles reported that opposition lawmaker Son Chhay in a letter to the council of Minister, argued that he had received information about a secret deal between Thaksin and Hun Sen on a joint venture of a casino and tourism near the Preah Vihear Temple. Chhay demanded to stop such a venture with Thailand. The letter called for an end to bilateral talks on the border conflict with Thailand. Furthermore, Chhay called for government officials to end any talks with Thai businesspeople in response to Thailand’s opposition to the nomination of Preah Vihear Temple as a world heritage site. The letter also demanded to stop any joint management or venture with Thais to prevent Thais from interfering Cambodian affairs

On 25 July 2008, *The Phnom Penh Post* published the news article titled “Parties Seize on Border Crisis in a Bid to Win Votes”. The articles reported that opposition lawmaker accused the government of failing to protect the Cambodian territory. It alleged the ruling party for organizing a celebration for the Preah Vihear Temple’s listing in order to win the election. In addition, it suspected that the ruling party might be conspiring with the Thai government to distract voters from controversies such as inflation, corruption and land grabbing.

### 5.3 Conclusion

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in *Manufacturing Consent: A Propaganda Model* (1988, pp. 1-2) argue that:

In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy and powerful individual, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, make it clear that the media serve the ends of the dominant elite. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and governmental malfeasance, and aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest.

Both Cambodian's People Party leader Hun Sen and the opposition leader Sam Rainsy strategically used the territorial disputes with the neighboring countries to gain public support during the national election campaigns of 2008 and 2013. They are essentially opportunists. They took advantage of the disputes in order to attract the media and by extension the voters. Meoun Chhean Narith, Director of Cambodia Institute for Media Studies said:

Politicians are opportunists. If there are any stories that can attract public attention, they would spread their views by using journalists. Thus if a journalist were careless, they would become a politician's tool. Therefore, as journalists, we should be critical and not become a tool for politicians.

CPP and the leader Hun Sen mobilized the nation against Thailand over the Preah Vihear dispute. The CPP's seats in the Parliament increased from 73 in 2003 to 93 in 2008. The CPP's popularity was further cemented by the temple's listing as a

World Heritage Site. Before the election, many articles and editorials of the Khmer language newspapers published supportive articles for CPP and Hun Sen.

Such a strategic use of territorial disputes is not limited to the ruling party. Sam Rainsy also took advantage of the territorial issues with Vietnam. His party gained 29 seats in the Parliament. His party's seats increased from 26 in 2008 to 55 in 2013. During the 2013 national election campaign, Sam Rainsy accused Hun Sen's government of being influenced by Vietnam and even had ceded the Cambodia territory to Vietnam. Both *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh Post* published a number of supportive articles.

The involvement of both Khmer language newspapers and English newspapers in promoting territorial nationalism is clear during both the 2008 and the 2013 national election campaigns. Media scholar Chhay Sophal argues as follows:

[...]The best strategy for the opposition party is to attack the government over the territorial dispute and illegal Vietnamese immigrants. They found out that Vietnamese issues are the weak points of the government. The English newspaper seems to support him [Sam Rainsy] and portray his activities. [...] Newspaper organizations are smart. They know how to survive. Most Khmer language newspapers survive because of advertising revenue. The advertisers are mostly members of the government. The newspapers need to care about their advertisers and their licensing from the Ministry of Information.

Cambodian newspapers are subject to influence from the government, private corporations, and others powerful individuals on their contents. Therefore, popular Cambodian newspapers can be considered as ongoing sites of struggle between news organizations and stakeholders over news contents via business interest, ownership, and

political agendas. Based on this research study, political leaders in Cambodia, both Hun Sen and Sam Rainsy, strategically used territorial nationalism to gain public support, and newspapers offered them invaluable platforms to spread their messages.

*The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* and *The Koh Santhepheap Daily* were supportive for the leader of CPP Hun Sen over the Preah Vihear Temple dispute. The English newspapers *The Cambodia Daily* and *The Phnom Penh post* supported the leader of the opposition Sam Rainsy over the Cochinchina dispute.

The relationship between Hun Sen with Vietnam could lead Khmer language newspapers to avoid any reports on the territorial dispute with Vietnam. The relationship between Sam Rainsy with Funcinpec could render the English newspapers more nuanced about the territorial dispute with Thailand, and instead attacked Hun Sen over his handling of the territorial issues with Vietnam.

#### **5.4 Limitations**

There are two main limitations in this research study. Newspapers in Cambodia have a limited number of audience due to lack of distribution channels and a low literacy rate in the countryside although newspapers are fairly common sources of news in the urban areas. There should be further research to assess the overall impact of newspapers in Cambodia. In addition, there is a paucity of literature on the political economy of Cambodian media outlets. Although this research illuminates possible linkages that allow political and economic elites to influence contents of the media, the researcher acknowledges the necessity of further research on this issue in order to clarify the covert channels of influence over the media.

