

MESTRADO
MULTIMÉDIA - ESPECIALIZAÇÃO EM EDUCAÇÃO

**HOW CAMBODIAN POLITICIANS EXPLORE
WEB 2.0 TO CONNECT WITH CITIZENS AND
BUILD FORMS OF PARTICIPATORY
DEMOCRACY**

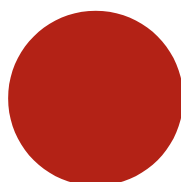
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2015

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FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS
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**How Cambodian Politicians Explore Web 2.0 to
Connect with citizens and Build Forms of
Participatory Democracy**

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Resumo

Desde que os principais meios de comunicação social são controlados pelo partido no poder e que o número de usuários de internet no Cambodja tem aumentado, os políticos cambojanos têm prestado muita atenção na internet para tirarem partido da sua presença na Web 2.0. As eleições nacionais do Cambodja de 2013 vincaram o papel dos media no estabelecimento da comunicação entre os políticos e os cidadãos - até aí inexistente. Antes, durante e após as eleições de 2013, os políticos de vários partidos políticos usaram a Web 2.0 para interagirem com os seus possíveis eleitores, promovendo o seu partido e construindo assim os alicerces para a democracia participativa. Durante o estudo usámos como objeto de pesquisa 22 contas de Facebook que seguimos e analisámos durante três meses, através de técnicas qualitativas de análise. Todas as informações da conta de cada político, como o número de posts, comentários e informações compartilhadas para cada conta, tópicos e seu conteúdo, entre outros, foram examinadas. Após uma extensa revisão da literatura e algumas entrevistas com alguns especialistas, criámos um questionário online e pedimos a todos os eleitos para a Assembleia Nacional de 2013 que preenchessem. Em seguida, foi realizada uma análise de conteúdo do Facebook dos políticos. O objectivo é comparar as respostas dos políticos cambojanos ao questionário e a sua ação concreta, veiculada pela internet. Pedimos então a especialistas em ciências políticas para avaliar essa informação, a fim de concluir se a utilização da Web 2.0 pode ajudar à construção de uma democracia participativa no Cambodja. Este estudo tenta preencher uma lacuna na literatura, estudando o estado da democracia participativa no Cambodja, um país com reduzido acesso à Internet e uma democracia ainda frágil.

Abstract

Esta investigação, que revela principalmente que a Web 2.0 tem uma contribuição para o vínculo político entre políticos e cidadãos, e construção da democracia participativa no Camboja, examina o uso do Facebook por políticos cambojanos. Foi utilizado o método qualitativo através do uso de questionários online a 22 políticos Cambojanos de partidos no poder e na oposição e através da análise do conteúdo das suas páginas do Facebook assim como recolha de recomendações conclusivas de quatro especialistas em media/política do Cambodja. Este estudo tenta realizar um estudo profundo acerca da democracia participativa nas redes sociais.

Tendo isto em conta, este estuda como os políticos cambojanos usam a Web 2.0 para ligação política e união; identifica motivos e razões atrás do uso do recurso online; examina a atitude dos políticos face as redes sociais, e analisa o impacto do seu uso online da democracia participativa.

A conclusão deste estudo revela os possíveis efeitos das suas atividades online no processo de construção de ligação política e democracia participativa. O papel das redes sociais foi de ponte na falha de comunicação entre os políticos e cidadãos fornecendo oportunidades políticas para a união direta entre políticos e membros mais baixos dos partidos, como a contribuição para campanhas do partido, e até demonstração, participação no debate político e tomada de decisões em questões sociais e políticas que os afetam e à sociedade. A consequência desta situação desenvolveu a democracia participativa no Cambodja.

This research study, mainly revealing that Web 2.0 has a contribution to the political connection between politicians and citizens, and participatory democracy building in Cambodia, examine Facebook usage by Cambodian politicians. We employed qualitative method by using online survey with 22 Cambodian politicians from both ruling and opposition party and by doing content analysis on their Facebook account as well as getting the conclusive recommendation from four media/ political experts in Cambodia. This research tries to perform a deep study about Web 2.0 for participatory democracy building. Regarding this, the study (1) explores how Cambodian politicians use Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement; (2) identifies motivations and reasons behind online usage; (3) examines attitude of politicians towards social media, and (4) analyses impacts of their online usage to participatory democracy building. The ultimate conclusion of this study reveals the possible effects of their online activities on the process of political connection and participatory democracy building. Based on our study, the role of social media bridged the communication gap between politicians and citizens by providing political opportunities and platform for direct engagement between politicians and grass roots, such as in contributing to party's campaigns, or even demonstration, participating in political debate and discussion or decision making process on social and political issues affecting them and society. The consequence of this situation built forms of participatory democracy in Cambodia.

Key Terms: Web 2.0, Social media, Facebook, Politics, Politicians, Political connection, Political engagement, Political party, Participatory democracy.

Acknowledgement

To my beloved family, who always has my back and are always in my heart. I would like to dedicate my study to my dearest family, Ngan Limhov, Kim Narin, Kim Vibol, Kim Sokhey and Kim Dany who have provided me with financial, emotional and intelligent supports. Without them, I would not be able to stand and live who I am right now.

Very special thanks and deeply gratitude to my research supervisor, Prof. Nuno Moutinho who has always spent his valuable time and effort guiding me through the research process and brought me something new. His patience, rigor, understanding, support, incentive and goodwill turned my research into a pleasure. Without his fruitful help and challenge, this research would have never existed and I would have lost a surprising learning experience.

Heartfully thank to professors at University of Porto contributing a lot to my success. Their professionalism and enthusiasm for education is and continue to be an inspiration.

I would like to show my honour thank to University of Porto for providing funding for me to attend the Global Research Conference in Canada, where my research paper was published; I could present my paper to other researchers, and I also could extend my practical knowledge and experience from the conference in addition to my study.

Also, I would like to express profound thanks to respondents--- Cambodia politicians in National Assembly, media practitioners, political analysts, blogger who have spent their valuable time. Their participation and cooperation are every priceless for this research. Without their contribution, this study would not be accomplished.

I would like to show my gratitude thank to my teachers and lectures in Cambodia for what they made me learn. Thank you to all peers and colleagues, for helping me grow.

Without the above people, I could not produce this research study even though I have put my full effort, time and commitment, I would say.

<SAM ATH KIM>

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List of Acronyms

CCIM	Cambodia Centre for Independent Media
CNRP	Cambodia National Rescue Party
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
NEC	National Election Committee
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RWB	Reporter Without Boarder

Chapter 1

Introduction

People are living in a world of electronic democracy where they can communicate directly with their leaders using internet. Internet turns the world into a global community and considered as a public place where people can get to know different people and bond together (Carter & Levy, 2012). Only website is not enough; some politicians have started to engage in social media like Facebook and Twitter to promote their political parties and expose themselves to young, interested audiences from normal communication to political discussion (Meeting Cambodia politician on the internet, 2010). Social media allows users to create their profile and establish connections with friends and people on internet (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010), seek information and interact with others through online expression such as posting political commentaries and sharing multimedia commentary (Boyd, 2007). All social media and its platforms underlies commonality of user-generated element characterized by openness and collaboration (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010)

Social media has increased popularity among Cambodia youth and voters. In Cambodia, social media like Facebook is used for fun, friendship and socialization (Saray, Chea & Peou, 2010). However, before, during and after the Cambodian National Election 2013, there is a new trend emerging. Social media has brought change to Cambodia politics. It has become commonplace media-related activities not only for young people but also for politicians in general. Social media maximized the chance for political parties (both ruling and opposition) in Cambodia who are now tap into social networking site to connect with people and their supporters. Social media has been used as political campaign to spread information and inform political supporters and voters through status update, video, news sharing...etc. In addition, social media provided more chances for public to express their idea and opinion, and politicians a chance

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to engage with internet users. Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP) and Cambodian People's Party (CPP) have used social media like Facebook to connect with people, promote their party by posting videos and photos about their political activities, writing status update and sharing news and information from Radio and Newspaper. According to *Mass Communication and Society Study*, the ability to express political views and opinions online plays an important role for social media in campaigns---Social media allows users to seek information and interact with others through online expression (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010). In the globe, social media is used as a platform to convey message of 'riots organization, agency, and participation', which leads to big impacts to the political and social life of the countries (Bogdan & Monica, 2014). The ability of citizen to inform, hold and share opinion with others can contribute to the full democracy and freedom of the media is crucial for this process; however, traditional media, the most established form of media are 'the most heavily censored' (Cambodia for Human Rights, 2013, p.12). Social media can provide the free space and more freedom for politicians and citizens to have political discussion, connection, and debate. Politicians can share news and information to their supporters and people in the faster way without getting it censored. Report by meeting Cambodian politician on the internet (2010) claimed that social media allows people to meet politicians on internet. People can get information and interact by just clicking like and following or subscribing the political party Facebook page. Facebook contains information such as political party's background, activities, policy, and contact. Politicians can connect with internet users--- post the updated news of their party and get instant feedback when people click the "Like" icon or post a comment on their timeline. What people comment and like on their post is so beneficial to them because people can see that they have many supporters and sometimes those supporters will against someone who criticized on behalf of them. Politicians also know and learn people's need and problems through their online expression. Internet users can join the decision making process, political discussion or debate with their politicians through social media. In fact, when there is sensitive news happening in Cambodia, politicians and political party members post their self-produced content or share the link of news on their timeline. Facebook users can keep abreast of information through Facebook they liked or followed. They read the status update, raise question, and give constructive criticism or voice their concern through their comments. Post, Like, Comment, Share, or reply message are the way politicians can connect and interact with public.

There has no research study conducted in Cambodia about participatory democracy building through social media and while this research intended to study the participatory democracy through online communication.

1.1 Context/Background /Motivation

Cambodia had gone through true sad history, civil wars; consequently, Cambodia had experienced different regimes until the early 19th century (Hughes, 2003). In the present time, Cambodia is a constitutional democratic country, holding liberal democracy even though she is considered as an infantile democratic country. Political parties are an essential component of democracy. As a liberal democratic country, her citizens have rights to vote, one of the most crucial ways that every citizen can influence governmental decision-making and participate in the democratic process. This can push politicians to act in certain way to serve national and public sake. According to the National Democratic Institute (n.d.), “making democracy work requires informed and active citizens who understand how to voice their interests, act collectively and hold public officials accountable. Citizens must understand the basic of citizenship, politics and government, and they need knowledge to make good policy choices and understand the proper use of authority. Citizens also need the desire to exercise their rights and the political space to do so without unreasonable resistance or harassment from authorities or others” (para.1). So, it is crucial for any political party to reach out the voters in any free election. According to Reporters Without Borders (RWB) and the Cambodia Centre for Independent Media (CCIM) on the state of freedom of expression and access to information in Cambodia (2013) reported that broadcasting media is the most popular platform that people can receive information. As many media both print and broadcasting in Cambodia depend on the support from political party and are controlled by the ruling one and a hybrid ownership of government and private company, it is hard for Cambodian politicians, especially ones from opposition party to connect with people for civic and political activities.

In Cambodia, social media has been used for political purpose. It has become public platform for political discussion and news sharing. Kasztelan (2013) stated that even the majority of Cambodian people still live in rural areas, technology advancement and demography mean that an increasing number of young people are joining social networking sites. The fact that social media users were among the 3.5 million 18-to 30-year-olds registered to cast ballots in the July 28 elections for the National Assembly (Altogether there were 9.5million registered voters). Also, social media agency We Are Social showed that one new user joins Facebook every two minutes in Cambodia, translating to an average of 1,000 new members every day (Kemp, 2012), adding that social media is still far from widespread in Cambodia with one in twenty registered on a social network. However, Meyn (2013) reported that Facebook has gained extremely popularity, claiming that the number of Cambodia people access to internet via mobile phone in Cambodia--1.3 phone for each of the country’s 15 million people.

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Facebook considered the free space where public and politicians discuss and share their concerns and issues as well as the latest news. It was seen that many voters express their discontent with CPP and they also rallied for political and social change online. Kasztelan (2013) reported the Cambodia opposition leader used Facebook page to connect with youth voters and to gain support for his party by sharing political news and activities. It seems that social media can provide space for political discussion and play a role as a watchdog. In fact, political parties had their own presence on social media was before Cambodia National Election 2013, highlighted the growing political role of social media. CPP won narrowly during the general election 68 seats over 123 seats in National Assembly 2013. Social media practice were first apparent in the 2013 National election. In reality, both ruling and opposition party used social media a lot more in the 2013 National Election compared to the previous elections. Kasztelan continued that in 2013 National election, it was observed that throughout the election period, Facebook users used their smart phone and computers to share news and information about the electoral irregularities. It is seen that many politicians of National Assembly with digital literacy levels have had thousand friends on Facebook account or page. Cambodia's national election 2013 marked the role of social media in bridging the communication gap between politicians and citizens, which led opposition electoral again.

Politicians, political party members, government institutes use social media to share updated information and news related to politics, social issues or their self-produced contents to people. Some provoked or organized informal discussion about current politics and some posted controversial statement, photos and videos up to date and shared Radio and TV news to their followers in the faster way. Regarding this, prior research has shown that politicians and political party are using social media for political use. However, no scholars have examined the impacts and possible effects of their online communication to participatory democracy building. Also, there is no specific finding about how politicians use social media for political connection and as a communication tool for participatory democracy, that is why this research will explore the phenomenon of how politicians use social media to connect with people and whether their online communication can build participatory democracy in Cambodia. Within this perspective, we seek to answers to the following questions: how do Cambodian politicians use social media to connect with internet users? Are Cambodian politicians using social media to engage with citizens is to know their problems and needs? What are behaviour and attitude of politicians when using social media to connect and engage with citizens? What extent their exploration on Web 2.0 can build forms of participatory democracy? In answering these questions, the research explained their political connection and engagement through Facebook, studied their motivation and reasons behind their online usage, observed behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media, revealed whether their online communication can build forms of participatory democracy.

1.2 Project

The research study was conducted in Cambodia and Portugal. To answer these research questions, two different online questionnaires were conducted. One for politicians from both ruling and opposition party who are using social media, especially Facebook and another one for political/ media experts in Cambodia who have many year-experience in political analyse and/or journalism skills. Initially a list of politicians who are using social media were developed. They are categorised based on political party--CPP or CNRP. We focus only on Facebook since all politician respondents own it and few of them have Twitter and blog.

We planned to send an online questionnaire to all 123 politicians. Before we chose to study their Facebook account by respecting the number of seats of each political party in National Assembly. For example, CPP the ruling party has got 68 seats (55%), whereas CNRP the opposition party has got 55 seats (45%) in National Assembly. However, because we were not able to reach all 123 politicians and 57% of them have Facebook account (27%, ruling party and 73%, opposition party), we decided to study all Facebook accounts/pages of all politician respondents who filled in our online questionnaire.

According to our search on Facebook accounts, 50 over 55 politicians from the opposition party who have Facebook, while 17 over 68 politicians from ruling party own Facebook account. We added them as our friend, followed or liked their Page. Then, we conducted the online questionnaire with four dimension: (1) Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement; (2) Reasons and motivation of online usage; (3) Behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media; (4) Impacts of Web 2.0 for participatory democracy building.

From 09th February- 09th May, we followed Facebook accounts and pages of politicians. We recorded all information of each politician's account such as number of posts and comments and information shared for each account; topics, themes, and its contents etc. have been examined to observe their real activities on internet.

We piloted our online questionnaire for one week and it was sent to students with different background (journalism, communication, education) to test whether our question is clear, precious and understandable in order avoid error or bias. Then we uploaded our online questionnaire on Survey Monkey and sent its link to all 72 Cambodian politicians from both ruling and opposition party who have Facebook account or page.

Over the period of two months (ending 19 April, 2015), 22 politician respondents filled in online questionnaire. Prime Minister Hun Sen, CPP political leader was unable to be reached, but we were able to approach the leader of CNRP. However, the gap between respondents from opposition and ones from ruling party is so wide. There are only two respondents (all are male) from CP and 20 respondents (three females) from CNRP. A few CPP politicians replied to our

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message several times, explaining their personal reasons that they could not fill in our online questionnaire.

After that we adapted the online questionnaire for politicians and sent it to seven political/media experts. Over a period of one month (ending 03rd June, 2015), we got four respondents, each of whom is from non-government organization, journalism school and independent institutes.

Data performance and interpretation conducted on 05th June to study the possible impacts of social media to participatory democracy building.

1.3 Problem, and Objectives of Research

Most print and broadcasting medium in Cambodia are not totally independent. It is seen that TV is the tightly controlled media in Cambodia since it is the primary mean through which to communicate with the voting public. The opposition party and other parties do not own any TV station, so the chance to broadcast information, campaigns and political party activities is so small comparing to one of the ruling party. There are 11 TV stations in Cambodia, but there is only one TV, National Television of Kampuchea (TVK) which is state- owned TV broadcasting all political party campaigns.

In a report by Kaing (2013), TVK broadcasted the eight political parties' 15 minute presentation to explain their election platforms during a 2-hours slot set aside each morning and rebroadcast in the evening for one-month campaign. In addition, under National Election Committee (NEC) rules, all Cambodia political parties were not allowed to campaign for the election until 27th June, 2013. However, Prime Minister Hun Sen, one of the world's longest-serving leader (30 years in power) and the top leader of CPP had for weeks gave his public speeches to people and his speech were broadcasted by TVK and almost all private TV stations in order to press public to vote for him, warning of the danger that Cambodia people would face if his party lost the upcoming election.

According to Yim Sovanna, spokesman for CNRP said that, "The CPP also uses the media, TV and radio to attack the opposition party every day. It is a violation of the [NEC] law. Yet the NEC doesn't do anything about it," (Kaing, 2013).

In a report by Prak (2013), PM Hun Sen has total control of most radio stations and his political party is expected to win the National Election. The Cambodian government banned local radio stations from broadcasting content from foreign program by foreign broadcasters widely seen as a major setback to media freedom and aimed at stifling the voice of the opposition party. In a report by Huot and Yun (2013), PM Hun Sen said the move was aimed at "forbidding"

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foreigners from playing any role in the campaign and ‘local stations who flout the order face legal action’. At least three foreign broadcasters---US based Radio Free Asia (RFA) and Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Australia would be banned from being aired under the directive in the run-up the July 28th 2013 election.

“While Royal Government officials at the highest levels have publicly expressed an intention to conduct free and fair elections, these media restrictions, and other efforts to limit freedom of expression, will seriously call into question the legitimacy of the electoral process,” noted John Simmons spokesman for the U.S. Embassy, quoted in (Huot & Yun, 2013).

However social media allows users to meet politicians on internet (Meeting Cambodian politicians on the internet, 2010). CPP has its own website in both English and Khmer.

“Having official website can help people to connect with political parties and learn about its background,” said Cheam Yeap, spokesman for the CPP,” quoted in Meeting Cambodian Politician (2010).

While the Human Rights Party (now become to Cambodia National Rescue Party after merging with Sam Rainsy Party) has had a website in 2007. The next year they won 6.62 percent of the votes in national elections in 2008. The party created online engagement by having a Facebook page in 2009. Human Rights Party leaders said that Radio program can reach people in local, but in order to reach supporters abroad, the internet is invaluable (Meeting Cambodia politician on the internet, 2010).