### **5.5 Directions for Future Research**

The researcher argues that Cambodian newspapers play a partisan role in aiding politicians who promote nationalism. Cambodian newspapers are still trying to establish themselves as ‘the Fourth Estate’ within the newly democratized society. Media censorship, which is still rife in Cambodia, limits the freedom of information. The government tries to influence the flows and contents of information over politically sensitive issues, as is the case with the territorial disputes. The media outlets, particularly newspapers, are financially dependent on business people who are believed to be affiliated with political parties. A paucity of politically and economically independent media outlets renders Cambodian people ignorant of the risk of political manipulation.

We have started witnessing the proliferation of mobile communication device and social media in Cambodia, and concomittantly the convergence of the mainstream media outlets with online news platforms. Cambodians, especially those in the urban areas, are gaining access to online news and are increasingly capable of interacting with each other. Although the mainstream media, especially newspapers, provide a majority of news contents for online news platforms, such as Facebook and online web-boards, there is only anecdotal evidence available on this issue. It would be interesting for future research to investigate the current state of information flows among different news media in order to estimate the social impact of newspapers in Cambodia.



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## **APPENDIX**

### **Appendix 1: In-depth Interview**

The result of the in-depth interview were categorized in according to the research questionnaires. Importantly, the interview result revealed how and why each newspaper chose and constructed the articles on territorial disputes. It was also to understand how they moved from newspaper organizations to audiences. The result of interview are divided into 3 parts according to the key informants below:

- 4.2.1 Teav Sarakmony interview results
- 4.2.2 Kay Kimsong, and Colin Meyn interview results
- 4.2.3 Chhay Sophal and Moeun Chhean Nariddh

#### **Teav Sarakmony interview results**

1. Why did the newspaper publish many articles related to Preah Vihear Temple disputes during the 2008 national election?

“There were two reasons. First, it was an important issue for our country. Second, it was something that our people wanted and needed to know. In addition, news about wars and conflicts are needed to publish to tell readers what exactly was happening at the border. We stand with the government against the enemy (Thai)”.

2. Why many articles and editorials of the newspaper gave credit to the government on the listing of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Sites during the 2008 national election?

“For me, I’m standing neutral. Generally speaking, people tend to accuse one another. There are many newspapers also publish the negative news about the government. Only readers who can judge whether we are neutral. [...] Generally, Raksmeay Kampuchea is an independent newspaper though many claimed that we are not independent. My newspaper published the truth. The government was working really hard to protect us so we must stand with the government against Thailand. In addition, as Cambodian don’t you want to know about the news?”

3. Why there was no article related to territorial disputes with Vietnam from the opposition party during the 2008, and 2013 national election?

“Because the Cambodia National Rescue Party (the opposition party)’s campaign related to territorial issues with Vietnam was not big and the issue was not well informed to the press. More, we had so limited time and employees, and we don’t have enough resources and time to cover all the things happened at the same time. [...] Thing changes according to time so newspaper need to be flexible too. During the 2013 national election campaign, Cambodian were more interested in the national election more than any issues. Small border conflict might not be as interested as the national election news. We put our readers’ preferences as our priority.”

**Colin Meyn and Kay Kimsong interview results**

## 1. Why the newspaper has no editorial?

Colin Myen

“The mission of the Cambodia daily is to put out an independent newspaper, inform, and teach Cambodian to do an independent journalism and consider to work for foreign newspaper. We don’t own by Cambodian we don’t think it is our role to give our opinion on issue aspects. Our role is to show the public what is going on in the society. Once in a while our publisher will write something that express his or her opinion but as far the editorial department we want to be a neutral worth in Cambodian and if we express our opinion as an editorial department we think we lose our neutrality and as an independent newspaper.”

Kay Kimsong

“Editorial article is really sensitive. If we write an editorial article we need to have lawyer to protect us. We afraid that the government may sue us. We can’t simply say things we want in the editorial. In addition, we don’t have expert to do that. In order to produce a good editorial article, we need to have experts with at least 20 years of experiences. Right now, I don’t think we are going to write any editorial articles.”



2. How did the newspapers report on Preah Vihear Temple disputes during the 2008 national elections?

Colin Myen

“We are making sure that we don’t put the fuel on the fire but we still report on the fire. We are making sure that we are neutral on the issue. If Hun Sen is speaking strongly against Thailand then our reader want to know about it. [...] We not going be like not report on thing because it may influence someone think about something because it’s our duty to tell reader what is going on in the country. [...] Hun Sen also says something related to territorial disputes. For conscience, when he says we try to give readers contexts. You know, if Hun Sen says things he has yet evidence to prove it. We think that our readers want to know what he is saying. Then whenever possible, we try to place it in context so that people can decide for themselves whether or not they think the information is accurate or not, and he has a real motivation for the issue.”