“The internet has played a crucial role in delivering accurate news to Cambodians” said Yim Sovann. “The internet has helped us get a lot of support, especially from activists and people living abroad. It’s a mean to deliver truthful information by uploading documents and promoting our activities on our website,” said Yim Sovan, a spokesman for the opposition party, quoted in Meeting Cambodia politicians on the internet (2010).

The chance for the opposition party and his members to communicate with their voters and public is high since social media helps maximize their chance. Internet users can get news and information about social issues and activities of each political party through social media. Because of these reasons, politicians and political party members from both ruling and opposition party as well as other parties have paid attention on social media.

Online censorship is also a concern. Even though the number of internet users is low, the government has concern that internet can be a potential medium for opposition voices (Cambodia PM grants TV, radio licence to opposition, 2014). CPP won the 2013 National Election with the small assembly seat comparing to the previous election. In a report by Hunt (2013), the opposition party had secured gains, winning 55 assembly seats in the 123-seat National Assembly, an

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increase of 26. While the CPP suffered a dramatic fall, winning 66 seats, compared with 90 seats five years ago. After the 2013 National Election, CNRP leaders Sam Rainsy and Kem Sokha led demonstrations that incited and provoked people to hold massive demonstration for election irregularity and fraud (Yun, 2014). Facebook used to gather people and share information, news and video about the demonstration in purpose to bring PM Hun Sen down. When top opposition party members were arrested and charged of holding an illegal demonstration in violent protect at Freedom Park, photos were uploaded to Facebook (Six CNRP member in jail, 2014) to share updated news and information and mobilize people to join demonstration. In addition, political party members created Facebook page like “I Love Cambodia Hot News” to upload video, photos, news and information about the demonstration in faster way. Besides this, they also uploaded news and information about their political party activities and policy and used Facebook to connect with internet users and gather other youth for political movement and change.

As we have observed in preparation of the research paper, there have been a few research papers which have generally analysed or specified the social media impact on political participation among the internet users. There have no research study about social media usage by politicians for participatory democracy building in Cambodia. Therefore, the objectives of this research is to study the user pattern and online activities of 22 politicians and to analyse 22 Facebook account/page owned by the politician respondents. The research on this topic would show on overall the effective role of Web 2.0 in Cambodia politics. We would address the motives of politicians in using Web 2.0 by looking at how politicians actually used it. We aimed to find out why these politicians are interested in using Web 2.0 for political connection with Cambodian citizens and how and to what extent this approach can make a better political condition in the term of participatory democracy building in the context of Cambodia.

Research Question:

Since the main objective of this study is to identify the impacts of Web 2.0 on participatory democracy in Cambodia, this study attempts to analyse whether or not politicians’ exploration in Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement with citizens leads participatory democracy. Therefore, it is really crucial to raise questions and answer these following questions:

1. How do Cambodian politicians use social media to connect with internet users?
2. Are Cambodian politicians using social media to engage with citizens and to know their problems and needs?
3. What are attitude and behaviour of politicians when using social media to connect and engage with citizens?

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4. What extent their exploration in Web 2.0 can build participatory democracy?

The purpose of these questions is to assess the effective roles of Web 2.0 in Cambodia politics. We discussed the relationship between Web 2.0 in politics and politicians. The key aim is to shed light on how Web 2.0 can enhance participatory democracy in Cambodia.

Significances

This research is very crucial for Cambodia since she is a new birth democratic country whose restricted access to mainstream media for varieties of news and chance for opposition and other political parties to have presence on the main stream media are still limited. The finding of this research will clarify/ raise awareness to general public, relevant institutes and other politicians that social media is used not only for entertainment and networking, but also for public platform to bridge the gap between politicians and citizens in purpose to build participatory democracy. So these findings can encourage other politicians, NGOs, other news institutes and political agencies to integrate social media for political campaign for the upcoming 2018 Cambodia National Election. In addition, the research findings will motivate readers and citizens to better make use of social media for accessing political news and information from politicians or their political party and commenting, debating, questioning or voicing their concern or needs as well as contributing their decision making in any political and social issues affecting them or society. This information helps citizens to exercise their freedom of expression as an active citizen in online community, and equip them some idea and background to choose the right leader. Moreover, the research findings will bring the awareness to government and other institutions like National Election Committee, The Committee for Free and Fair Election in Cambodia, other relevant institutes or NGOs on the importance of social media in building participatory democracy, so they will pay much attention to provide citizens and politicians from all parties to freely access, use social media, and share self-produced content, news and information and also give freedom to general public to express their voice, concern or constructive criticism to politicians and political party without political oppression, fear and law confrontation.

1.4 Research Methodology

The research ambitions are admittedly large and challenged because the project intends to study political practice of politicians in Cambodia. Content analysis was conducted to answer the research questions. We approached any politician in Cambodia who have a seat in National Assembly and also have their own presence on social media. We selected all of them for our

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study, which will make it possible to shed light on these big four questions. While our study requires slightly different methodological approach, the famous methodology qualitative is employed, aiming to explore and analyse the usage of Web 2.0 by politicians. Online questionnaire and content analysis were the main source of data. Online survey was also completed and was conducted in Cambodia and Portugal with various politicians from both ruling and opposition party. The focus of the survey was to study the online usage of social media for political connection and engagement; motivation and reasons of online usage; behaviour and attitude toward social media; and online communication for participatory democracy based on their own perspectives, our observation and political/ media experts' perspectives. Regarding this, the accounts of politicians in question were followed, their posts/sharing, comments were examined from a thematic perspective, and they were put to qualitative content analysis. We compared their answers from online survey with their real action on internet in order to analyse impacts of their online usage on participatory democracy. According Gökçe (2006) stated that the objectives of content analysis is "to analyse the texts produced and designed for public use" (p.20). Also, content analyse is "any technique for making inference by system artically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1968, p.608). Content analysis provides a method for obtaining good access to the words of the text or transcribed accounts offered by subjects (Glassner& Loughlin, 1987). According Skalski (2012), the content creation, content search, content archive and content coding are considered within the interactive media. This offers, in turn, a chance for the investigators or observers to learn about how subject or the authors of textual materials view their social worlds.

To deeply explore why politicians use Web 2.0 to connect with people and what extent their online communication can contribute to participatory democracy, we strictly followed three steps. First step, we followed or liked on Facebook page or account of politicians. We noted down the number of their post, comment, like, share and the content of them. The Second step, we conducted the qualitative method by using online survey. There are four main dimensions of our survey: (1) Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement; (2) attitude and behaviour towards social media; (3) reasons and motivation of their online usage (promote their party, mobilize people, allow discussion, debate, idea sharing...etc.); (4) impacts of Web 2.0 on participatory democracy (decisional making process, response to people's need or problem). We got 22 politician respondents (two from the ruling party) and we chose all politicians who filled in our survey to study. The third step, we analysed their answers from the survey and content of their Facebook. Then we compared their answers to their actual activities on Facebook in order to know whether they give us the factual answer. The last, we compared the answers from political/media experts with politicians' online activities to evaluate whether their exploration in Web 2.0 can build participatory democracy in Cambodia.

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Coding

The primary variables coded were for the frequency of the post; issue of the post; purpose of the post; content of comments or response to audience's comments. The frequency of post was categorised into numbers of status update, share, and comments per their status update. The purpose of the post including three categories: to connect and engage with people; promote a specific candidate and/ or political party; and interact with people. The issues of the post had three categories: civic and political issues; political parties' and politicians' activities; and personal content. Content of comments or response to the audience's comments has four categories: support, neutral, against, suggestions.

Sampling

Sample was taken out from the research population. In this research, "Purposive sampling" as mentioned in the website entitled "About Education" by Crossman (n.d.) stating that this sampling is based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study and some characteristics. Therefore, the official Facebook account of politicians who filled in the online survey were captured.

Before taking a close look at how politicians used Web 2.0 for political connection, a prior understanding of their social media usage and how often they used it is important. Since such information does not exist, we presented a sketch of the Cambodia politicians' usage of Web 2.0 from the online survey conducted. Out of the total 22 politicians participating in the online survey, there were 20 politicians (or 91%) from CNRP and 3 of them (or 14%) were female (*Table.1*). The reason that there are few CPP politician respondents because the number of CPP politicians owing Facebook is lower than CNRP. And most of them did not reply to our message. A few replied back, still they did not fill in the survey for some personal reasons. Most CNRP politicians own Facebook account and half of them had willingness to cooperate with us. Because of this reason, an implication of the results skewed towards experience of CNRP politicians.

Table 1: Sample characteristics:

Demographics (N=22)	Respondents	Percent
<i>Sex:</i>		
Male	19	86%
Female	3	14%
<i>Political Party:</i>		
CNRP	20	91%
CPP	2	9%

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Analysis:

A five-point Likert scale is used to indicate the level of their frequency (1. Never; 2. Rarely; 3. Sometimes; 4. Often; 5. Always) and quality of agreement (1. Strongly disagree; 2. Disagree; 3. Neither agree nor disagree; 4. Agree; 5. Strongly agree). We also used a dichotomy question (1. Yes, 2. No).

We compared the data from online survey with the data we got from our own observation to study the activities of politicians on internet. Then we compared the answer we got from observation with political/ media experts' answers.

All in all, we chose qualitative method for this research because it can allow deep exploration in politicians' online usage, reveal their purpose and motivation of using social media and dig out the impacts of their exploration on participatory democracy. Whereas, quantitative method is hard to explore the phenomenon of things happen, it can generalize the whole population, but it never get the profound description. Qualitative study demonstrated for this research is exploratory and descriptive, which stresses the importance of context and setting. And the qualitative method will provide the author with the in-depth information and understanding of informant (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

1.5 Structure of Research

This research study is structured into 7 chapters. The first part is the introductory chapter, giving a brief introduction to the research study---context, background, motivation, project, research problem and objectives, and research methodology. Chapter 2 examines the literature resources used relevant to this field of study. Unfortunately, we cannot find a research study about social media used by politicians, so much study have to be done based on other countries. This part comprises a background of media in Cambodia; motivation of social media usage; overview of participatory democracy; the use of social media in politics; the use of social media in promoting political party and participatory democracy; and developing participatory democracy by the use of internet. These scarce resources for this research topic requires us to find outside source from other countries such as Turkey, USA. Therefore, the literature resource contributing to our study are basically those reviewed from the research papers that have been written by experts in other non-Cambodia countries. We also reviewed some sources from internet websites and included the report and studies from various NGOs in order to find some related information for this study. The third to sixth part of the research present the result and discussion, analysing and interpreting of the data we performed through SPSS in order to attempt to answer the research questions. These parts analysed our findings and identified the possible impacts of Web 2.0. Chapter seven gave the conclusion and recommendation, aiming at proposing some constructive

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policy recommendations and suggestions to the government of Cambodia and drawing some suggested constructive recommendations for change. This study draws attention to the fact that while the Cambodia government wants to make cyber law for the internet users who use internet to defame and criticize the public figures and government officers, the study comes to the conclusion to improve the social media usage in Cambodia.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The concept of Web 2.0 started during a conference brainstorming session between O'Reilly and Media Live International in late 2004. Web 2.0 describes second generation of World Wide Web sites that use technology beyond the static page of earlier websites (O'Reilly & Tim, 2005). According to Web 2.0 Tools (n.d.), Web 2.0 is about revolutionary new ways of creating, collaborating, editing and sharing user-generated content online. These tools enable users to share user-created contents and interact with other users in an online community. A Web 2.0 site allows users to interact, share information online, and collaborate with each other in social media dialogues as a creator of user-generated content in a virtual community. Web 2.0 includes social networking sites such as Facebook and Myspace and other formats such as blogs, microblog and video sharing. Twitter and Facebook can fulfil politicians' need to communicate directly with voters for building their political image. Social media can be a powerful public platform for politicians and their supporters to connect with each other because no censorship.

Politicians can publish their self-produced content and varieties of information to clarify and response to the people's doubts and needs. This can serve several purposes such as 'market their candidacies, mobilize voters for the upcoming election, discussion politics or a combination' (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013). And the information of discussion, debate or self-promotion can reach to mass audience. This signals a democratization of the relationship between politicians and citizens.

To understand whether their exploration in Web 2.0 can build participatory democracy, it is important to understand the political situation in Cambodia, the context of social media, concept

of participatory democracy, and social media and participatory democracy in Cambodia and in other countries. This will give us more ideas and understanding on how and why politicians explore Web 2.0 to connect with citizens and build forms of participatory democracy.

2.2 Overview of Politics in Cambodia

With a population of over 15 million and total landmass 181,035 square kilometers, Cambodia is a country located in Southeast Asia and bordered by Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.

From the past 50 years, Cambodia experienced changing political regimes and went through civil wars. Until now, Cambodia have underwent five different political regimes. Cambodia was under French colonization for 90 years. Under the reign of King Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia gained independence from France on 9th November, 1953. Cambodia become a constitutional monarchy under the King Norodom Sihanouk and Cambodia known as Sangkum Reastr Niyum (Popular Socialist Community).

From 1970 to 1975, Cambodia was under Khmer Republic regime which later on was defeated by Khmer Rouge in 1975. From 1975 to 1979, Cambodia was under a dark age, Khmer Rouge Genocide also known as Democratic Regime. Under that regime, 1.7 million people were dead from starvation, disease and executions. The regime reduced social and economic development, and led Cambodia to year zero. In 1978, Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia in response to border raids by the Khmer Rouge and the regime also known as People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). Peace effort began in Paris in 1989, culminating two years later in October 1991 in a Paris Comprehensive Peace Settlement.

It took Cambodia many years before she managed to finally rebuild political system and election. Cambodia has become the Kingdom of Cambodia since 1993 in a framework of a parliamentary, representative democracy. According to Willemyns and Kuch (2015), the Paris Peace agreement signed in 1991 led to plural democracy in Cambodia with U.N. -run national election. The first free election started in 1993 and the Prince Norodom Ranariddh was the first Prime Minister and Prime Minister Hun Sen was the second Prime Minister.

Nowadays, the Cambodia politic takes place in the frame work of a constitutional monarchy where the King Norodom Sihakmony is the head of state, while the head of government is Prime Minister Hun Sen, who is currently the longest serving non-royal leader in South East Asia and has ruled Cambodia for 30 years. There Cambodia government is executive power, whereas National Assembly and the Senate exercise legislative power. P.M Hun Sen is a representative

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from the ruling party of the National Assembly and now he is officially the Head of Government after he won the 2013 national election.

According to news article by Fernquest (2015), in the 2013 election, the opposition CNRP challenged P.M. Hun Sen, winning 55 seats in the National Assembly and leaving Hun Sen's Cambodia People's Party with 68 in the 123-seat parliament, a sharp fall from its previous tally of 90.

The main opposition party rejected the results and boycotted the opening of parliament, claiming there voter fraud and irregularities. Sam Rainsy, CNRP's leader said that up to 1.3 million names had been missing from the electoral rolls and complained about lack of access to the media as well as intimidation on the campaign trail. Anti-government protest were ongoing in Cambodia started in 2013 until July 2014. Sam Rainsy called for the creation of a special committee including the representative from CPP and CNRP as well as local and international experts to investigate the allegation. While Cambodia government dismissed opposition demand for international probe (Cambodia rejects call for poll fraud inquiry, 2013).

Approximately 30,000 opposition demonstrators joined the demonstration, calling for the resignation of Prime Minister Hun Sen (Mech& Meyn, 2013). Demands to raise the minimum wage to \$160 a month for garment worker (Heng &Khoun, 2014) and opposition to Vietnamese immigration and influence in Cambodia (Hul& Wallance, 2014) contributed to the protests.

Ruling and opposition party planned talk to break a month-long political deadlock (Heng & Khoun, 2014). The CRNP agreed to enter the parliament and took its 55 seats in parliament, ending its year-long boycott over alleged vote-rigging and stepping on the road to political normality (Carmichael, 2014). After the political deal, PM. Hun Sen now becomes the world's sixth-longest serving leader behind Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

2.3 Overview of Social Media in Cambodia

The technology advancement has been provided people with a convenient way to communicate and use devices to serve their different purpose. Internet penetration in Cambodia has increased significantly over recent years. According to the Cambodia Ministry of Post and Telecommunication reported that at 19.1 million, there more Sim cards in Cambodia than people, 14.5 million. Facebook is a potential barometer of internet use (Greenwood, 2013).

The expansion of internet in Cambodia is largely overshadowed by the strong focus on mobile services. Owing to the infrastructure and economic constraint, Cambodia claiming one of the lowest internet penetration in the region. However, the market started to grow up in 2007

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when wireless broadband service appeared. Mobile broadband was increasing to fill the gap and boost online activity generally (Cambodia - Telecoms, Mobile, Internet and Forecasts, 2014). 'Online news and commentary and social media use is increasing recent years. This gives space for greater diversity of views' (Cambodia: freedom of press, 2014). According to Internet World Stats website there are 927,500 internet users (6% of all populations) in Cambodia in December 2013. Even though it is just a small amount of users (0.1%) comparing to other countries in Asia, the number of internet users in Cambodia keeps increasing gradually from year to year.

Social media like Facebook contributed to the incensement of internet users--has gained extreme popularity among the users over the past few years. In fact, there are 1, 420,000 Facebook accounts in Cambodia in 2014 (Immanuel, 2014).

2.3.1 Social Media in Cambodia National Election 2013

Social media has been used and integrated into election campaigning and other forms of political communication (Skogerbø, 2011). The Cambodia 2013 National election brought a new age of electoral politics. Internet played a pivotal role for politicians to connect with people. With the increased access to internet, the increase number of youth has been flocking to Facebook.

Politicians from both ruling CPP and opposition CNRP adapt to the technology advancement in order to capitalize on 'tech-happy youth'. "The efforts seems to have galvanized the vote especially in the direction of the CNRP" (Greenwood, 2013). Politicians and political party members explored Web 2.0 to connect with their supporters and voters who now have presence on social network community. To gain the popularity and support from public and citizens, the CNRP paid special attention on social media where it could circumvent a mass-media that is overwhelmingly controlled by the CPP and its supporters and allies (Greenwood, 2013). They are active in online activities such as posting their status, sharing and commenting on news online related to politics and social issues (Meyn, 2013). In addition, when there is big events or controversial issues happening, politicians post their idea, photos, video or share news on their timeline. Sam Rainsy and his CNRP gathered thousands of Facebook likes in the run-up election with 1,069,617 likes on his page alone, outpacing Prime Minister Hun Sen's 632,304. A hotly contested election came from the youth-those under 25 years old. The increase number of young people where 30 percent of the population between the ages of 15-24 participated in election campaign of CNRP. The CNRP's theme of "Change or No change," promise an end to the regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen gathering people from both cities and provinces to hold the mass demonstration for election fraud and irregularities (Greenwood, 2013).

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Greenwood (2013) reported that Facebook helped voters to get an independent news and information outlet that did not suffer from same restriction as the largely state-controlled media. Many supporters were angry when none of Cambodia's televisions covered opposition leader Sam Rainsy who returned from self-imposed exile only days before the election. Cambodians were confronted directly with the silence of the mainstream media. The mainstream media's self-censorship which is a consequence of both corruption and fear does not matter anymore. Photos and video of Rainsy's return, rioting in Phnom Penh's Stung Meanchey district, footage of indelible ink washing from the fingers of voter were shared and re-shared on Facebook and viewed by voters across the nation.

According to Greenwood' report, Committee for Free and Fair Election (COMFREL) Chairman Koul Panha said:

"The young voters share more. It is not only the CNRP, but the CPP also influences young people. Sharing things among themselves, they learn from each other, and then people start to follow which information that they think it is important," said Koul Panha quoted in Greenwood (2013).

Cambodian people will talk to their families, friends and whoever will listen about what they have seen and heard on the mass media and they are also talking about what they have seen on Facebook. There CNRP Facebook page "CPP Bashing" has over 7,000 members, all vocal about their disdain for the ruling party and its leaders. There also Facebook page of CPP against CNRP and there is also individual CPP supporters and politicians have used social media to express their won animosity toward political opponents (Greenwood, 2013).

After the post-election, the CNRP and CPP are still active on social media. Many comments on Cambodian Facebook groups express distrust, dislike or even hatred of the Vietnamese and the leadership of the current government. It is common to read the accusation that Vietnamese interfered in the July 28 election results. Social media is no longer a fringe element in Cambodia society. It is increasingly moving to the fore of the political process (Greenwood, 2013).

According to Kasztelan (2013) interviewed media specialist, Lack Vannak about Facebook usage during the election:

"Social media users also called on fellow Cambodians to return to polling stations and observe the ballot count. Young voters posted photographs of their own ballot count and were fearless in reporting irregularities. Seventy percent of all Cambodians are below the age of 35. Most of them have no recollection of the horrors of the Khmer Rouge regime. They are young and are not afraid to say what they think. Facebook became a place where they share and discuss the latest news. Using Facebook for political gains, however, does not come without a cost," a social media specialist at the Cambodian Centre for Human Rights," Lach Vannak said, pointing out that now voters will follow-up on campaign promises. "People begin recording what you promise

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and they will demand that you follow through,' he said. 'So Facebook could play a role in making the new government more transparent and accountable,' said Vannak, quoted in Kasztelan (2013).

According to 26-year-old political science graduate Ou Ritthy said that this trend goes beyond the elections. Ritthy, who is organizing informal discussions about politics for youth in Phnom Penh, believes Facebook is becoming a place for social justice and democracy debates and will eventually lead to a change in political culture (Kasztelan, 2013).

"We organize small meetings in real life, but the most significant conversations take place on Facebook. I like to post controversial statements and provoke an online discussion. Democracy was born out of discussion," he said. Ritthy thinks that young people using social media to talk about politics and current affairs are the future of Cambodia. 'They will be our leaders. And I am not only talking about political leaders. One day, they will be leaders of a family or a community,' said Rithy quoted in (Kasztelan, 2013).

According to Meyn (2013) reported that, "The idea that five year later, social media and particularly Facebook, would pose one of the greatest threats to the status quo in Cambodia politics would have seemed far-fetched."

2.3.2 Motivation of Social Media Usage

The research conducted by (Karlsen, 2011) showed the findings that there are three central motives politicians use social media. First, politicians use social media for marketing in purpose to increase the visibility of their candidacies and parties in the public sphere. Social media is also the platform to promote their politics and politicians can reach the group of voters such as young people than traditional media does. And Marketing in social media is more personal than in mainstream media. Enli and Skogerbø (2013) stated that sharing personal updates and picture attracted more attention from readers and voters than update with political statement. The second motive is mobilization. Enjolras et al. (2012) found that Facebook is an example of an efficient tool for mobilization. Greenwood (2013) reported that on July 30th, 2013 Sam Rainsy and Kem Sokha held a Buddhist ceremony at a memorial devoted to the victims of a deadly and politically motivated 1997 grenade attack. The CNRP posted the details and location of the ceremony a mere 30 minutes or so before it took place, hundreds of people showed up to attend the gathering. The third motive is dialogue. After the interview with politicians, Eli and Skogerbø (2013) found that social media provided the opportunities for them to dialogue with voters. And several of them claimed that they could get feedback on 'political issues, discuss politics more continuously and

engaging more voters than previous media'. While the studies of Johansen (2011) reported that dialogue was a central motive and expectation for other politicians. Similarly, Shirky (2008) claimed that this motive might 'echo techno-optimistic visions' about the emancipatory and democratic potential of communication.

2.4 Overview of Participatory Democracy

The concept of democracy extracted from Greek: demos (people) and Kratos (rule or governance) which mean 'people participate in making decision either directly or through electing their representative' (Kersten, 2003) or 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' (Heywood, 2002). (White, 1997) claimed that there are two types of participatory democracy: directive and representative. Representative democracy is used which people are being represented by the elected government officials. However, the representative type is challenged because there is a lack of trust in electing the representative in the society that has grown over-organized, hierarchical, and authoritarian. Representative democracy tends to limit the citizen participation to voting and leaving actual governance to politicians. This conditions push citizen participation. Participatory democracy implies that people participation is the most important quality of democracy. This creates the opportunity for all members of a political group to make meaningful contribution to the decision making in their country. Meijer (2011) stated that, "Democracy is not only about voting, about debate or about practice but about all three of these. Voting, debate and practice provide different venues for citizen input in public value production and distribution."

Similarly to Meijer, the Analects of Confucius by Leys (1997), democracy has complex demands which includes voting and respect for election results, but it also requires the protection of liberties and freedom, respect for legal entitlements and the guaranteeing of free discussion and uncensored distribution of news and fair comment.

Indeed, Sen (1999) distinguish three different ways in which democracy enriches lives of the citizens.

"First, political freedom is a part of human freedom in general, and exercising civil and political rights is a crucial part of good lives of individuals as social beings. Political and social participation has intrinsic value for human life and well-being. To be prevented from participation in the political life of the community is a major deprivation. The practice of democracy gives citizens an opportunity to learn from one another and helps society to form its value and priorities. Even the idea of "need" including the understanding of "economic needs" requires public discussion and exchange of information, views and analyse. In this sense, democracy has constructive importance, in addition to its intrinsic value for the lives of the citizens and its instrumental importance in political decisions," (Sen, 1999).

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Democracy has a plurality of virtues, including: i) the intrinsic meaning of political participation and freedom to achieve human wellbeing, ii) the instrumental importance of assuring governments' responsibility and accountability, and iii) the constructive role in value formation and understanding the need, rights and duties of citizens (Sen,1999).

So the definition of participatory democracy has emerged for genuine, popular or progressive forms of democratisation (Participatory Democracy and Public Participation (n.d.). Democracy imply that the people are in power and thus that all democracies are participatory.

According to Aragone and Sanchez (2006) defined participatory democracy a process of collective- decision making process that combines elements from both direct and representative democracy. Citizens have the power to decide on policy proposal and politicians assume the role of policy implementation.

“The electorate can monitor politicians’ performance simply by comparing citizens’ proposals with the policies actually implemented. As a result, the discretion of politicians is severely constrained. In this system, the extent to which citizens can affect policy and determine social priorities is directly aligned with the degree to which they choose to involve themselves in the process” (Aragone & Sanchez, 2006, p.1)

The participatory democracy provides opportunities to overcome the shortcomings of representative democracy by combing it with elements of direct democracy. In this system, citizens lead by making a policy proposal, which that elected representatives may subsequently decide to implement (Aragone and Sanchez, 2006).

Whereas, Lynd (1965) stated that participatory democracy is required to accomplish two specific goals:

“[...] that each individual takes part in all decisions affecting the quality and conduct of his/her life; and that society is arranged to promote the independence of human beings and to provide the means for their common participation” (Lynd, 1965).

2.4.1 Theory of Participatory Democracy

It is ideal thing to define the theory of participatory democracy for this research. Many scholars have defined the theory of participatory democracy based on their own research in each country. According to Hilmer (2008), “Participatory democracy theory envisions maximum participation of citizens in their self-governance, especially in sphere of society beyond those that are traditionally understood to be political (e.g. the workplace and the family).

“Participatory democracy refers to as a specific theory of democracy that seems to have originated with Arnold S. Kaufman’s call for a ‘participatory politics’,” (Hilmer, 2008).

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According to Mansbridge (1999) argued that the decline of participatory democracy theory is because of wanning of participatory democratic theory:

“The decline throughout the 1980s of participatory democratic practices popular in the 1960s and 1970s. Participatory democracy theory faded because grassroots practices faded,” (Mansbridge 1999).

Participatory democracy allows all members of a population to make meaningful contributions to decision-making. Since so much information should be gathered before making decision process to succeed, technology may provide potential force leading to the type of empowerment needed for participatory models (Shirky, 2008).

Aragone and Santiago (2008) conducted the European Economic Review about “Theory of participatory democracy based on the real case of Porto Alegre” aiming to understand how participatory democracy operates and to study its implication over behaviour of citizens and politicians and over the final policy outcomes. The research showed that a participatory system at local level is indeed possible and can successfully, but not without problems, help govern large communities. They analysed the process of participatory democracy by introducing a legislator or with the role of policy implementation, in a formal model of direct democracy. This political system is characterized by a relative autonomy between citizens and the legislator. They conclude that the main advantage of the system of participatory democracy is that it includes a plausible policy implementation mechanism and it constitutes a reliable channel for the transmission of information from the citizens to legislator about their preference. This is especially relevant when the legislator does not know the precise location of the media voter’s idea point. So the social welfare costs derived from making the wrong policy choice will tend to be much smaller under participatory democracy.

2.5 The Use of Social Media for Politics in Cambodia

The report of UNDP (2010) which is about Youth Civic Participation in Cambodia has used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. They conducted interview with around 2,000 young Cambodian respondents and they have used three techniques in qualitative method: focus group discussions, family discussions and in-depth interviews. They found that, “Only a few of youths in Cambodia have voiced their opinions to the public officials, either to government official or to NGO staff. Most of the time, those issues that they have raised up were ‘community issues’, ‘corruption’, ‘gangs’, ‘health and domestic violence’. Less than half of respondents used to talk about the political issues with other people. However, they were not engaging in political or policy approaches to address this issue.” This study also indicated that, “A number of young

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Cambodians were not exercising their rights to vote”. In 2007, youth aged from 21 up, 53% did not go to vote because they are “not eligible, no name on the list, busy at home/workplace or living far away from the commune office”. There is also a statistic showing that there are 93% of youth accesses to mobile phone, whereas only 6% have used the internet. And there is no finding about the number of youth using internet to get news or information since the internet penetration rate in Cambodia is still low comparing to other neighbouring countries.

Another research study conducted by Vorn (2012) about “Enhancing citizenship through new media” studied on the citizen side about how Cambodia youth use new media to empower themselves as an active citizen. The study employed qualitative research method by using in-depth interviews with 22 Cambodia youth who are active at least two of these medium: Facebook, Blog, news website or Youtube. The informants were selected from two groups, university and in employment. The finding showed that young Cambodians used new media such as blog, Facebook for engaging in four civic activities: (1) Voice their concern and opinion through new media; (2) Be attentive to the public issue by following news online and discussing with other people through news media; (3) Mobilize information for gathering people to join public action such as donating money, joining public events; (4) Promoting political policy and propagating political party. The research claimed that, “New media is a very powerful tool for politicians to propagate themselves and their political policies” (p.43). One of her informant who is an activist of the opposition political party used Facebook to promote the political party’s principle and propagate his political party as well as promote himself as the candidate for the future leader. People would be able to get more understanding on politics in Cambodia through new media. However, it seemed that new media is used by the political benefits than social benefit.

“Most of the politicians tend to use new media for propagating their political policy without caring about social benefit. They just want to take benefits for their politics. People can be propagated by different political parties on new media and if they tend to support that political party, at the end that political party will win the election, which shows the impact of new media on political action. So if we take a look deeply, it is seen that new media can be a potential tool to participate in political action, but it is also used by politicians to take the benefits from citizens” (Vorn, 2012, p.43-44).

Vorn (2012) claimed that the group of young Cambodians who use new media can ‘maintain social order’, ‘get updated currents events’ ‘ have patriotism’ and ‘be involved in politics’ (p.56). “Young Cambodians tend to voice their opinion through new media by commenting on social and political issue, advocating their citizens’ rights and contacting public officials,” (p. 56.). The research conclude that new media is crucial way to promote the democracy in Cambodia (Vorn, 2012).

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Research study by Peou and Chea (2011) on “Lack of rights-conscious citizenship or civic identity in transition? Civic engagement and attitudes of University students” employed a cross sectional survey with over 200 full-time students of a four-year program at a large public university in Phnom Penh found that the number of youths at university expressed their opinion via internet much higher than other media. They tend to be attentive to public issue by following up news online, talking to other people through new media and try to get updated current government and public affair. In addition, university students who can access to the internet to follow up the news through internet is much more common than newspaper. However, contrasting to Vorn (2012), this study stated that, “The youth lack of the activism demanded of rights-conscious citizen as in developed societies and exhibited a vague sense of civic attitudes, while their media usage did not appear to significantly influence their civic attitudes,” (Peou& Chea, 2011, p.9). The study also concluded that, “Civic identity promoted in Cambodia is based on a Western, individualized notion of citizenship and democracy, suggesting that cultural learning and change needs to take place alongside the fostering of civic engagement,” (p.9). Internet cannot improve the civic engagement in Cambodia and those people need to be trained and learn something about the citizenship and democracy alongside when they use internet to foster their civic engagement.

After going through these research studies, we decided to study about “How Cambodian politicians explore Web 2.0 to connect with citizens and build forms of participatory democracy”. Our research can clearly verify the claim whether social media is used for political benefit rather than social benefit as Vorn (2012) claimed. Vorn (2012) did not study on the politician’s side of Web 2.0 and she did not do the content analysis on their social media account. In addition, we would like to study in detail on her fourth finding, claiming that political activists used new media to promote political policy and propagate political party. We want to know whether their usage is a two-way communication allowing public to discuss, debate or providing space for people to join decision making process and whether politicians take people’s comments into consideration.

2.6 Related Work

2.6.1 The Use of Social Media for Political Participation

According to a study enhancing citizenship through new media by Vorn (2012), a group of young Cambodians also use new media as a tool to voice their opinion on social and political issues and contacting the political officials in two ways: ‘giving comments and advocating citizens’ rights’ (p.30). They tend to comment on political issue when they are not satisfied with

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what the government did and they also comment on social problems in the country. This provides them a chance to voice their opinion on social and political issue as well as personal thinking, which can be a way to release their ideas. Besides this, they also use new media as an important tool to advocate their rights as a citizens. When they do not like the policy and implementation of the government, they use new media to complain and criticise. Sometime, their content was heard by the main stream media and government who use social media. The research also claimed that contacting the government officer is also part of voicing opinion through new media. In fact, in the real world, young Cambodian people are challenged to connect with politicians due to their unavailability. However, new media gives them a chance to keep in touch with government officials. Similar to Vorn (2012), Turner-Lee (2010) also supported that people can express their civic idea and their freedom of expression via internet. If we look at the case in Cambodia, people can get both personal and social benefits since they can express their opinion, which reduce their stress and can break their spiral of silence. This means that they express their idea even though that idea was supported by the minority of people without caring about the majority's idea.

Another research about the Internet and Civic Engagement conducted by Pew Internet and American Life project found out that 31% of young people aged 18 and older in America, who are members of social networking site have engaged in civic and political activities online. And the research revealed that 15% of internet users have involved in political discussion. They have posted the comments on websites or blogs, posted material-videos content and pictures online-related to politics and created their own blog to find out more about politics.

Besides this, new media is a potential tool for politicians to promote and propagate their individual and political party. According to Harris (2009), internet is the important tool for youth engagement in “ formal politics and create new public spaces” and it is “ considered to be the main site for youth people to express their view about politics and create new pubic space for articulation and exchange of politically and socially engaged idea and activities” (p. 305). Therefore, using internet or social networking site can bring a chance for people to engage in civic and political activity (Smith, schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2009). By knowing the power of internet, young people use new media especially Facebook to engage in political action by promoting political principle and propagating political party to gain popularity and vote (Vorn, 2012). However, if look deeply, Vorn claimed that new media can be a potential tool to participate in political action, but it is also used by politicians to take the benefits from their citizens. If we take a look at the case of Arab Spring, Tunisian and Egyptian uprising created the Jasmine Revolution against the government through social media. They used Facebook as a tool to gather people to join the revolution and coordinate the first protest. Online media helped Tunisians and Egyptians to learn about actions taking place. It also influence their own decision to participate

in political protests the following days. And social networking sites provide new trend for the Arab world a chance for political change. As we already know, because of the effective and potential role of social media for revolution, a few countries such as China, Vietnam, and North Korea are not allowed people to use these medium.

2.6.2 The Use of Social Media for Promoting Political Party

The study about “The use of Facebook by political parties and leaders in the 2011 Turkish General Election” by Bayraktutan et al. (2014) accepted that Web 2.0 has a contribution to the development of citizenship culture. During the study, 9 Facebook accounts was recorded for 3 months and analysed by means of the quantitative and qualitative content analysis technique. This paper focuses on the opportunities offered by Web 2.0 used for election campaigning in Turkey, the mutual and interactive communication between the party and/ or the candidate and the voters for forming during the campaigning period and the qualities of the online communication between the candidate and competitor. The study revealed the possible converting effects of those practices of political parties by the usage of social media in the process of political communication. Facebook is one of the main means used by political parties and leaders for expressing, reinforcing and spreading political preference.

While the research study about ‘Personalized Campaigns in Party-Centred Politics’ by Enli and Skogerbø (2013) found that Facebook was used for personalized political marketing for their simple politicians. Most of Norwegian politicians presented activities on Facebook. Only 2 of 31 politicians did not have Facebook accounts and equally few did not have a public profile. While the adoption of Twitter was somewhat lower. 17 of the 35 sampled candidates in 2011 had Twitter account in the long-election period, 21 in the short and post-election periods. Based on measurement in activity, Facebook was used far more than Twitter. They posted altogether Facebook status updates and tweets and their voters clicked LIKE on the status update. Politicians like to use the medium that can reach the largest number of people, meaning that they chose to be where voters were, thereby strengthening the conceptualization of social media as a strategy for political marketing. What they posted on the Facebook and Twitter contained a link---a link to the candidate’s own Facebook-profile, directing voters to specific online sites promoting their candidacies. The finding of research also found that the largest group was linked to media coverage of the candidates’ campaign, following by the link to the politicians’ blog, the party’s website and other self-produced online material, including cross-promotion of various social media updates. The finding also supports other studies that have pointed to the high degree of marketing, self-promotion and communication with one’s own party in political social media

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communication. Politicians also have chance to comment on new stories and agenda of the traditional media. They can add an interpretation, a correction or a comment or promoting their own angle of their news story as well as against the journalist interpretation or correction quotation. This can help them to add a personal angle to the public stories, another trait of personalization. The second finding is that social media was used to mobilize and engage citizens in campaign-related activities. Mobilizing was a prominent practice in the Facebook-update than the Twitter. Facebook functioned as a 'strategic campaign tool', while Twitter came out as less campaign-sensitive. In addition, Enli and Skogerbø interviewed one candidate in 2009 parliamentary election who had many years of experience with online politics, remarking that there is a lot of good political discussion on Facebook.