Kay Kimsong

“A good newspaper reveals the fact for reader, and inform them to have good judgment on the issue. 2 plus 2 equals 4, but if 2 plus 2 equals 5 it is politics and completely wrong. We tell readers as the story is, and give evidences on the issue. We want reader see the fact and see it rightly. If we make something wrong, readers may have wrong decision on the issue. [...] In 2003, media reported a Thai actress had said that she would not come to perform in Cambodia unless the temple of Angkor Wat is returned to Thailand. Ordinary people believed that the news was true.”

3. Why did the newspaper portray the opposition party's activities related to territorial dispute with Vietnam during the 2013 national election?

Colin Myen

“They said that because there's lots of Vietnamese living here illegally. You know! This is a problem that the government has addressed since 2013 and a lot of undocumented and illegal Vietnamese is living, fishing, and working in the construction sector. So, it is a problem existed, the scale of the problem is very difficult to say, and there is not good population data by virtual of being illegal. It's hard to know how many they are. It is a fact that it is a problem. [...] If political leaders who making strong claims against Vietnamese in their campaign or as a policy platform or party platform, we will generally showed reader what political leaders are saying. [...] We have a policy that we need to tell people about the situation and we only say facts. I think others newspapers have the same policy as well. For many newspapers, you only say things that are facts if you have evidence to support them, if it's a quote then you try to place the quote and context so people understand that it's reasonable.”

Kay Kimsong

“Because, we are an independent newspaper. We are not under control of the government. We portray every politicians as it is a matter of fact. We collect all the information and sources and transmit them to readers. When politicians say somethings it can be a fact that we need to publish. We want to give voice to both party the Opposition and government, but the government reject to give us an answer. The opposition often give us an answer while the government often reject us. They “the government” don't like us because we tell the truth. We as a journalist go to the border and acknowledge that our territory was taken by

Vietnam but we can't say it. If we say it we are responsible for it. [...] we don't criticize government but we tell the truth if the government did something wrong we need to tell our reader."

### **Chhay Sophal and Moeun Chhean Nariddh**

1. How politicians use the four newspapers as a platform to portray their activities especially related to Preah Vihear Temple and Cochinchina disputes? And what are the possible impact of newspapers' reporting on territorial dispute?

Chhay Sophal

"Politicians use territorial disputes for political gains and benefits. I see that the opposition party take advantage of territorial issues with Vietnam, and accuse the current government led by Hun Sen under the influence from Vietnam. In fact, the current government was a former communist which put into power by Vietnam. The opposition party always allege the current government rely on and have Vietnam back. [...] the best strategy for the Opposition Party is to attack the government on territorial issues and illegal Vietnamese immigrant. They found out that Vietnamese issues is the weak point of the government. We see that the English supported him on the issues"

Moen Chhean Nariddh

"As we know, politicians are opportunist. If any story can attract public's attention, they would broadcast that issue more by using journalists. In this case, if journalist were careless, they would become politician's tool. Therefore, as journalist, we should be critical and not to become a tool for politicians. We should obey journalistic ethics. [...] However, if we found politician lying, we should find experts to do verification whether the politician said was right or not. As journalists,

we should interview experts or do our own research and leave to public to make judgment on their own.”

2. Why the opposition party rarely sparking nationalism sentiment on the territorial disputes between Cambodia-Thai? And why the territorial issue with Vietnam is such an important topic for the four newspaper?

Chhay Sophal

“Because some members of the Opposition Party were member of Funcipec, an organization, aimed to topple Hun Sen government during the 1980s. Hun Sen has long been alleging the group of being favored to Thailand. During the period, they regularly travelled and crossed the border between Cambodia-Thai. More, Cambodian have a different perception toward Thai even they have been told by historian that Thailand absorbed many Cambodia’s territory in the western part. Furthermore, Thailand has similar culture and lifestyle to Cambodia. Back to what I said, Hun Sen used to be a communist which took into power by Vietnam. In general, we need to look at the mindset of Cambodian. Cambodian think that Vietnamese are poor and come to live in Cambodia illegally. They (Vietnamese) come to our country with bad purpose. It could be the reason that the opposition never attack Thailand. Instead, they rather attack the Vietnamese.”

Moen Chhean Nariddh

“I don’t know. Maybe you need to ask the historian or other media experts they may know the reasons.”

### 3. What are the challenges of newspaper's reporting on territorial dispute?

Chhay Sophal

“Cambodian newspapers don't have enough resources to cover over the report on territorial disputes at the border. The travelling cost to the border is extremely expensive. Cambodia have few journalists in each newspaper organization and they are not really professional. Sometime the journalist are afraid to cover sensitive issues and the territorial dispute is an example of this kind. Some journalists think that if they write something against the government policy they will be blamed by their boss who is the owner and member of the political party.” [...] Newspaper organizations are not stupid. They are smart. They know how to survive. Most Khmer language newspapers survive because of advertising revenue. The advertisers are mostly government officials. The newspapers need to care about their advertisers and their licensing from the ministry of information. Newspapers can be considered as a business link.”