Another research by Smith (2011) about "Social Media and Political Campaigns" found that Facebook in US had grown potentially since 2006 and now more than 51% of all Americans had a Facebook page. Social media was affecting potential campaigns. The research found that social media has played and will continue to play a significant role in political campaigns since there was significant use of social media in the 2008 president campaign by President Barack Obama, winning over John McCain in the 2008 president election. Research indicated that many politicians have adapted to those changes by creating new social media strategies.

Another study by Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) stated that implications were discussed for political use of online media for young adults. In past campaigns in US, Facebook users have expressed themselves such as making 'online donations', 'encourage friends to vote' or 'posting graphic or status updates' expressing their 'political attitudes and opinion'. While Twitter and blogs have been used by candidates and voters to comment on social and political issues, share information and encourage participation. Youtube and CNN teamed up to sponsor a debate in which the candidate took some question from 'user-created videos' on social media as opposed to a moderator, encouraging the emergent phenomenon of user-generated political video expression (Kushin& Yamamoto, 2010).

Another study by Smith (2011), during the 2008 election, Barack Obama had a large social media presence and he won the election. In subsequent years after the election, this urged other US candidates for political office to create their own presence on social media. This leads observers to question the correlation between social media and success in the presidential campaign. This shows that social media is becoming important for all political candidates and is not just a fad for the 2008 election. While, Graber's book about *Mass Media and American Politics* provided useful statistics about President Obama's use of social media in the 2008 campaign. These statistics show that Obama had 2 million Facebook friends, while McCain had

600,000. This showed that Obama used social media much more than McCain in the 2008 election.

Similarly, Carter and Levy (2012), during his presidential campaign, Mr Barack Obama and his campaign manager turned to social media as a way to reach out to constituents. It allowed Obama to hear that American public concerns on platforms that they felt comfortable sharing on. Obama's use of social media and his activation of people to help spread the campaign's message is one of the primary way he was so widely successful in raising funds and defeating Senator John McCain by a large margin on Election Day. One of the primary tools that Obama and his team used was Facebook page. After he became 44th president of the United States, his team continued to use Facebook as a mean of communicating directly with American public. The Facebook page is every active and there is usually one update or so per day. Obama Page is closed to allowing fans to publish or share on the wall. Everyone can still comments on, like, or share any update that Obama administration publishes. President Obama and the White House staff still continue to utilize this as a main source of communicating directly with the American people.

2.6.3 Develop Participatory Democracy by the Use of Internet

While the study conducted by Widodo (2011) about "The experience of NGOs in Indonesia to develop participatory democracy by the use of the internet" aims to understand the experience of NGOs in Indonesia to develop participatory democracy. The research employed the qualitative research method by using in-depth interview and case study on three NGOs in Indonesia. The study found that the main strategic uses of Internet of the NGOs are varied. There are similarities regarding the main characteristics of internet internal use within the NGOs. Internet is mainly used for communication and collaboration, workplace participatory democracy and consumption and production. However, the use of the internet for workplace participatory democracy does not correlate to the development of public participatory democracy. The papers concluded that the internet is a potential medium for participatory democracy. Internet contributes to the main characteristic of participatory democracy because website, mailing list or forum can push discussion and debate. And citizen journalism or community-based journalism is effective medium to develop participatory democracy.

Differently, the study about "Internet politics beyond the digital divide: A comparative perspective on political parties online across political system" by Calderaro (2013) explored the unequal presence of political party on the internet across 190 countries. The finding found that the unequal present of political parties on the WWW may reduce the plurality of the political landscape of a country. Digital divide, the economic and the democratic status are most significant

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for explaining how political parties are unequally present online worldwide. However, the Digital Divide is the least significant factor. Economic and democratic factors in each country matter more from the unequal presence of political parties online. The research concluded that the political party uses the internet mainly depending on the political frame work in which they are active. A high level of democracy implies a political life characterized by party pluralism and political competition. So, being online for political parties is important for competing in party competition system. The countries with high level of democracy, political parties are more likely to be online. A low level of democracy implies a limited role of party competition in national political life, making parties less likely to be active in campaign in online. The use of the internet is spreading across countries and diverse political systems. The internet will not be equally used to practice politics across countries. Rather, the use of the internet to practice politics adapts to the context in which it is used. The study showed that the use of the internet for political parties is determined more by the specificities of country's political systems than by conventional understanding of the Digital Divide.

Because of the argumentations among research studies, we want to explore the role of Web 2.0 for politics in Cambodia in order to know whether or not Web 2.0 is an effective media to build forms of participatory democracy in the context of Cambodia when the number of people who can access to internet is increasing.

2.7 Conclusion

Based on previous studies, the use of social media for participatory democracy is situational. It depends on a country's political circumstances, the behaviour and attitude of politicians and their political strategy. Widodo (2011) also pointed out that different strategic use of the internet exist, so the implementation and achievement in respect to stimulating participatory democracy are different. Calderaro (2013) emphasized that the use of internet makes the political system of the countries diverse because people do not use the internet equally to practice politic and the use of the internet to practice politics adapts to the context in which it is used. The use of the internet for political parties is determined more by the specific of country's political systems than by conventional understanding of the Digital Divide.

It is seen that politicians' exploration in Web 2.0 is different from citizens' because their usage is more complex and political strategy is needed. The benefit of their exploration is also controversial because their usage can serve their political party's benefit or public interest or both. And their usage can impact the public decision during the election. According to Vorn (2012), the new media can be a potential tool to participate in political action, but politicians use it to take

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the benefits from their citizens. The benefits that she mentioned is promoting/ propagating political party.

In sum, it is clear that building participatory by the use of Web 2.0 is determined predominantly by three factors: political circumstances, the behaviour and attitude of politicians, and political strategy. Thus, it is worth exploring whether building forms of participatory democracy by the use of Web 2.0 in the context of Cambodia has same characteristics. Research study on “How Cambodian politicians explore Web 2.0 to connect with citizens and build forms of participatory democracy” opens up a new field of inquiry around the political practice of Cambodian politicians. The core contribution of the above research studies gives us dimensions to political exploration we will discuss in the chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Chapter 3

Web 2.0 for Political Connection and Engagement

As stated in Chapter 1, this study is based on one of four dimensions: Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement; reason and motivation of online usage; behaviour and attitude of politicians towards Web 2.0; and impacts of Web 2.0 to participatory democracy building, which appear to be the main factors influencing the use of Web 2.0 for participatory democracy. In this chapter, we will discuss only Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement, an important dimension influencing participatory democracy building. The other three dimensions will be addressed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

As this research deals with people professionally involved in politics, especially a holder of an elected office in Cambodia National Assembly, it is very tempting to just label them with generic term 'politician'. 'Politician' is one of the most used concept especially in political system. As a person who is involved in influencing public policy and decision making and holds decision-making positions in government by the mean of election is labelled as 'politician'. In this study, we have also used this term, 'Politicians' just as a person who have a seat in the National Assembly by the mean of election. So it pays to describe how we understand and, from now on, consider it as a theoretical concept in our study.

Our results from the empirical analysis indicate that Web 2.0 shapes the political connection and engagement between politicians and internet users. The interest and presence of politicians from the ruling and opposition party have driven Web 2.0 especially Facebook in a direction that benefit them politically. It is seen that social media plays an important role for political connection in developed countries like the USA. In Cambodia, before, during and after National Election

Web 2.0 for Political Connection and Engagement

2013, social media has been used for political connection and engagement between politicians and citizens. According to Mass Communication and Society study, the ability to express political views and opinions online is important--- allow users to seek information and interact with others through online expression (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010). In the globe, social media is used as a platform to convey message of 'riots organization, agency, and participation', which leads to big impacts to the political and social life of the countries (Bogdan & Monica, 2014). In fact, in Cambodia, Facebook is used by politicians for political purpose. Based on online survey and our observation, all politician respondents used Facebook, almost all of them used Youtube, few used Twitter and every few used Blog. Because all of them used Facebook and Facebook is an outstanding media for the political campaign during Cambodia National Election 2013, we decided to study only Facebook. A total of 22 Facebook accounts / pages of politicians were followed and all information on their Facebook was recorded and examined.

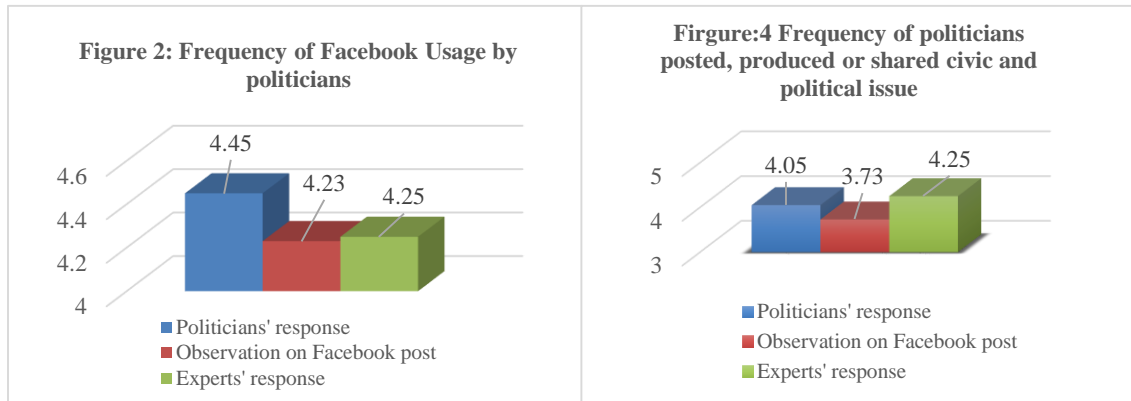
In this chapter, we illustrated the frequency of their social media usage and level of political connection and engagement by comparing the data from politicians' response with data we got from observation on their activities on internet. We did not employ any indicator to adapt, but we created criteria to observe politicians' activities and record data (*Table 2 in Appendix A*).

To measure the frequency of their Facebook usage, each politician respondent was asked to determine the frequency of their online usage and then we compared their answers with their action on internet. To illustrate the quality of their online usage for political connection and engagement, we allowed political experts to evaluate their online practices. Based on our observation, all politician respondents had experienced using social media. Facebook is the most frequently used by the politicians. Out of the total 22 respondents, 7 politicians (32%) used Facebook on all occasions (everyday), 13 politicians (59%) used it on a regular basic, while 2 politicians (9%) used Facebook on an occasional basic (a few times a week), see *Figure 1 in Appendix B*. By comparing a mean score of our observation with one of politicians' answers, we conclude that politicians used Facebook on a regular basic (*Histogram 1 in Appendix C*). Similarly, political experts also suggested politicians to use Facebook on a regular basis (*Figure 2*).

The next variable was the issue of post, which had three categories: civic and political issue, political party's activities, and personal content. Based on our observation, 4 politicians (18%) posted, produced or shared civic and political issues on all occasions, 10 politicians (45%) on a regular basic, while 6 politicians (27%) on an occasional basic. Only 2 politicians (10%) rarely posted, produced or shared these issues (*Figure 3 in Appendix B*). Based on politicians' response, politicians posted, produced or shared civic and political issues on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.05), while based on our observation, politicians did it on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.73) (*Histogram 2 in Appendix C*). Whereas political experts responded politicians

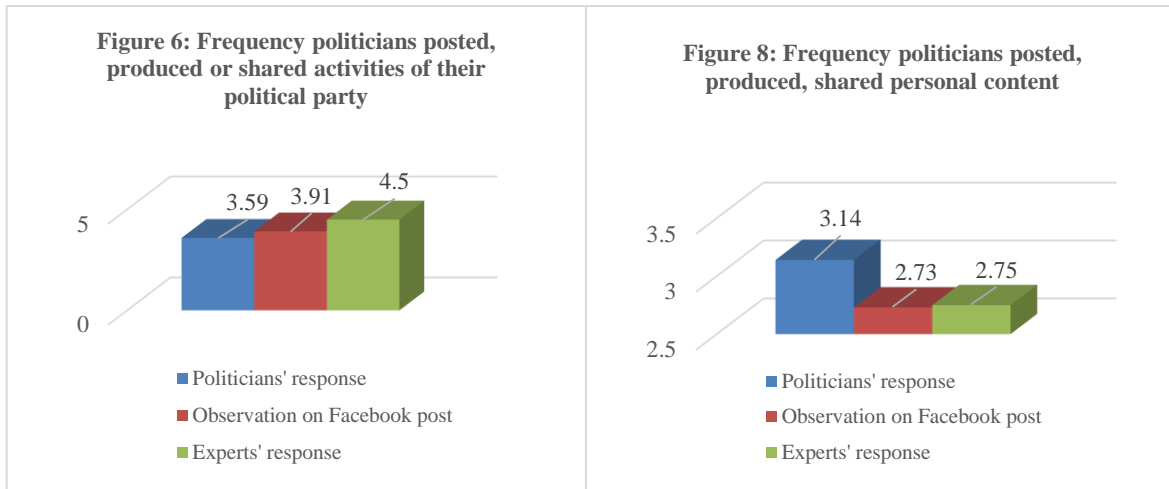
Web 2.0 for Political Connection and Engagement

should post, produce, share civic and political issues on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.25) (Figure 4).



All politicians also posted, produced, or shared the activities of their political party such as meeting with local people, party trip, mission, training, inauguration, opening ceremony, etc. Through our observation, none of politicians has never posted, produced or shared the activities of their party. 4 politicians (18%) posted, produced or shared their political party’s activities on all occasions, 12 politicians (55%) on a regular basic, while 6 politicians (27%) on an occasional basic (Figure 5 in Appendix B). Politicians responded that they posted, produced or shared activities of their party on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.59). Based on our observation, politicians posted activities of their party on a regular basis (with a mean score of 3.91) (Histogram 3 in Appendix C). While based on political experts’ response, it showed the satisfied result that politicians can use social media for party/ self- promotion on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.5) (Figure 6).

Politicians also posted, produced or shared their personal content such as their holiday trip, activities at home, family time, party, or other entertainment photos. We observed that only one politician respondent posted, produced or shared personal content on all occasions, two (9%) on a regular basic, while 13 politicians (59%) on an occasional basic. While 6 politician (27%) rarely; and only one (5%) never posted, produced or shared personal content at all (Figure 7 in Appendix B). In histogram 4, based on politicians’ response, politicians posted, produced or shared their personal content on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.14), whereas based on our observation, politicians rarely posted, produced or shared their personal content (with a mean score of 2.73) (Histogram 4 in Appendix C). Looking at the political experts’ response, they suggested that politicians rarely post, produce or share personal content (with a mean score of 2.75) (Figure 8).

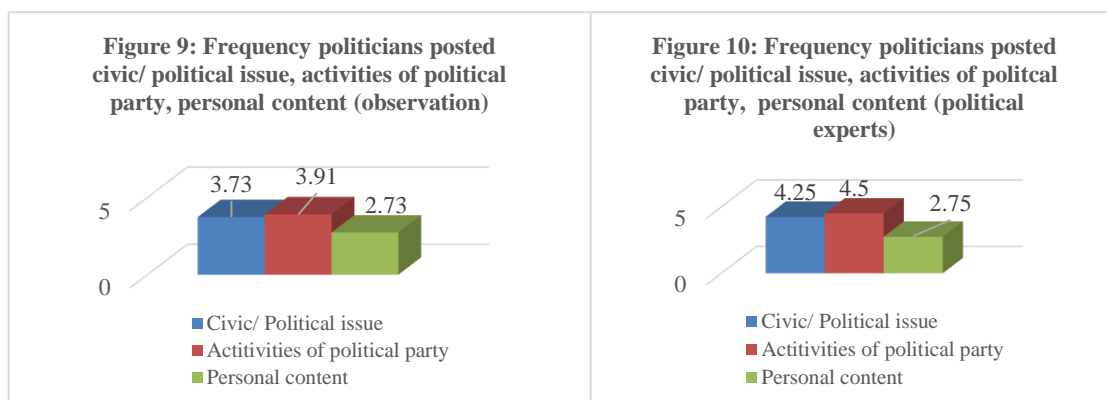


3.1 Content of Post for Political Connection and Engagement

Based on research results, we can conclude that most of politicians used Facebook on a regular basic as an information provider and receiver to connect and engage with people or voters. Through their online activities, they produced, posted or shared (1) civic/political issues; (2) activities of political party; and (3) personal content. Based on our observation, of all the three types, activities of political party was the most frequently post on their timeline (with a mean score of 3.91 (Figure 6). Using Facebook to connect with people by producing or posting political/ civic issue came a close second (with a mean of 3.73) (Figure 4). Producing or sharing personal content was the activity with least frequency among politicians (with a mean score of 2.73) (Figure 9).

Based on this, we can claim that politicians use Facebook to share activities of their political party to people, young voters or supporters the most frequently. Through our observation on their Facebook for three months, the content of political party’s activities is about meeting/ visiting local people/ community, training, public discussion...etc. accompanying with photos, video and message, mostly telling about the place and goal of event as well as its result. Their Facebook friends clicked LIKE or posted comment on their post. Based on political experts’ response, they suggested that politicians should use Facebook and post, produce or share the civic/ political issue, and activities of political party on a regular basic. However they do not suggest politicians to post, produce or share their personal content on a regular basic. All of the three, frequency of posting, producing and sharing activities of political party is the highest one (Figure 10). This showed the satisfied result that political experts support politicians to use Facebook for political purpose.

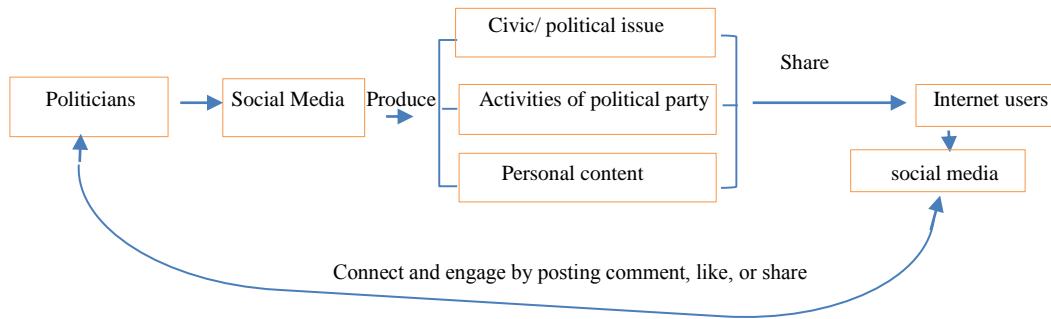
Web 2.0 for Political Connection and Engagement



According to Eli and Skogerbø (2013), media and voters are the reason why politicians were or should have been active on social media. Politicians who need the voters the most are the most active users on social media. They use social media to turn their followers and fans into voters and activate their networks for campaign purposes. Social media fit into long-term ongoing processes where political communication has become increasingly focused on personalities and personal traits of politicians. With the use of social media, politicians have to meet the demands to share both their public image and their personal or private sides. Unavoidably, these processes blur of the border between the political and the private, the public and the personal. However, according to Carter & Levy (2012), as Facebook continues to grow, it becomes less and less purely personal network. It is not the network people go to just relax at the end of the day and catch up with a few friends or check out family photos. Nowadays, many people use Facebook as part of their online reputation management and personal/professional branding strategy.