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Moen Chhean Nariddh

“It can be politics, self-security, and legal problem. We know that our court system is not yet strong, freedom of press is not fully practiced, and security of journalists is still not guaranteed. Therefore, they are not dare to broadcast sensitive issues like border conflict as it could affect to politic or their safety.”

## **Appendix 2: Indexing Newspapers**

The researcher found 243 articles from the study time frames. As discussing in Chapter 3, the researcher first indexed all newspaper articles from the four daily newspapers. They were: *Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily (Cambodia Light)*, *Koh Santhepheap Daily (Island of Peace)*, *The Cambodia Daily*, and *The Phnom Penh Post*. The researcher made an index of headline, type of article, date, and examined frequency. The purpose of indexing was to count the frequency of newspaper articles on the territorial dispute during the selected periods.

The researcher selected a period of one month before and after the national election of 2008 and 2013 on the border disputes between Cambodia-Thailand over the Preah Vihear Temple, and Cambodia-Vietnam over the Cochin-china territory. The first time frame was from 27 June to 27 August 2008, and the second time frame was from 28 June to 28 August 2013. The indexing of the newspaper was divided according to the time frame as the following:

**1** Indexing Newspapers 2008

**2** Indexing Newspapers 2013

### **Indexing Newspapers 2008**

The frequency counting of the related articles from the four newspapers in the first time frame from 27 June to 27 August 2008 presented as below:

- The indexing of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily*
- The indexing of *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*
- The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily*
- The indexing of *The Phnom Penh Post*

#### **The indexing of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily***

<b>Number</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1	Samak accused of failing to protect Monarchy and Preah Vihear	Front Page	26-Jun	1
2	Abhisit to oppose World Heritage listing of Preah Vihear	News	27-Jun	1
3	Hor Namhong: Thai politicians use Preah Vihear for political gain	Front Page	28-Jun	1
4	Thailand supreme court order government to stop supporting Cambodia's bid to list Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	29-June	1

**The indexing of *The Reaksmei Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

5	Cambodia-Thai join declaration over Preah Vihear remains valuable	Front Page	1-Jul	2	
	Thai opposition petitions against the temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	News			
6	Temple: Thailand withdrew its support, Cambodia is not interested	Front Page	2-Jul	2	
	What Cambodia is going to get after the inscription of Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site?	News			
7	Government: Embassy and Thai business interests secured in Cambodia	Front Page	3-Jul	4	
	Thailand declares join declaration as null and void, Cambodia says it won't be a major headache	News			
	The National Center for Culture and Social Morality to march a protest to the Thai Embassy				
	Cambodian officials: Thai politicians and historians distort the fact				
8	UNESCO: Too late for Thailand to block temple's inscription as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	4-Jul		1
9	Thai nationalist protesters gathered near the temple after their foreign minister fail in temple dispute	Front Page	6-July		1
10	Thailand will most likely fail to prevent the registration of Preah Vihear as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	8-Jul		1
11	Border clashes calm: Cambodia bang the drum to celebrate the temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	9-Jul		2
	The success of the owner, and pride for the party	Editorial			



**The indexing of *The Reaksmev Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

12	Cambodia continues to celebrate the temple while Samak refuses to resign	Front Page	10-Jul	6
	Samak's party could be dissolved after the Supreme Court judgment	Front Page		
	UNESCO: Listing the temple as a World Heritage Site is a historical success and a great symbol of the Royal Government of Cambodia	News		
	Sieng Nam: The inscription of the temple as a World Heritage Site is a success of the Royal Government of Cambodia	News		
	Banteay Meanchey Province celebrates Preah Vihear Temple's registration as a World Heritage Site	News		
	Preah Vihear Temple the World Cultural Heritage fly in the mid-air	Feature		
13	Thai Foreign Minister quit Thursday. Opinion survey: parliament could be dissolved.	Front Page	11-Jul	3
	Cambodian monks celebrate the temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	News		
	Kompot Province celebrates the temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	News		
14	Success for the Khmer and the party's greatest achievement	Editorial	12-Jul	1
15	Thai Heritage president reminds opposition leader and nationalist protesters that Thailand does not lose land, not even a meter	Front Page	13-July	2
	Temple is nearer for tourist ( government build a new road to the temple)	News		
16	Tens of thousands of people celebrate the Temple	Front Page	15-Jul	2
	Thailand economy dramatically drop involving with many problems beside the temple dispute.			

**The indexing of *The Reaksmev Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

17	50 Thai troops stormed Khmer pagoda next to Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	16-Jul	1
18	Thai continue with troop buildup near temple, Cambodia hopes to resolve the dispute peacefully.  Dr. Ruth Chandraboth: Thai soldiers deserve no respect because they aggressively violate the sovereignty of Cambodia and despise the United Nations	Front Page	17-Jul	2
19	Thailand continues to increase troops, while Cambodia-Thai meeting expected on July 22, 2008  Cambodian Prime Minister asked Thai Prime Minister to withdraw Thai troops from Khmer Pagoda next to Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	18-Jul	2
20	Thai soldiers deny Khmer monk's asking to leave the Pagoda	Front Page	19-Jul	1
21	Temple tension continue when Samak negatively response	Front Page	20-Jul	1
22	Meeting in Sa Kaeo ended in deadlock, both party promise not to shoot each other  Chairman of ASEAN Foreign Ministers statement	Front Page	22-Jul	2
23	Cambodia asked the UN Security Council to resolve the violation of Thailand over Cambodian territory  Meeting in Sa Kaeo ended in deadlock: Thailand impasse and burn the meeting  Cambodian Prime Minister send a message to the UNESCO Director General	Front Page	23-Jul	3
24	UN meeting about the temple  Thai goods lose popularity, government stance is supported	Front Page	24-Jul	2

**The indexing of *The Reaksmey Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

25	Cambodia-Thai Foreign Ministers to meet in Siem Reap on July 28	Front Page	25-Jul	1
	Cambodia is willing to settle dispute with peace		27-July	3
	Thais nationalist protesters and angry villagers clash each other	Editorial		
	Thais consider Khmer temple as its Preah Viharn			
26	Meeting between Thai-Cambodian foreign ministers lasts until late night	Front Page	29-Jul	1
27	Meeting In Seam Reap: Cambodia and Thai PM satisfied with the results	Front Page	30-Jul	1
28	Cambodian monks face difficult living with Thai troops	Front Page	31-Jul	1
29	Thai newspaper says Cambodia is doing magic on August 1	Front Page	1-Aug	1
30	Wife of the Prime Minister of Cambodia go to Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	2-Aug	1
31	Thai invade Ta Moan temple while Thai troops are not withdraw from Preah Vihear Temple yet.	Front Page	3-Augt	2
	Thai Border Guards patrol over Cambodian territory	News		
32	Thailand proposes listing Ta Moan temple as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	6-Aug	7
	Cambodian forces to strengthen border from Thai's troop invasion	Front Page		
	Thailand to cancel trade fair in Cambodia, Chom Prasidh welcome the cancellation	News		
	Officials ask people to trust the government in Cambodia-Thai border dispute	News		

**The indexing of *The Reaksmev Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

	Flowers for Thai commander in Cambodia territory flamed with criticism	Editorial		
	Thailand use delaying tactics in solving territorial dispute	Editorial		
	Thai Cabinet decided to withdraw some troops, Thai troop warn Cambodia about Ta Mon Temple	News		
33	Preah Vihear dispute: Thai says Cambodia need to wait for 2 more days	Front Page	7-Aug	2
	Hun Sen: Preah Vihear tension caused by both extremist groups from two countries and the usage of different map	News		
34	Thai troops remain controlling Ta Moan temple	Front Page	8-Aug	1
	Thailand's bad intention	Editorial		1
35	Thailand support Hun Sen's speech	Front Page	9-Aug	4
	Mama instant noodle's sale drop	Front Page		
	Phnom Penh Mayor and wife bring gifts for troops and 320 families	Front Page		
	Governor of Preah Vihear Province: the border situation is in controlled but Cambodia always prevent any invasion from Thai	News		
36	No sign of withdrawing Thai's troops	Front Page	10-Aug	2
	Ta Moan temple is the second heritage	Front Page		
37	Ta Moan stays isolated because Thai block the entry road	Front Page	12-Aug	3
	Ta Moan is an ancient hospital in the Java Raman period	Front Page		
	Thai Army Chief to visit its aggressive troops	News		
38	Thai's troops pull down the second fence, but refuse to pull down the first fence at Ta Mon temple	Front Page	13-Aug	1

**The indexing of *The Reaksmev Kampuchea Daily* (Continued)**

39	Ta Moan's gate to open on 14 august	Front Page	14-Aug	1
40	Google Earth: Ta Moan is in Cambodia	Front Page	15-Aug	1
41	Worker Unions to march a protest against Thailand, despite Government's warning	Front Page	16-Aug	1
42	Preah Vihear's road closed for both party restraining force	Front Page	17-Aug	3
	Being a good neighbor is not to devote or swallow anyone land even a centimeter	Editorial		
	Ta Moan temple: Thai's troops do not allow many people to see the temple because they are afraid of Yellow shirt's criticism	Front Page		
43	Samak to visit conflict zone before Cambodia-Thai meeting	Front Page	19-Aug	2
	Ta Moan temple: Cambodian soldiers sick and need urgent help	Front Page		
44	Preliminary meeting Cambodia-Thai no result	Front Page	20-Aug	1
45	Hor Namhong: the negotiation is like rolling the road	Front Page	21-Aug	1
46	Thai claims itself the owner of Ta Moan. Heavy raid flowed of Ta Moan's road	Front Page	22-Aug	1
47	Prime Minister of Cambodia and Thailand exchange letter about border dispute	Front Page	23-Aug	1
48	Thai troops do not allow Khmer to visit Ta Moan temple on Saturday and Sunday	Front Page	24-Aug	2
	Thai opposition announces mass demonstrations to oust the government on August 26	Front Page		
49	Bangkok Unrest: Samak's future is uncertain	Front Page	27-Aug	1