Based on our observation, most politicians did not use social media for personal and private sides since they rarely posted their personal content to connect and engage with internet users. We can argue that Cambodian politicians used social media for political connection and engagement rather than for fun and entertainment. Social media maximizes the chance for political parties (both ruling and opposition) in Cambodia who are now tap into social media to share people the activities of their political party in purpose to connect and engage with them. According to Smith (2011), social media plays an important role in political campaigns. It is claimed that posting activities of political party provides them a chance to expose themselves to people by sharing their political party policy, activities, implementation, all of which are crucial for internet users to learn about their party. Also politicians can learn whether people support or against their political practice through their comments---support, feedback or critics, which is important for politicians to adapt or change political strategies.

Figure 11: Social media as a political connection and engagement



Chapter 4

Motivation and Reason of Online Usage

In addition to Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement outlined in Chapter 3, we will discuss motivation and reason of online usage in this chapter. Why do Cambodia politicians explore Web 2.0 to connect with people and what motivates them to use it?

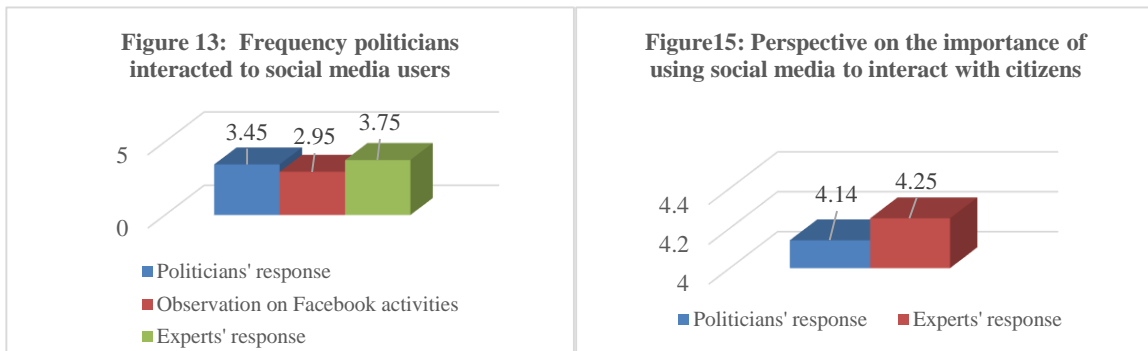
Social media like Facebook has gained extreme popularity among the internet users over the past few years since more people can access to internet through mobile phone. In fact, there are 1, 420,000 Facebook accounts in Cambodia in 2014 (Immanuel, 2014). Before Facebook was used for personal communicating with others, but now increasing numbers of politicians and government institutes have been using this site to engage and connect with public. This encourages politicians from both ruling and opposition party to have their own presence on social media to benefit it. The growing popularity of social media has renewed research interest in use and gratification in order to understand the motivation and reasons behind the use of social media among politicians. To deeply study their motivation and reason, we created criteria for observation (*Table 3 in Appendix A*).

We used a five-point Likert scale to observe the level of their interaction with social media users. Based on our observation, among of 22 politician respondents, 8 politicians (36%) rarely interacted with citizens, while 8 politicians (36%) interacted on an occasional basic, 5 (23%) on a regular basic and only one (5%) on all occasions (*Figure 12 in Appendix A*). In the study of histogram 5, the level of their interaction based on our observation (with a mean score of 2.95) is lower than one of politicians' answer (with a mean score of 3.45). This comparison showed us

Motivation and Reason of Online Usage

that politicians interacted with citizens on an occasional basic. Based on political experts' perspective, they suggested politicians to interact with citizens on a regular basic (with a mean of 3.75) (Figure 13).

Politicians agreed that it is important to use social media to interact with people. 9 politicians (41%) agreed, 8 (36%) strongly agreed, while 5 (23%) neither agreed nor disagreed (Figure 14 in Appendix B). This revealed the positive result that politicians found it important to interact with citizens (with a mean score of 4.14) (Histogram 6 in Appendix C). Figure 15 showed that political experts also had almost the same idea as politicians did (with a mean score of 4.25) (Figure 15).



Because Facebook is timely media and internet can be accessed by Cambodia youth in both cities and provinces, social media is used as a tool to produce, share and/ or get news, information, opinion, concern from different parts. We observed that 6 politicians (27%) used social media to produce, or share news, information, opinion or concern to citizens on all occasions, while 8 (36%) on a regular basic, 7 (32%) on an occasional basic and only one (5%) rarely did it (Figure 16 in Appendix B). Histogram 7 showed the positive result that majority of politicians produced or shared news, information, opinion or concern to social media users on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4), while based on our observation, they did it on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.86). Political experts suggested that politicians should produce or share news, information, concern, opinion to citizens on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.5), which is quite different from one of our observation (with a mean score of 3.86) (Figure 17).

Through our online survey, all politicians showed their agreement that using social media to produce, or share news, information, opinion, concern to citizens is important. 12 politicians (55%) strongly agreed, while 10 (45%) agreed (Figure 18 in Appendix B). It revealed the positive result that all politicians agreed (with a mean score of 4.45) (Histogram 8 in Appendix C), which is quite similar to political experts' perspective (with a mean score of 4.25) (Figure 19).

Motivation and Reason of Online Usage

Figure 17: Frequency politicians produced or shared news, information, opinion, concern to citizens

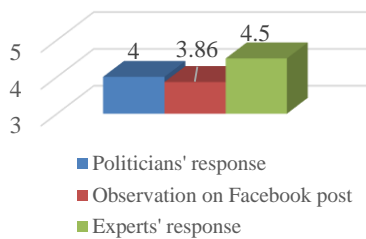
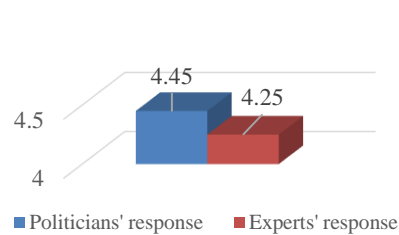


Figure 19: Importance of using social media to produce news, information, concern, opinion to citizens



However, one of the purpose of producing and sharing news, information, opinion, concern to people is to promote the image and reputation of their party. Through our observation on each post, none of them never used social media to promote their political party. 4 politicians (18%) used social media to promote their party on all occasions, while 13 (59%) on a regular basic and 5 (23%) on an occasional basic (*Figure 20 in Appendix B*). The majority of politicians have experienced using social media to promote their party through their online activity on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.05), whereas based on our observation, they did it with a mean score of 3.95 (*Histogram 9 in Appendix C*). According to political experts' perspective, they suggested that politicians should use social media to promote their political party on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4) (*Figure 21*).

Based on politicians' response, most of politicians have the same perspectives on the importance of using social media to promote their political party. 10 politicians (45%) strongly agreed, and 10 (45%) agreed, one (5%) neither agreed nor disagreed, while another one (5%) of them disagreed that it is important to use social media to promote political party (*Figure 22 in Appendix B*). However, it showed the satisfied result that most politicians agreed (with a mean score of 4.32) (*Histogram 10 in Appendix C*), which is quite similar with political experts' perspective (with a mean score of 4.25) (*Figure 23*).

Figure 21: Frequency politicians used social media to promote their political party

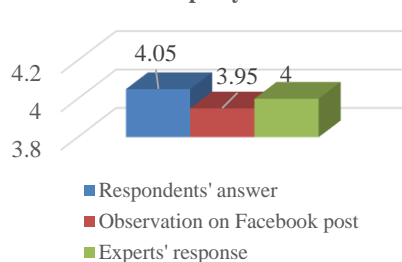
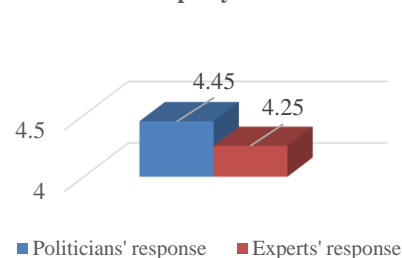
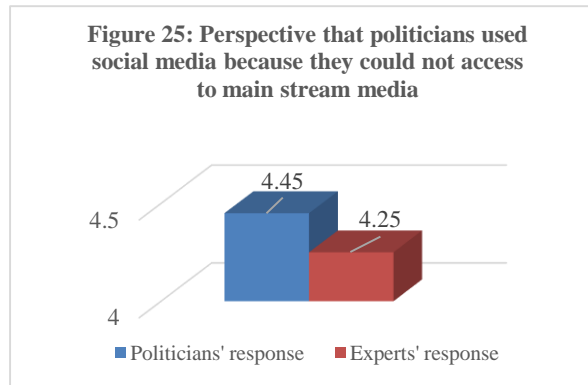


Figure 23: Perspective on the importance of using social media to promote their political party



It is observed that politicians who rarely expose to main stream media such as TV, Radio and newspaper have own presence on social media, mostly Facebook. Based on the survey with 22 politicians, 8 politicians (36%) agreed that they used social media because they did not have access to main stream media, while 11 (50%) strongly agreed, 3 (14%) neither agreed nor disagreed (*Figure 24 in Appendix B*). Most politicians agreed that they used social media because they did not have their own presence to main stream media (with a mean score of 4.36) (*Histogram 11 in Appendix C*), which is similar with the perspective of political experts (with a mean score of 4.25) (*Figure 25*).

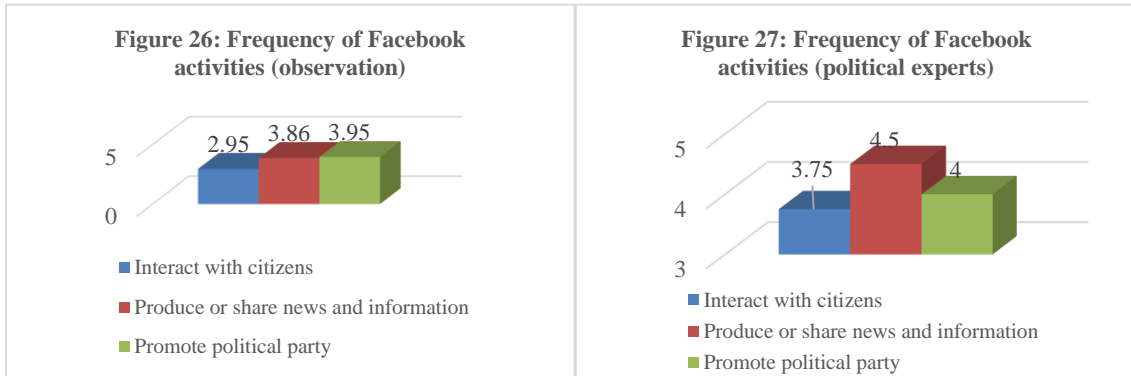


4.1 Motivation: Political Opportunities

Social media provides the political opportunities to Cambodia politicians. Comparing to other media tools, social media considered as an effective media tool for politicians to share their idea, opinion and express their concern. From normal communication to political discussion takes place on the site (Meeting Cambodia politician on the internet, 2010). Social media has been used as political campaign to spread information and inform their political supporters and voters through status update, video, news sharing...etc.

Based on politicians' response and our observation as well as textual analysis, it is seen that politicians used social media because social media can provide them chances to (1) interact with people; (2) produce, share news, information, concern, and opinion to people; and (3) promote their political party. All of three reasons, promoting the political party was the most common among the politicians (with a mean score of 3.95); producing, sharing news and information, concern and opinion to citizen came a close second (with a mean score of 3.86), and interacting with citizens using social media was the least common among the politicians (with a mean score of 2.95) (*Figure 26*).

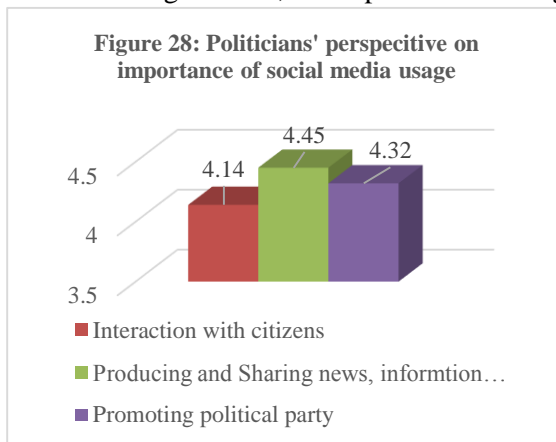
Whereas political experts suggested that using social media to produce, share news and information, concern and opinion to people should be the most common (with a mean score 4.5); promoting the political party (with a mean score of 4) should came second, and interacting with citizens (with a mean score of 3.75) should be the least common (*Figure 27*). This study showed that politicians used social median as a mean to promote their political party more than to produce, share news, information, concern to people or interact with them.



Social media maximizes the political opportunity and provides politicians an equal chance to have their own presence in online community to reach citizens and demand for the party’s popularity. Comparing to the traditional media like newspaper, it takes them much time to get the news and information today and it is also hard for them to express their opinion since it is censored. In fact, by using social media, the opposition party, CNRP made substantial gains against the ruling CPP party, which has held an iron lock on power for decades. Carlson (2014) reported that dissenters of CPP leaders were able to form a community online and voice their criticisms of the CPP through social media platforms, which led to the CPP only winning the July election by a small margin. And CPP leaders were caught off guard—not expecting the Internet to have such an impact on the elections.

4.2 Reason: Lack Access to Main Stream Media?

Currently, the CPP controls most media outlets—including television, radio, and newspaper—in order to censor news, events such as peaceful protests and displays of government opposition are perfectly hidden from the public on these media platforms, making the internet the only source of uncensored information for citizens (Carlson, 2014). Through our study, all of politician recognized the benefits of using social media. Among of these, the importance of using social media to produce, share news, information, concern, opinion to citizens is the most common among politicians (with a mean score of 4.45), while using social media to promote their political party came second (with a mean score of 4.32). The importance of using social media to interact with people is the least common (with a mean score of 4.14) (Figure 28). Why did politicians produce or share activities of their political party more often



than to produce or share news, information, concern, opinion to citizens even they know that it is the most important? Politicians agreed that they used social media because they did not have access to main stream media. So social media is considered an effective platform to promote their political party. According Carlson (2014), many media both print and broadcasting in Cambodia are controlled by the CPP, a hybrid ownership of government and private company who is the CPP's allied. TVs in Cambodia are generally tied to political parties or industrial concern; some press seems written less for the general public than for politicians and other insiders. It is observed that political institutes do not encourage and provide much chance for public to discuss politics or question the politicians directly.

The opposition party and other parties do not own any TV station, so the chance to broadcast information campaigns and political party activities is quite low comparing to the one of ruling party. Similarly, Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) (2012) reported that, "Media in Cambodia continued to be extensively controlled and dominated by the ruling party led RGC (Royal Government of Cambodia), disadvantaging oppositional and dissenting voice and limiting the development of a plural political discourse". Also, Freedom of the Press (2014) ranks Cambodia's media as "Not Free". The 2014 World Press Freedom Index ranks Cambodia 144th out of 180 countries. Similar to the general condition of freedom of expression in Cambodia, Cambodia for Human Right (2013, p.13) stated that, "Freedom of media has experienced a concerning decline."

In fact, social oppression and lacking of access to main stream media prohibit public and politicians to connect with each other comprehensively and effectively. Because of lacking access to the main stream media, social media, especially Facebook is widely used by the opposition party and its members as well as their activists before, during and after National Election 2013. The ruling party, their members and activists also have their own presence on social media too. Through our observation on their post for three months, none of them never used social media for political purpose. However, according to the news report by Phnom Penh Post, 'Prime Minister Hun Sen said that he has no interest in social media popularity contest with CNRP opposition leader Sam Rainsy, following revelations that the self-exiled opposition leader' Facebook popularity was soaring' (Vong, 2013). However, the CPP page and Prime Minister Hun Sen Page become noticeably more active until now even the national election was over. Throughout the election campaign, the CNRP Facebook page was regularly updated with the photos of Mr Sam Rainsy and Mr Kem Sokha, inspirational message, news and information alerting youth to fight for social change. While the CPP page provided the information about Prime Minister Hun's meeting, inauguration, development, other tourism places and public events.

Until recently, there haven't been many outlets where people and politicians can connect and communicate with each other freely and costless beside social media. Social media users can get varieties of news and information from both political parties and even connect and interact with politicians through like, comment, message or share. Based on the study, it is claimed that the

Motivation and Reason of Online Usage

motivation and reasons that politician used social media is that social media could give them a chance to share news, information, opinion, and concern to people and interact with them in two way- communication. What is the most important is that they can have equal chance to presence in online community and promote political party. It is observed that promoting political activities and interacting with people through main stream media is quite hard for opposition party, but it is possible for them through social media like Facebook.

Chapter 5

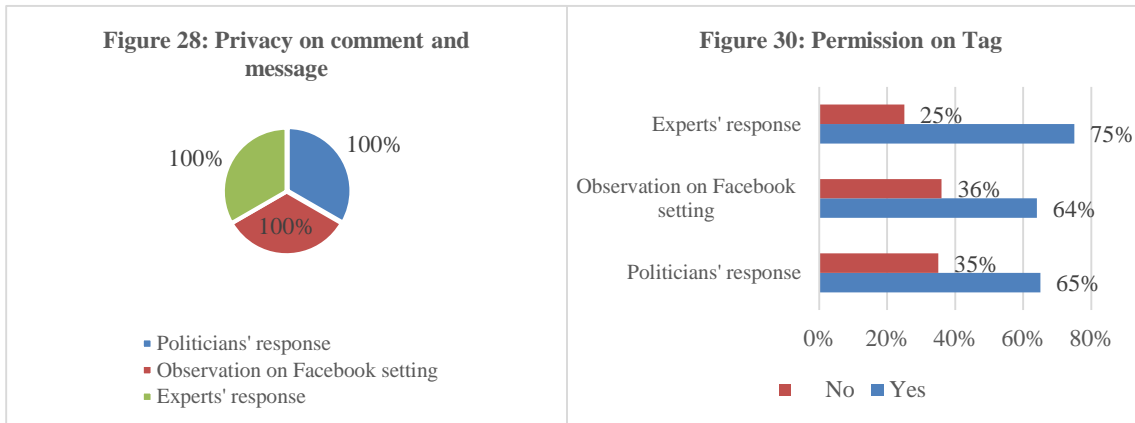
Behaviour and Attitude of Politicians towards Social Media

The growth of online political behaviour has been facilitated partly by emergence of new interactive, media-rich Web sites. These web sites referred to as social media exist under umbrella of Web 2.0. Web 2.0 is valued in proportion to their capacity to harness the participation of online communities in the production, amalgamation and exchange of information (O'Reilly, 2005). In this section, we studied the behaviour and attitude of politicians by creating some criteria to observe their activities on internet (*Table 4 in Appendix A*). We used a five-point Likert scale to measure the level of the agreement scale for a series of statements.

According to politicians' response and our observation on their Facebook account, all 22 politicians (100%) allowed internet users to comments on their post and send them a message even they are not their Facebook friends (with a mean score of 1) (*Histogram 12 in Appendix C*). Also political experts supported that all politicians should allow citizens to comment and message (*Figure 28*).

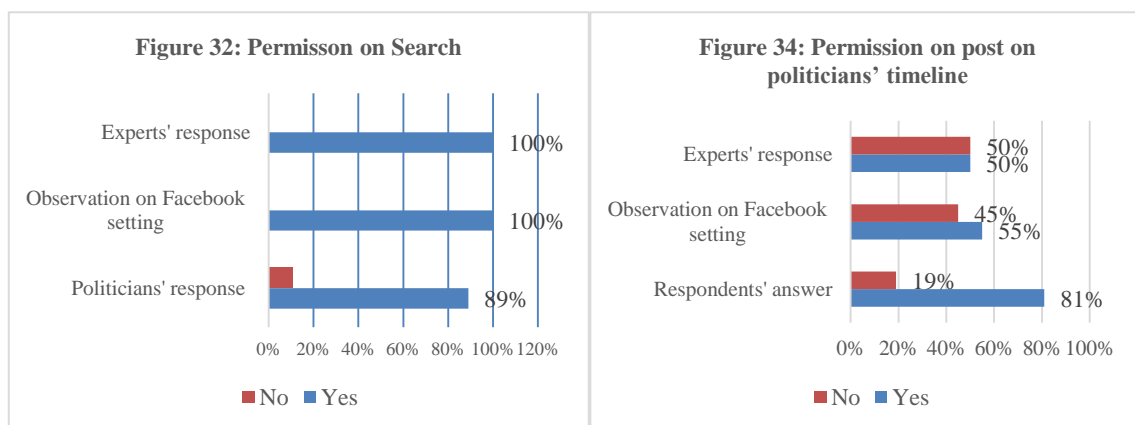
However, not all politicians allowed internet users to tag photos, videos or posts on their timeline. Histogram 13 showed the level of tag privacy between politicians' response (with a mean score of 1.35) and our observation (with a mean score of 1.36), which is almost the same (*Histogram 13 in Appendix C*). We observed that 14 politicians (64%) allowed people to tag, 8 (36%) did not allow (*Figure 29 in Appendix B*). Based on the political experts' perspective, 75% of them suggested that politicians should allow social media users to tag (*Figure 30*).

Behaviour and Attitude of Politicians towards Social Media



When we typed their name on search tool, we could find all 22 politicians on Facebook. 100% politicians allowed internet users to search them (*Figure 31 in Appendix B*). However based on their answer, only two said that they did not allow internet users to search them (with a mean score of 1.11). Based our observation, it showed satisfied result that all of them (100%) did not set “Search Privacy” (with a mean score of 1) (*Histogram 14 in Appendix C*), which responded to political experts’ respective (*Figure 32*).

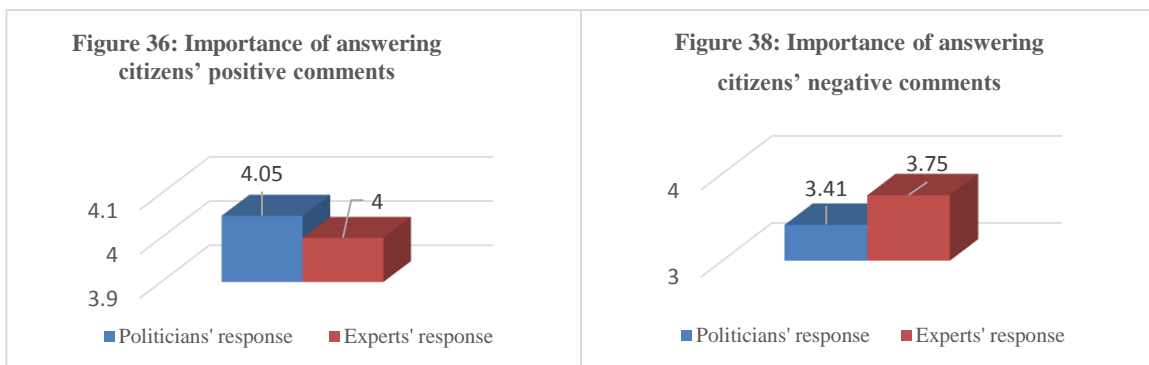
It is quite open-mind that politicians allowed internet users to post on their timeline since all the information posted might be seen by their friends or public based on their privacy setting. We checked politicians’ Facebook timeline, and we noticed that 12 politicians (55%) allowed citizens to post on their timeline, while 10 (45%) did not (*Figure 33 in Appendix B*). Politicians checked the content people posted first, and then they decided whether or not they should allow it to appear on their timeline. Based on politicians’ response, most of them allowed internet users to post on their timeline (with a mean score of 1.19); however, when we observed their timeline by try posting something, we noticed that half of them set privacy (with a mean score of 1.45) (*Histogram 15 in Appendix C*). Political experts neither supported nor opposed that politicians should allow internet users to post on timeline. This showed the positive result that politicians can choose any choice (allow or not allow) (*Figure 34*).



Behaviour and Attitude of Politicians towards Social Media

Through our observation, all politicians allowed all internet users to comment, search, and message. However, there are both positive and negative comments posted by social media users. Based on our survey, 4 politicians (18%) neither agreed nor disagreed that it is important that they should answer to citizens' positive comments, while 13 (59%) agreed and 5 (23%) strongly agreed (*Figure 35 in Appendix B*). Histogram 16 showed the positive result that all politicians agreed on the importance of answering to citizens' positive comments (with a means score of 4.05) and none of them disagreed or strongly disagreed with this. Political experts also had the similar idea as politicians did (with a mean score of 4) (*Figure. 36*).

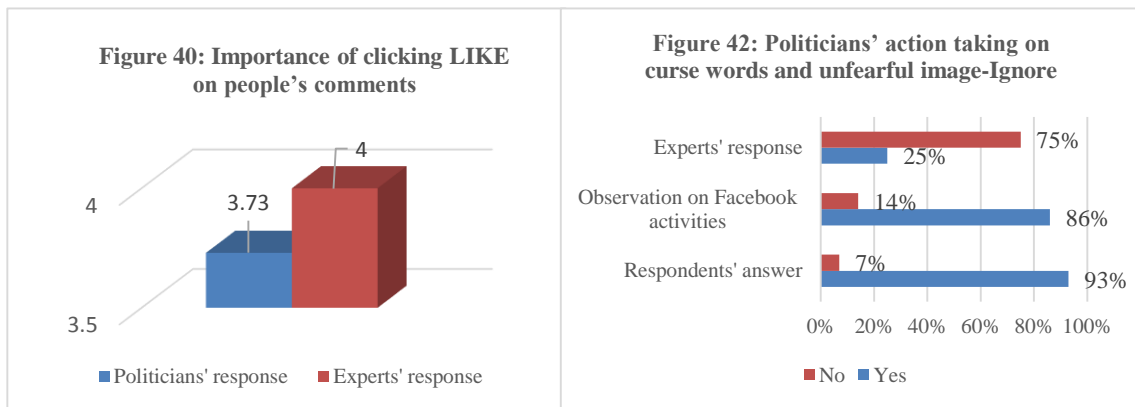
Besides positive comments, there are also negative comments that citizens responded to politicians' post. According to politicians' response, 12 politicians (55%) neither agreed nor disagreed that it is important to answer citizens' negative comments, 8(37%) agreed, one (4%) strongly agreed and only one (4%) disagreed (*Figure 37 in Appendix B*). *Histogram 17 in Appendix C* showed that politicians neither agreed nor disagreed (with a mean score of 3, 41), and political experts had almost the same idea (with a means score of 3.75) (*Figure 38*).



Besides answering to citizens' positive or negative comments, politicians also clicked LIKE on people's comments. Out of 22 politicians, 4 politicians (18%) strongly agreed that it is important to click LIKE on their comments, while 9 (41%) agreed; 8 (36%) neither agreed nor disagreed. And only one showed the disagreement (*Figure 39 in Appendix B*). In the study of histogram, the majority of politicians neither agreed nor disagreed (with a mean score of 3.73) (*Histogram 18 in Appendix C*), while political experts agreed (with a mean score of 4) (*Figure 40*).

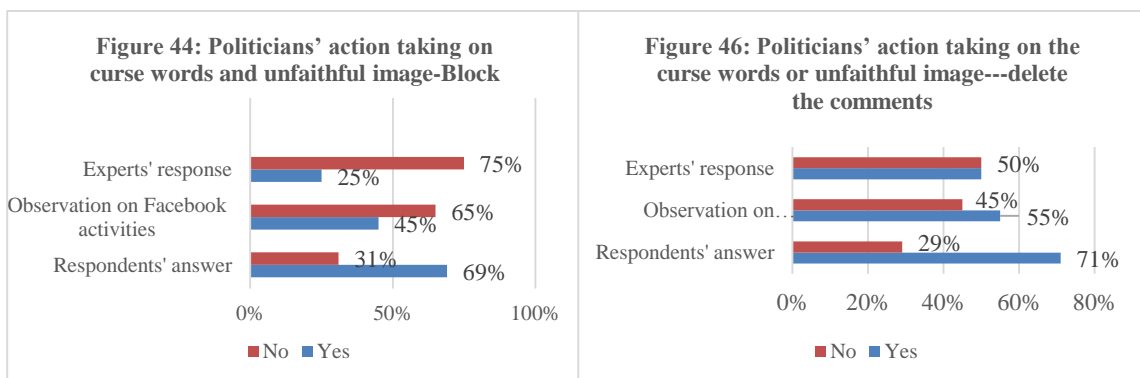
Based on our observation, some negative comments also include the curse words and unfaithful images to criticize politicians and their political practice. There are some tools politicians could take action with these comments. We observed that 19 politicians (86%) ignored those comments, while 3 (14%) did not ignore (*Figure 41 in Appendix B*). Histogram 19 also showed the unsatisfied result that majority of politicians ignored the curse words or unfaithful images (with a mean score of 1.07), which is similar to the mean score of our observation (1.14)

(Histogram 19 in Appendix C). However, based on political experts’ perspective, politicians should not ignore those comments (Figure 42).



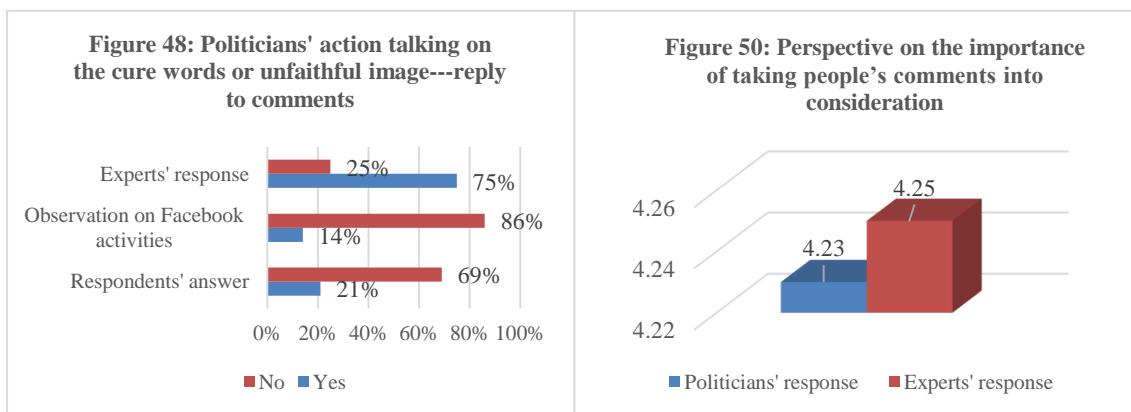
Another tool to control these comments is BLOCK. Histogram 20 showed that most of politicians blocked internet users (with a mean score of 1.45) based on our observation, while based on politicians’ response, the majority of them blocked internet users who used the curse words or unfaithful image (with a mean score of 1.31) (Histogram 20 in Appendix C). We observed that 10 politicians (45%) blocked and another 12 (55%) did not block the internet users who used the curse words or unfaithful image (6 politicians did not answer to this question) (Figure 43 in Appendix B), while 75% of political experts responded that politicians should not block those users (Figure 44).

Delete is also one of the tools politicians used to take action with internet users. During three-month observation on their Facebook account, politicians deleted those comments (with a mean score of 1.45), while based on their response, majority of them deleted those comments (with a mean score of 1.29) (Histogram 21 in Appendix C). We observed that 12 politicians (65%) deleted citizens’ comments with curse words or unfaithful image, while 10 (45%) did not delete (Figure 45 in Appendix B). However, based on political experts, 50% of them suggested that politicians should not delete the comment with the curse words or unfaithful image (Figure 46).



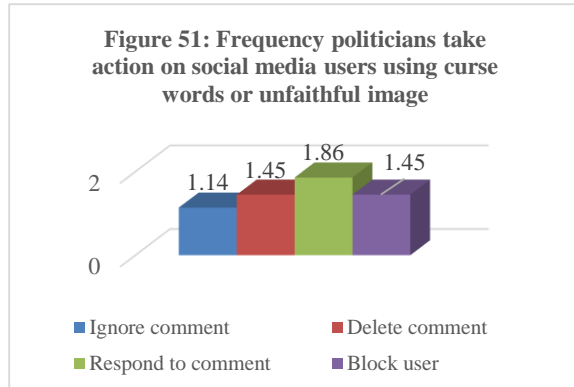
Besides ignore, block or delete, there is another kind of action that very few politicians responded to internet users who used the curse words or unfaithful image. Based on politicians' answers (with a mean score of 1.69) and our observation (with a mean score of 1.86) revealed that every few politicians have interest to reply to the inappropriate internet users (*Histogram 22 in Appendix C*). We observed that there are only 3 (14%) politicians replied to those comments, while 19 (86%) did not reply (*Figure 47 in Appendix B*). 75% of Political experts responded that politicians should respond to people's comments even curse words or unfaithful image (*Figure 48*).

Even though politicians did not reply or even deleted citizens' comments, the majority of them agreed that it is important to study and learn their comments. Based on our online survey, there are 7 politicians (32%) strongly agreed that it is important to put citizens' comments (both critics and support) into consideration; 13 (59%) agreed with this. Only 2 (9%) neither agreed nor disagreed (*Figure 49 in Appendix B*). Histogram 24 showed that majority of politicians agreed it is important to take citizens' comments into consideration (with a mean score of 4.23) (*Histogram 24 in Appendix C*) and political experts also had the same idea (with a mean score of 4.25) (*Figure 50*).



Based our study above, all of politicians gave full freedom to people to comment, message and search them on social media. However, politicians controlled on people' comment, especially the comments with the curse words or unfaithful images. Approximately half of them blocked those social media users, more than half deleted their comments, while almost all of them ignored. All of four, ignoring the people's comments is the most common (with a mean score of 1.14) and deleting and blocking came second (with a mean score of 1.45), while very few politicians replied to these comments (with a mean score of 1.86) (*Figure 51*).

So the majority of them agreed that answering to the positive comments (with a mean score of 4) is more important than answering to the negative comments with curse words or unfaithful image (with a mean score 3.75). Around half of them set privacy on Tag and Timeline. All of two, setting privacy on timeline is the most common (with a mean score of 1.45). What people wrote on their timeline were censored or checked by them first. It is observed that the post was allowed to appear on their timeline is the positive and supportive content. This means that the privacy setting allowed politicians to censor or control on what people posted. Based on political experts, the majority of them suggested that politicians should allow citizens to tag them (with a mean score of 1.25); however, for posting on timeline, they have a neutral stand (with a mean score of 1.5). Political experts suggested that politicians should not ignore or block citizens who comment with curse words or unfaithful image (with a mean score of 1.75), but politicians should reply to those comments (with a mean score of 1.25). Also Political experts suggested that politicians can neither delete nor keep negative comments with curse words or unfaithful image as they wish (with a mean score of 1.5). Politicians and political experts agreed that it is important to click LIKE on people’s comments and put their comments into consideration.



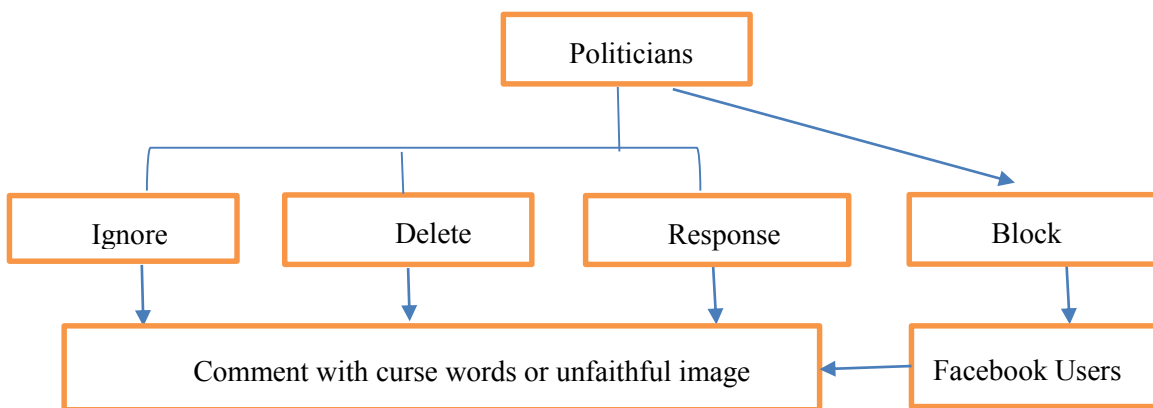
However, there is still an argument saying that social media is not worth at all to interact with policy makers since it is used for only entertainment. This makes some social media users frustrated in consuming it when there is no feedback from policy makers. Because of the high number of friends and followers, it is quite challenged for politicians to interact with the users. The matter is that they have to spend time to read those comments and think about the content they should reply back. In fact, every post by political leaders, there were hundreds comments or even thousands likes. We observed that they rarely replied and joined the discussion with citizens. Facebook users interacted with each other and some replied to other users’ comments as a supporter or opponent. While the politicians whose posts did not have so many comments or hundreds likes or below that, we noticed that they sometimes clicked like or replied to citizens’ comments. For this above explanation, we can create the hypothesis below:

Figure 52: Interaction of Politicians toward social media users

More interaction (Like, Comment) from citizens ➡ *Less interaction (Like, Comment) from politicians.*

According to Cambodian Constitutional Law stated in the article 41, people have their own rights in getting information (Freedom of press) and expressing their opinion (Freedom of expression) in society. Using social media can be a new way for Cambodia people to exercise freedom of press and expression since they can get varieties of news and information and express their idea, opinion or concern via social media by posting their status update or commenting on other posts. Politicians gave internet users freedom of expression through commenting on their post. However, freedom of expression has limitation. Facebook allowed any users to take an action on the inappropriate use. In fact, we observed that some users used Photoshop to edit the photos of politicians or used unfaithful images with caption to curse or criticize politicians. Some tagged advertising on their timeline if they do not set privacy. Because of these, politicians set privacy on their timeline, tag or even deleted comments or blocked internet users who used social media with misconduct. More or less, these actions harmed freedom of expression of citizens. Among of their action taking on the internet users, BLOCK is the most extreme act all political experts did not recommend. Internet users were blocked would not be able to connect or engage with politicians anymore. The action taking requires internet users to equip themselves with morality and ethics when using social media to connect and engage with politicians.