**The indexing of *The Kohsanthehpheap Daily***

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	Thai opposition party exploits temple dispute fail to defeat Samak	Front Page	28-June	1
2	Being an owner, Cambodian government quietly continues to list Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	2-July	1
3	Cambodia to protect the embassy of Thailand, Thailand to protect the embassy of Cambodia	Front Page	3-July	1
4	Dambasva (refer to a small group of monkey) Thai protesters demanding Khmer villagers to dismantle their home	Front Page	4-July	1
5	Preah Vihear Temple among 27 heritages to be listed as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	5-6 July	2
	Losing is a god	Editorial		
6	Thai protesters continue to exploit temple dispute	Front Page	7-July	1
7	Thailand must stop any unreasonable injunction to Cambodia's bid to list Preah Vihear as World Heritage Site	Columnist	8-July	2
	Optimism of the owner: official decision whether the temple is on the World Heritage list depends on UNESCO, not the Thai's court injunction	Editorial		
8	UNESCO decided to list Preah Vihear Temple as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	9-July	2
	Corona celebrates the Temple	Front Page		
9	UNESCO: 6 years and 9 months, the will of Hun Sen becomes reality	Front Page	10-July	4
	Too coward	Editorial		

**The indexing of *The Kohsanthepheap Daily* (Continued)**

	Phnom Penh City Hall to perform a concert celebrating Preah Vihear Temple's registration as a World Heritage Site	News		
	Cultural and historical property on the Dang Rek mountain is a story from the past to the present	Feature		
10	Thai Foreign Minister quit Thursday: Political crisis in Thailand is being linked to Preah Vihear Temple	News	11-July	2
	Preah Vihear and Seam Reap provinces celebrate Preah Vihear Temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	News		
11	Why are they hurt?	Editorial	12-July	1
12	Retired King Norodom Sihanouk issued a statement about Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	14-July	4
	Preventing illegal border crossing, while many Cambodian are being shot to dead because of Preah Vihear issue	Front Page		
	King says Preah Vihear is 100% belong to Cambodia	Front Page		
	Khemrak University Kompong Speu and Battambang celebrate Preah Vihear Temple's listing as a World Heritage Site	News		
13	Tens of thousands of people celebrate Sok Ann's successful mission	Front Page	15-July	1
14	Thai troops invaded the temple. Cambodia arrested 3 Thai nationalist protesters	Front Page	16-July	1
15	Thailand has not withdrawn any troops. Situation in the surrounding area near the temple is in negotiation	Front Page	17-July	4
	Government's spokesman: There is no tension at Preah Vihear Temple yet.	Front Page		

**The indexing of *The Kohsanthepheap Daily* (Continued)**

	Government and NGOs react to the violation of Cambodia sovereignty	Front Page		
	International Court of Justice, Case Concerning Preah Vihear 15, June, 1962	News		
16	Thailand add more troops to the dispute area. Villagers blocked nationalist protesters from rallying at Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	18-July	2
	Hurry to untie	Editorial		
17	The dispute is in negotiation. Thailand dragged two 105 mm artilleries and point straight to the Temple	Front Page	21-July	3
	Cambodia reports the violation of Cambodia sovereignty to the United Nations	Front Page		
	Thailand send military equipment to the border	Front Page		
18	Agreement on the border dispute: No additional troops/ No further shooting	Front Page	22-July	1
19	Cambodia requested the Security Council of The United Nation to take urgent action and avoid any confrontation	Front Page	23-July	2
	The day that we have a choice	Editorial		
20	Pray for peace in front of the statue centurion of Angkor	Front Page	24-July	2
	Thai troops continue to dig trenches in front of the temple, even agreed to stop	Front Page		
21	Tea Banch: Adding barbed wire, we must protect our temple	Front Page	25-July	5



**The indexing of *The Kohsanthepheap Daily* (Continued)**

	Thai government faces possible impeachment proceedings by Thai opposition. Cambodia chose to resolve the dispute base on international law	Front Page		
	Cambodian Border Petrol destroyed Thai troops' camera which secretly recorded Cambodian troop's activities	Front Page		
	The power of Sekha Kirisvarak pagoda helps ancient and new generation continue to protect Khmer heritage	Feature		
	Preah Vihear dispute becomes a popular topic among Cambodian Media	Feature		
22	Thai troops to occupy Jom which is 200m from the border marker	Front Page	26-July	5
	Situation in Preah Vihear: troops continue to dig trenches	Front Page		
	The power of Preah Vihear help Nak Onha Som Dara	Front Page		
	The invasion of Preah Vihear Temple caused 22 temple guards suspended activities	Feature		
	Cool but hot	Editorial		
23	The surrounding temple area could be change on 28 July	Front Page	28-July	2
	Thai-Cambodia border: Thai troops caused trouble near Banteay Ompel border	Front Page		
24	After 12 hours meeting, Cambodia and Thai agreed to withdraw the troops at Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	29-July	1
25	Cambodia to reduce troops' number/Thai to modify the troops/ Thai army chief to visit the Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	31-July	3

**The indexing of *The Kohsanthepheap Daily* (Continued)**

	15 June 1962 and 7 June 2008 are the successful dates for Preah Vihear Temple. National heritage becomes World Heritage along with many problems	News		
	Group of Thai stupid magicians say they will wear yellow shirt on the eclipse date. Cambodia only pray for peach and has no intention to use magic to crack anyone.	News		
26	Monk at Sekha Kirisvarak pagoda asked Thai troops to leave pagoda	Front Page	1- August	1
27	Border Conflict spread across the border: Thai control Ta Moan temple, while one Thai soldier found dead	Front Page	4- August	1
28	Cambodia prevent Thai from digging additional trenches. Thailand to modify troops. Thai's cabinet meeting on August 5	Front Page	5- August	2
	Your liar (Thais)	Editorial		
29	Negotiation at O Smach: Cambodia troops siege Thai troop near Ta Moan temple. The situation in Preah Vihear Temple is normal	Front Page	6- August	2
	Praying is not a death	Editorial		
30	Samak rumored to visit Preah Vihear: Both Cambodia and Thai claim the ownership of Ta Moan temple	Front Page	8- August	2
	Nationalist arguments	Editorial		
31	Samak visited Thai-Cambodian border. Thai prime minister visited Ta Moan Thom and the surrounding area near Preah Vihear Temple	Front Page	19- August	3
	Cambodia is optimistic about meeting at Hua Hin. There is an arrangement for a group of Cambodian delegates to meet Thai's King	Front Page		

**The indexing of *The Kohsanthepheap Daily* (Continued)**

	Buffalo eat rice	Editorial		
32	Thai's King meet a group of official delegates from Cambodia. Meeting agreed to handle Ta Moan temple after Preah Vihear	Front Page	20-August	2
	Encouraging or attention	Editorial		

**The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily***

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	Preah Vihear Remains Inaccessible from Thai side	News	27-June	1
2	FM: Thai opposition exploits Temple tempest	News	28-June	1
3	Court Block Thai support For temple bid	Front Page	30-June	1
4	Media: Thai Gov't pulls support for Temple bid	News	2-July	1
5	All or Nothing: Cambodians show mixed feelings on Preah Vihear Temple Temple Tug of War	Feature	5-6 July	2
6	Thai official expects Preah Vihear listing	Front Page	7-July	1
7	Decision on Temple Expected Early today	News	8-July	1
8	Bangkok dealt another legal blow on temple	Front Page	9-July	1
9	Work on Preah Vihear has just begun: Unesco	News	10-July	1

**The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily* (Continued)**

10	Thai Foreign Minister quits over temple	Front Page	11-July	2
	Sides trade blame as border shooting continue			
11	Sihanouk: Thai temple claims false, hurtful	News	12-July	1
12	Gov't aims to attract visitors to Preah Vihear	News	14-July	2
	Government stands trial in Thailand's latest political crisis	Opinion		
13	Thai, Cambodian watch their side of the temple fence	Feature	15-July	3
	8000 attend celebration of temple listing in capital	News		
	Media should balance Nationalism With professionalism	Letter to Editor		
14	Thai Troops, RCAF face off near temple		16-July	1
15	Thai continue with troop buildup near temple		17-July	1
16	Tens day at temple ends in agreement to talk	Front Page	18-July	2
	Thai police, Villagers block nationalist protest			
17	Thai troops keep increasing despite promises	News	19-July	1
18	official not optimistic on Temple talk	Front Page	21-July	2
	PM's letter to Thailand asserts pagoda ownership	News		
19	Temple Talks end without Breakthrough	Front Page	22-July	2

**The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily* (Continued)**

	Asean officer to Mediate Border Crisis			
20	Emergency UN help needed on Temple: Minister	Front Page	23-July	1
21	UN to take up request for help on temple	Front Page	24-July	2
	Thai Villagers along Border Brace for Clashes			
22	Gov't suspends complaint to UN on Temple	Front Page	25-July	2
	Border dispute could affect Turnout, Voter Choices in Election	News		
23	Gov't: We go back to UN if Thai talks fail	News	26-July	1
24	Thai Troops cross border on Three occasion	News	28-July	3
	Thai Foreign Minister named ahead of temple talks			
	Retired King: Thai investment may be "problem"			
25	Bun Rany Visit Troops at Temple, Leads Prayer	News	2-august	1
26	Thai troops surround two more temples	Front Page	4-August	2
	Thailand postpones trade show in Sihanoukville	News		
27	Thai Troops move back From Ta Moan temple	News	6-August	1
28	Letter urges peaceful dialogue in temple dispute	News	7-August	1