Figure 53: Politicians' action taking on the internet users using curse words or unfaithful image



Chapter 6

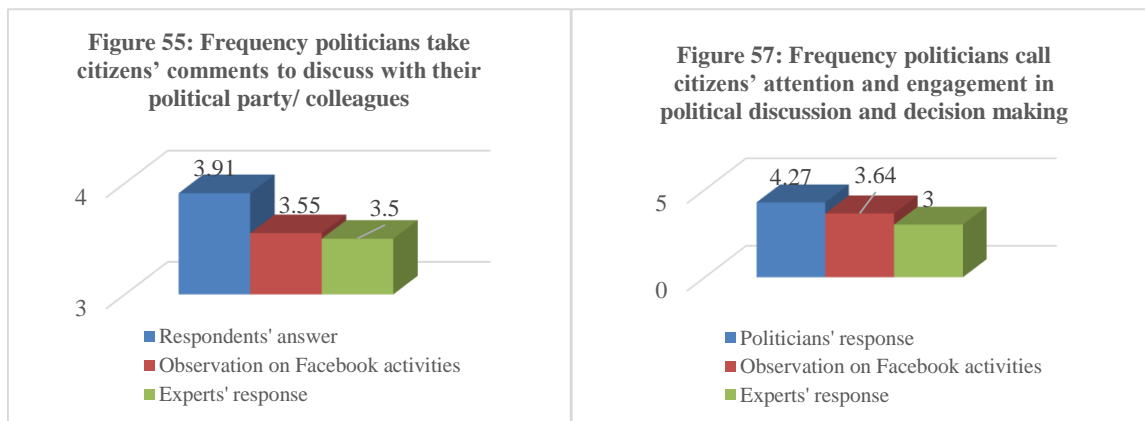
Impacts of Web 2.0 on Participatory democracy building

Internet plays a significant role in promoting democracy. Morris (1999) stated that internet is democratizing medium, as it can increase information access and allow citizens voice and exchange their concern and opinion. Delli (2000) stated that internet brings more citizens into the political process and may be effective at engaging young people. This has encouraged some Cambodian politicians including the ruling party to make their web presence and social media account to reach the bigger audience since people now are living in the world of electronic democracy where they can communicate directly with their leaders using internet. To explore the impacts of Web 2.0 to participatory democracy building, we set the criteria to observe the online activity of the politicians (*Table 5 in Appendix A*).

Based on our observation, out of 22 politician respondents, 11 politicians (50%) took citizens' comments to discuss with their party and colleagues on an occasional basic, while 10 (45%) at a regular basic and only one (5%) did it on all occasions (*Figure 54 in Appendix B*). In the study of histogram 24, based on politicians' answer (with a mean score of 3.91), it revealed that majority of politicians took citizen' comment to discuss with their political party on a regular basic, while based on our observation, politicians did it on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.55) (*Histogram 24 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested politicians to take citizens' comments to discuss with their colleagues or party on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.5) (*Figure 55*).

Impacts of Web 2.0 on Participatory democracy building

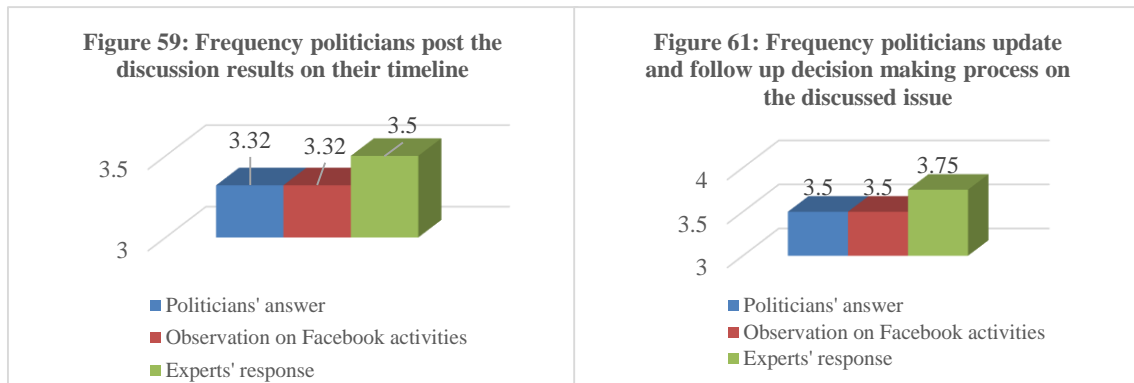
To attract people’s comments, it is better to call their attention and engagement on what politicians posted. Based on our observation, 10 politicians (45%) called citizens’ attention and engagement in political discussion or decision making on an occasional basic, 10 (45%) on a regular basic and only two (10%) on all occasions (*Figure 56 in Appendix B*). Histogram 25 shows the positive result that most of politicians called citizens’ attention and engagement on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.27) based on their answer, while based on our observation, most of them called citizens’ attention and engagement on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.64) (*Histogram 25 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested that politicians should call citizens’ attention and engagement in political discussion and decision making on an occasional basic (with a means score of 3) (*Figure 57*).



The next variable, we studied the frequency that politicians posted the discussion results on their timeline when they had political discussion and decision making. Through our observation, 4 (18%) politicians rarely posted the discussion result on their timeline, 10 (45%) posted on an occasional basic, while 5 (23%) on a regular basis and only 3 (14%) on all occasions (*Figure 58 in Appendix B*). Histogram 26 shows the positive result from both politicians’ answer and our observation’, finding that most of politicians posted the discussion result on their timeline on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.32) (*Histogram 26 in Appendix C*). While all political experts suggested that politicians should post the discussion result on their timeline on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.5) (*Figure 59*).

We noticed that politicians also posted some updated news and information to follow up the decision making process. Based on our observation on their timeline, 5 politicians (23%) rarely posted updated and follow- up news or information accompanying with photo or video; 6 (27%) on an occasional basic; 6 (27%) on a regular basic, while 5(23%) on all occasions (*Figure 60 in Appendix B*). In the study of histogram 27, based on politicians’ answer and our observation, generally most of politicians updated and followed up decision making process on discussed issue

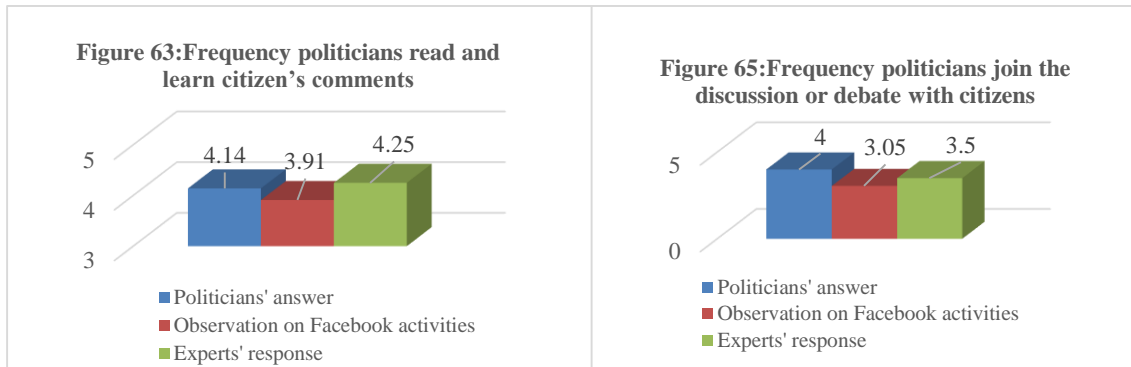
accompanying with photo or video on an occasional basic (with a means core of 3.5) (*Histogram 27 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested that politicians should update and follow up the decision making process on the discussed issue on an occasional basic (with a means score of 3.75) (*Figure 61*).



To know people’s needs or problems, it is required politicians to read and learn citizens’ comments. Based on our observation on their Facebook account, 3 politicians (14%) read and learned citizens’ comment on an occasional basic, while 18 (82%) on a regular basic, and only one (4%) on all occasions (*Figure 62 in Appendix B*). Based on politicians’ answer (with a mean score of 4.14) and our observation (with a means score of 3.91), it revealed the positive result that the majority of politicians read and learned citizens’ comments (*Histogram 28 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested that politicians should read and learn citizens’ comments on a regular basic (with a mean score of 4.25) (*Figure 63*).

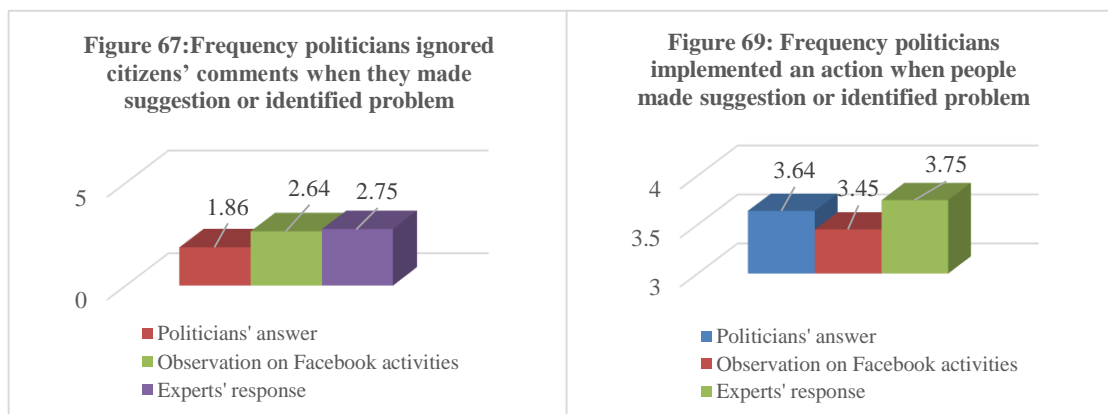
In addition, based on our observation, when citizens made suggestion or identified problems, 7 politicians (32%) joined the discussion or debated with them on a regular basic, while 9 (41%) on an occasional basic and 6 rarely did it (*Figure 64 in Appendix B*). Based on politicians’ answer, most of them joined the discussion or debate with citizens at a regular basic (with a mean score of 4), whereas based on our observation, most of them joined or debated with citizens on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.05) (*Histogram 29 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggest that politicians should join the discussion/ debate with citizens on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.5) (*Figure 65*).

Impacts of Web 2.0 on Participatory democracy building



We observed that 10 politicians (45%) rarely ignored citizens' comments, 10 (45%) ignored their comments on an occasional basic, while only two (10%) did it on all the time when people made suggestion or identified problems (*Figure 66 in Appendix B*). Based on politicians' answer, it revealed that generally politicians rarely ignored citizens' comments (with a means score of 1.86), whereas based on our observation, majority of them ignored citizens' comment on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 2.64) (*Histogram 30 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested that politicians should rarely ignore people's comments (with a mean score of 2.75) (*Figure 67*).

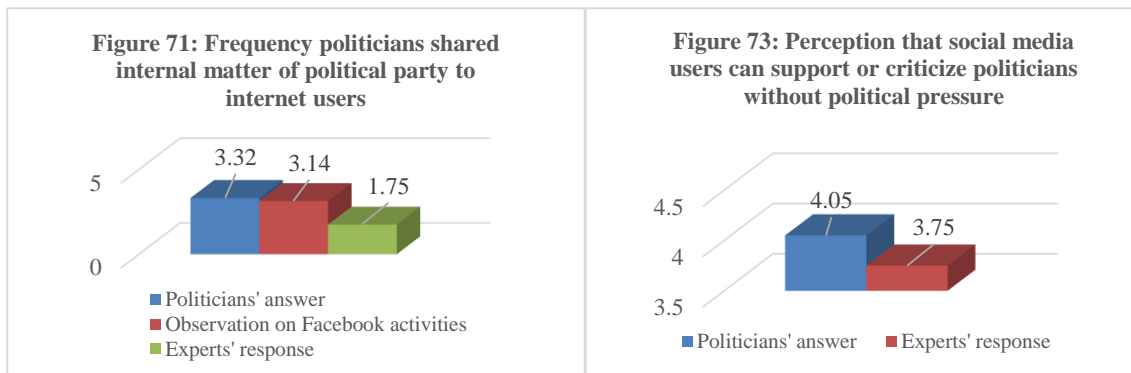
Through our observation on their Facebook for three months, 12 politicians (54%) often implemented an action, while 8 (36%) did it on an occasional basic and only two (9%) rarely did it when people made suggestion or identified problems (*Figure 68 in Appendix B*). Based on politicians' answer, it showed that they implemented an action on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.64), and based on our observation, politicians did it on an occasional basic too (with a mean score of 3.45) (*Histogram 31 in Appendix C*). Political experts suggested that politicians should implement an action on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.75) when people made suggestion or identified problem (*Figure 69*).



Impacts of Web 2.0 on Participatory democracy building

We also observed on their post, 9 politicians (41%) shared internal matters of their political party (fund, budget plan, mission, policy or meeting... etc.) publically to internet users or voters on a regular basic, while 8 (36%) shared that on an occasional basic, 4 (18%) rarely did it and only one (5%) never did it at all (*Figure 70 in Appendix B*). Histogram 32 showed the positive result that majority of politicians shared internal matter of political party to internet users on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.32) based on politicians' answer, while based on our observation, they did it on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.14) (*Histogram 32 in Appendix C*). Political experts did not recommend politicians to share internal matter of their political party publically to internet users (with a mean score of 1.75) (*Figure 71*).

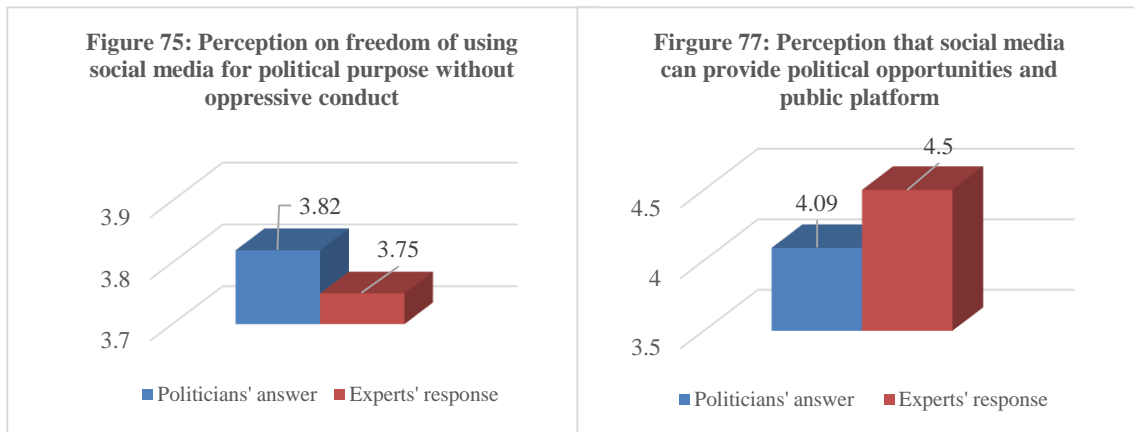
In term of freedom of expression, we asked all 22 politician respondents. 8 politicians (36%) agreed that social media users can comment, support, criticize or share their opinion or idea to them without political pressure or oppressive conduct, 8 (36%) strongly agreed, 3 (14%) showed the neutral stand and only one (4%) disagreed (*Figure 72 in Appendix B*). Histogram 33 showed the positive result that majority of politicians agreed on the statement that social media users can comment, support, criticize or share their opinion or idea to them without political pressure (with a mean score of 4.05) (*Histogram 33 in Appendix C*). Political experts also neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement (with a mean score of 3.75) (*Figure 73*).



Beside this, we also asked them about their freedom of expression towards social media. 3 politicians (13%) strongly agreed that they have full freedom of using social media for political purpose without political pressure or oppressive conduct, while 14 (64%) agreed; 3 (13%) neither agreed nor disagreed and only two (10%) disagreed (*Figure 74 in Appendix B*). Histogram 33 shows that politicians neither agreed nor disagreed that they have full freedom of using social media for political purpose without pressure (with a mean score of 3.82) (*Histogram 33 in Appendix C*). Political experts also had the similar idea (with a mean score of 3.75) (*Figure 75*).

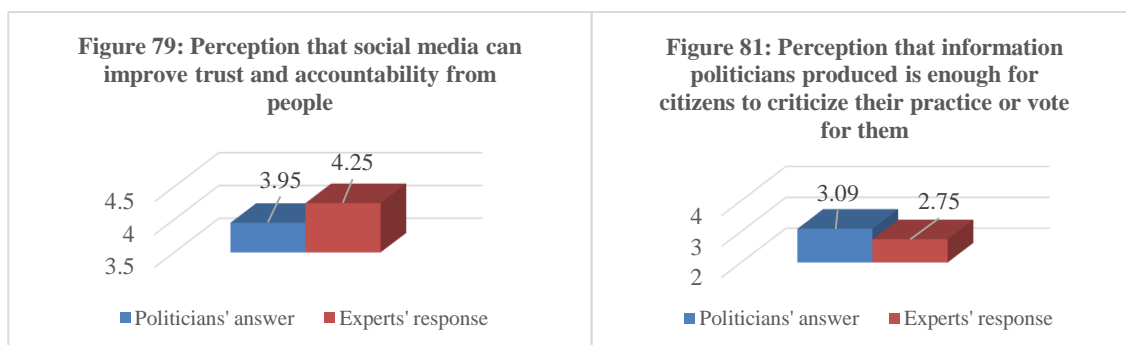
Impacts of Web 2.0 on Participatory democracy building

Based on our survey, 4 politicians (18%) strongly agreed that social media can provide them political opportunities and public platform for participatory democracy, while 16 (73%) agreed, only two (9%) neither agreed nor disagreed (*Figure 76 in Appendix B*). Generally majority of politicians agreed on this statement (with a mean score of 4.09) (*Histogram 34 in Appendix C*), while political experts agreed with this statement too (with a mean score of 4.5) (*Figure.77*).



In addition, 3 politicians (14%) strongly agreed that social media can improve trust and accountability from people, 15 (68%) agreed and 4 (18%) neither disagreed nor agreed (*Figure 78 in appendix B*). The histogram 35 reveals the positive result that majority of politicians agreed that social media can improve trust and accountability from people (with a mean score of 3.95). Based on political experts, they also have the similar idea (with a mean score of 4.25) (*Figure. 79*).