**The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily* (Continued)**

29	Thailand's PM Plans To Visit Preah Vihear Area	News	8- August	1
30	Thai troops return to border temple	Front Page	11- August	1
31	Lawmakers denied access to Preah Vihear	News	12- August	1
32	Thai, Cambodia defense official discuss temple	News	14- August	1
33	Deal reached to end Preah Vihear standoff	Front Page	15- August	1
34	Tension Ease as Troops Leave Temple Area	Front Page	18- August	2
	Police shut down demonstration over Thai troop presence	News		
35	Deal with Thais on Preah Vihear expected today	Front Page	19- August	1
36	Marathon Talks fail to end Temple Standoff	Front Page	20- August	1
37	Temple's Thai side Closed Until Troops pulled	News	21- August	2
	Fugitive Thai Politician Sentenced in Absentia	News		
38	"Redeployed" From Temple, Sides Still Meters Apart	Front Page	22- August	1
39	Thai soldiers cause stir around Ta Moan Temple	News	26- August	1

**The indexing of *The Phnom Penh Post***

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	Thai protests keep border closed	News	27 June	1
2	Preah Vihear card in play following UNESCO listing	Front Page	11- July	2
	Cambodian temple party comes at high price for Thai Government	News		
3	Sitting on a powder keg: Border crisis rhetoric heats up as diplomatic efforts drag on	Front Page	25-July	12
	Turbulent times of an ancient temple	Feature		
	Parties seize on border crisis in bid to win votes			
	Cambodians boycott Thai products	News		
	Bringing world pressure to bear	News		
	Funds pour in for soldiers	News		
	Border talks set for Monday: Thai PM	News		
	Ex-guerrillas itching to pull trigger: Preah Vihear standoff sparks urge to kill in battle-hardened former Khmer Rouge	Feature		
	Temple tension take toll on tourism			
	Foreign investors unruffled by Preah Vihear standoff	News		
	Booze ban introduced in bid to keep peace	News		
	Preah Vihear "not a Hindu monument"	Letter to Editor		

### **Indexing Newspapers 2013**

During this second time frame, no article related to the territorial dispute was published by *The Koh Santhepheap Daily*. The frequency counting of the related articles from the second time frame from 28 June to 28 August 2013 presented as the following

- The indexing of the Reaksmeay Kampuchea Daily
- The indexing of the Cambodia Daily
- The indexing of the Phnom Penh Post

#### **The indexing of *The Reaksmeay Kampuchea Daily***

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	Koh Trol of Khmer	Editorial	1-July	1
2	Anniversary which we should not forget	Editorial	2-July	1
3	After advocating for over 16 years, Temple listed as a World Heritage Site	Front Page	3-July	1



### The indexing of *The Cambodia Daily*

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	In CNRP campaign, a subtler approach to Vietnamese Issue	News	5-July	1
2	Preah Vihear listing anniversary gets political	News	8-July	1
3	CPP the clear choice for ethnic Vietnamese voter	Front Page	17-July	1
4	Supporters Rally as Sam Rainsy Returns to Cambodia, Vows Change	Front Page	20-July	1
5	Rainsy face uphill battle in rural provinces	Front Page	22-July	2
	Rainsy's provincial rush garners Support for CNRP			
7	IN Border provinces, Sam Rainsy talks justice and lost territory	News	24-July	1

### The indexing of *The Phnom Penh Post*

Number	Headline	Type	Date	Frequency
1	Temple milestone celebrated	News	8-July	1
2	Return Spark CNRP	Front Page	22-July	1
3	Siem Reap turns out for Rainsy	Front Page	25-July	2
	Rainsy rally in Siem Reap draws huge crowd			
4	At Border, Rainsy plays old tune	News	26-July	1

## VITA

Dolla SOY was born in 1990 in the town of Neak Leung, Prey Veng Province in Cambodia. In 2009, Dolla started his first higher education in Finance and Banking at Cambodian Mekong University in Phnom Penh. A year later, he was awarded scholarship by Royal Government of Cambodia to study Media Management at Royal University of Phnom Penh, and received a bachelor's degree in 2014. During his undergraduate years, he worked as a journalist at Khmernext Foundation and Cambodia News. Upon graduation, he was offered ASEAN scholarship from Chulalongkorn University to continue his graduate study in Strategic Communication Management at Faculty of Communication Arts. After finishing his study, he plan to start his career in the fields of media and journalism