Based on our survey, 8 politicians (36%) agreed that information and news that they produced, posted, shared via social media is enough for citizens to criticize their practice or vote for them, 8 (36%) neither agreed nor disagreed, and 6 (28%) disagreed with this (*Figure 80 in Appendix B*). Histogram 36 reveals that majority of politicians have neutral idea on this statement (with a mean score of 3.09) (*Histogram 36 in Appendix C*). Based on political experts, they disagreed that information and news that politicians produced or shared is enough for citizens to criticize their practice or vote for them (with a mean score of 2.75) (*Figure 81*).



6.1 Political Discussion in Decision Making Process

Internet becomes a new media tool that can be used to ease the participatory democracy in society (Thornburg, 1992). This can allow millions of people to voice out their political decision directly to their government without needing someone to be their representative and make their own contribution to the public debate free from any form of censorship (Ioannidis, 2002). However it is hard to agree whether or not the true nature and consequence of social media can influence democracy. It is seen that social media is a potential media that contributes to the main characteristic of participatory democracy---discussion and debate. Whether the growth of social media users will result in building participatory democracy in Cambodia. We will discuss here about social media for political discussion/ debate in decision making process, a core element of participatory democracy.

Based on the study above, politicians used social media to manage, share or produce the contents in order to call for citizens' attention to join political discussion, debate or decision making. It is not easy to engage in every decision making process at each level of government because it takes much time and resource. So, in this context, media is used to facilitate this process. We observed that majority of politicians called citizens' attention and engagement to join political discussion and decision making on an occasional basic (with a mean score of 3.64). Their level of practice is higher than what political experts suggested them to do (with a mean score of 3). This shows the positive result that politicians encouraged people to participate in discussion or debate with them when there were political/ social issues or political decision by raising questions or writing a political statement to draw citizens' attention to give comment or share their personal opinion. We observed that citizens were interested in territory issue with a neighbouring country and illegal immigrants. Social media users joined the discussion, voiced their concern, criticized the current government, and urged the opposition party and current government to deal with these issues. Social media users also replied and joined the discussion with other users. In fact, the post by political leaders attracted hundreds or even more than thousands like or comments. However, based on our observation, politicians joined the discussion and debated with citizens on an occasional basic when making decision. Politicians also took people's comments to discuss with their colleagues or political party on an occasional basic as political experts suggested. After the discussion with their colleague and political party, politicians posted the discussion results on their timeline on an occasional basic. Politicians also updated and followed up decision making on issues accompanying with photos, video on an occasional basic. Then they implemented action on the discussed issue on an occasional basic when people made suggestion or identified problem. These show that Web 2.0 facilitated political discussion process between politicians and citizens. Through our observation, some social and political issues were dealt because of the outspreading of citizens' comments---dissatisfaction, disagreement.

According to (Kersten, 2003), “Democracy” means ‘people participate in making decision either directly or through electing their representative’. By exploring Web 2.0 as a political connection and engagement, politicians created political atmosphere in which citizens can participate in decision making process directly without electing their representative. There are two types of the participatory democracy: directive and representative. Social media provokes directive democracy in online community. White (1997) stated that the representative democracy is challenged because there is a lack of trust in electing the representative in the society that has grown over-organized, hierarchical, and authoritarian and it tends to limit the citizen participation to voting and leaving actual governance to politicians. He continued that participatory democracy implies that people participation is the most important quality of democracy. It creates the opportunity for all members to make meaningful contribution to the decision making in their country.

6.2 Web 2.0: Public Platform for Participatory Democracy

Argument differs from whether or not the growth of internet will result in expanding participatory democracy in Cambodia. We will discuss here whether politicians’ exploration in Web 2.0 can build forms of participatory democracy.

According to Harold (2011), the internet is a major new medium for the transmission of information and entertainment- a network of all networks. The net is a constantly evolving organism and anyone on it can be a global publisher or a broadcaster of self-produced content, with no need to obtain a government agency license or ask for permission from corporate gatekeepers. Besides producing their own content and sharing it to their friends or public, internet users can have an opportunity to express their idea, opinion publicly. In fact, politician respondents agreed that social media users can comment, support, criticize or share their opinion or idea to them without political pressure or oppressive conduct. Carlson (2014) reported that because with more Cambodia citizens gaining access to the internet, current government, CPP attempted to control “dissenting views” and “immoral actions” online through the drafting of a cybercrime law with some serious threats to fundamental freedom by making certain speech and other actions online punishable by fine and prison time. Similarly according Mueller and Khuon (2014) reported that government monitored and controlled the Internet, and planned to install surveillance equipment on the networks of mobile phone and internet provider, while the Council of Minister have scrapped a ‘controversial draft cybercrime law’ to ramp up efforts to control the internet, claiming to protect ‘the government’s stance and prestige’. Social media provides a public platform for E-democracy where citizens have political expression and debate. The cyber law might be barrier to harm internet users, especially the one who defame others. Even though the cyber law is on the way to be reinforced, politicians agreed that they have full freedom of

using social media for political purpose without pressure or oppressive conduct and political experts also agreed with their idea too.

Besides this, politicians agreed that social media can provide public platform for participatory democracy. Social media defends freedom of expression and information, which is considered to be the significant element for participatory democracy. Politicians from the opposition party used social media as a communication tool to connect with their supporters and citizens and to share information and advocate for positive change with the cooperation with their supporters. In fact, after the election result released, CNRP reacted towards the result, claiming that there were electoral irregularities and fraud and they posted reaction on social media. Social media users agreed on their post, criticizing the National Election Committee (NEC) and CPP by uploading video, photos, news and information about electoral fraud to gather other youth for political movement and change. Online rallies on electoral irregularities conducted, attracting a lot of comments and discussion. More than discussion in online forum, decision making process between CNRP and supporters to conduct non-violent demonstration to step Prime Minister Hun Sen down appeared. Yun (2014) reported that CNRP leaders Sam Rainsy and Kem Sokha led demonstrations that incited and provoked people to hold massive demonstration for election irregularity and fraud. Facebook used as a public platform to gather people and share information, news and video about the demonstration in purpose to bring PM Hun Sen down. After the political deadlock dealt, it is observed that Facebook is used by politicians to conduct environmental campaigns, political movement against illegal immigrants, territory invasion...etc. Some Cambodia people including social media users took part in the demonstration and campaign politicians called for. Some of social and political issues were solved after the online campaign or demonstration. For instance, according to Khy and Blomberg (2014), to condense the post-election political deadlock down and cease the long-month massive demonstration, with around 100.000 protesters, Prime Minister Hun Sen allowed CNRP to broadcast the television Channel and agreed to add National Election Committee in to the constitution of Cambodia.

Politicians and political experts agreed that social media can improve trust and accountability from people. To make it transparent and accountable, politicians also shared internal matters of their political party publicly to internet users or voters. When we observed on their timeline, politicians shared the meeting report, mission report, formal assignation letter, thank you letter for sponsors and similar action on an occasional basic. Political experts suggested them not to share the internal matters to internet users often even though this information can help people build trust on their party. Politicians can have their own privacy and rights to enclose their internal matters although social media have capacity to share, post many news and information a day.

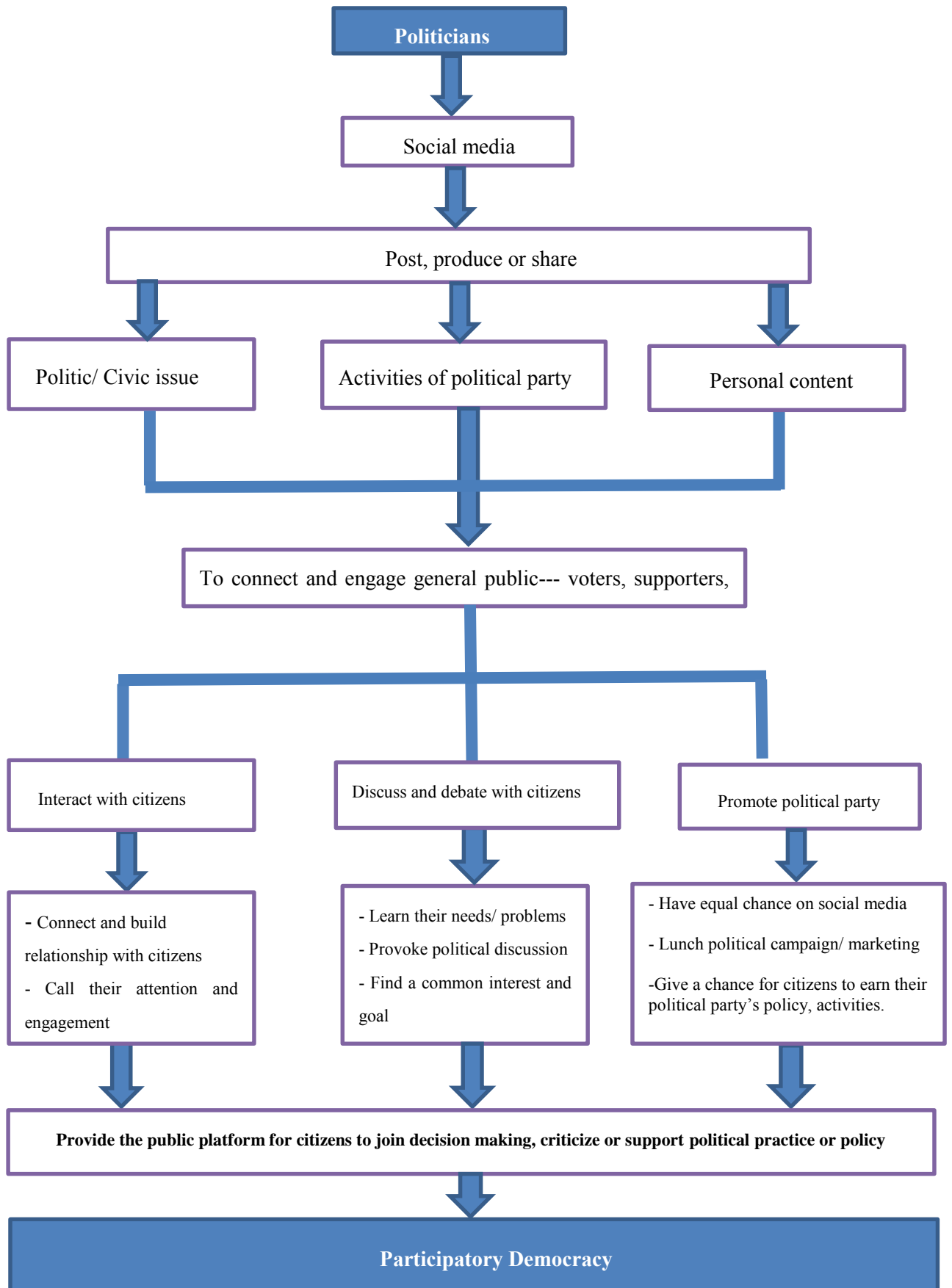
However politicians neither agreed nor disagreed that information and news that they produced, posted or shared via social media is enough for citizens to criticize their practice or vote for them. According to Phillip and Young (2009), political success is influenced by the online activities of the political institutions. Greenwood (2013) reported that Facebook helped voters to get an independent news and information outlet that did not suffer from same restriction as the largely state-controlled media. After social media emerged, new changes started to come out. Politicians can share their political policy agenda to their supporters and public. Public have a chance to voice their concern, what they need and what they do not want, or participate in the decision making affecting to them and society. This a new trend and development proved a major factor in the opposition's surprising gains. He continued that "Whatever the outcome of the 2013 election, one thing is clear: and online democracy is here to stay in Cambodia," (Greenwood, 2013).

Besides this, based on our study, Facebook is used to promote the political party, provide the public platform for political discussion or debate, and news sharing. News and information about the political party and politicians were out there accompanying with the video, photos and discussion between individual and individual or even with politicians. Politicians can lean and know the people's need or problems through their comments and reaction. In fact, it is seen that internet users also dare to debate or criticize the politicians or their policy implementation or show support or against what they like or dislike. According to Vorn (2012), a group of young Cambodians also use new media as a tool to voice their opinion on social and political issues and contacting the political officials in two ways: 'giving comments and advocating citizens' rights' (p.30). They tend to comment on political issue when they are not satisfied with what their government did and they also comment on social problems in the country. In fact, in the real world, young Cambodian people are challenged to connect with politicians due to their unavailability. However, social media gives them a chance to keep in touch with government officials. Politicians and citizens can share and exchange idea on hot topic. Because of public discussion, debate or comments, politicians know people' needs or problems, so they can response to citizens' needs or deal with problems. It is observed that some social and political issues were dealt through online discussion. Based on our study, politicians implemented an action to response people's need or problems on an occasional basic. Politicians might have a good image and build reputation when they are able to fulfil people's need or deal problems facing them.

Of course, Web 2.0 can allow the open discussion, debate on social and political issue, question and criticize the political practice by using social media tools such as like, comment, share...etc. These activities must take into account the issue of freedom of expression that people exercising directly to influence the decision making process, so called participatory democracy. Lin et al, (2010) found that people can use Information Communication Technology for their civic discussion and communication with politicians, which can provide them with "core value to engage in public policy and decision-making". Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (2013) stated

that “The right to freedom of expression is a cornerstone of any functioning democracy. Without the right to seek and impart information, to hold opinions and to engage in debate, citizens cannot meaningfully participate in the political lives of their nations. Based on above explanation, the presence of Cambodia politicians on social media does not limit their citizenship participation, but striving to create opportunities for citizens to make meaningful contribution to decision-making, which is a core value of participatory democracy.

Figure 82: Politicians usage of Web 2.0 for participatory democracy building



Chapter 7

Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter presents a summary of the study and discusses the findings presented in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 based on research questions. It also discusses implications of the study and provides recommendations for future research, policymakers and practitioners.

Summary of study:

This research study explores the impacts of Web 2.0 on participatory democracy in Cambodia. It seeks to conceptualize the process of the political practices of Web 2.0 as one that is not determined by the words of mouth, but as exploration on real cases and content analysis of Facebook account of politicians in which participatory democracy is there. Social media is mostly known for connecting with people, socializing, networking, entertaining; however, this study is focusing on attention paid to the political use. The purpose of research study was to understand how Cambodian politicians use Facebook to reach their citizens including the voters. Four main dimensions (1) Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement; (2) motivation and reason of online usage; (3) behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media; and (4) impacts of Web 2.0 on participatory democracy, were examined to determine how and what extent politicians' exploration in Web 2.0 can build forms of participatory democracy in Cambodia. We would address the motives of politicians in using Web 2.0 by looking at how politicians actually use it. We aim to find out why these politicians are interested in using Web 2.0 for their political connection and engagement with Cambodian citizens, how and to what extent this approach can make a better political condition in the term of participatory democracy. The research on this above topic would show on overall the effective roles of Web 2.0 in Cambodia politics. Qualitative method was employed to uncover research questions. Online survey with 22 politicians was conducted and all data from online survey were compared with their real activities on internet---all information of each politician's account such as number of posts, comments and information shared; topics, themes, and its contents etc. have been examined. We also conducted

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another online questionnaire for political experts to evaluate politicians' online activities towards participatory democracy.

Through our observation, the findings revealed that politician respondents used social media on a regular basis mostly to produce the activities of their political party since most of them claimed that they did not have an access to main stream media. Do politicians explore Web 2.0 to build image and reputation of their party or build participatory democracy or both? Based on the study, their exploration in Web 2.0 is not only for party promoting or self-image building, but also for participatory democracy building. Through the political connect and engagement via social media, participatory democracy building is out there. In fact, politicians let citizens share their opinion, idea or concern and criticize their political practice and policy. Politicians were able to learn people's needs and problems, take their comments into consideration and implemented an action to response citizens' needs. In addition, they also posted the update news and information of activities/ political policy on their timeline in order to get citizens' feedback or comments. In fact, politicians also agreed that citizens can comment, criticize or support them or their party without political pressure or oppressive conduct. However, politicians do not give full freedom to all social media users. A few of politicians blocked social media users or deleted their comments with curse words and unfaithful image. However, according to our observation, social problems and political issues were dealt because people joined the decision making, complained, or criticized political practice. This reveals the possible effects of their exploration in Web 2.0 to participatory democracy.

However, we observed that politicians also used social media to promote their political party while they connected and engaged with citizens. Social media is an effective platform for politicians who found it hard to access main stream media for political purpose since main stream media is under control by the ruling party. In fact, the number of social media users from CPP is lower than one from CNRP. Through our observation on their Facebook account, CNRP politicians were more active on social media than ones from CPP since most of them actively posted photos, videos about their political activities on their timeline. What is more is that half of CNRP politicians replied to our message and filled in our survey.

All in all, the study reaches two key summaries. The first is that social media can provide the political opportunity for politicians to connect and engage with citizens as well as to promote their political party when they do not have an access to the main stream media. The second is that social media can provide public platform for politicians to discuss, debate and learn people's needs and problems since politicians have freedom to use social media for political purpose, while citizens can criticize or support their political practice/ policy without an oppressive conduct or political pressure in the case they do not use curse words or unfaithful image to interact/ engage with politicians.

The findings presented above have brought to light a number of points worth discussing further. On the basis of the 22 politicians' experience, it can be said that social media is a platform

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for exercising freedom of expression and for users to access online opinion and as a public sphere for political issue discussion. Politicians used social media to connect and engage with people for political purpose--- promoting the political party and building participatory democracy in Cambodia. Even though their real activity on internet is quite different from their response and their level of Web 2.0 exploration is quite lower than the criteria of political experts for some questions, these mean scores of the findings are not too much different. This reveals that politicians were using social media in right way for participatory democracy building. However it remains the evidence that this result cannot generalize to all politicians from both ruling and opposition party since the number of politician respondents from ruling party is very low, so the result skewed to the opposition party side.

It is hardly possible to foresee what the future holds for E-democracy when more and more people can access to internet. The reason is that there might be cyber law to limit the freedom of expression. According to Carlson (2014), the fact is the law was drafted behind the closed door without the input of civil society, so the lack of transparency and secrecy leads to the government having free reign to stifle speech online and lock down any political dissenters. The draft revealed that speech violations that occur online would incur a more severe punishment than ones carried out offline. More or less, it claimed that the cyber law will be a big challenge to participatory democracy building in Cambodia.

The biggest limitation of this study is the size of the sample

The purpose of research study was to understand how Cambodian politicians use social media to reach their citizens including the voters to build forms of participatory democracy. Before the implications of the findings are discussed, a few limitations should be mentioned. It is every hard to approach the politicians from the ruling party CPP since majority of them did not reply our message and fill in online survey. As a result, we got only 2 politician respondents from CPP. The study examines only Facebook which would be useful to generalize the findings since most of Cambodia politicians use Facebook more often. The duration of the content analysis was from 19th February to 19th May, 2015. Although this is the time that national election was over for two years and the political deadlock was solved, a longer time period could help understand the strategies, characteristics and behaviour of politicians better. Despite some of these shortcoming and the election was over, this present research study helps in understanding how Cambodia politicians use social media like Facebook to connect with people and build forms of participatory democracy after the National Election 2013 and before the National Election 2018.

The Implications of Research (Academic and Practical)

This study may help to provide a better understanding on how Cambodian politicians explore Web 2.0 and how their exploration can build forms of participatory democracy in developing country like Cambodia. In order to promote social media for participatory democracy, the concept of ‘Participatory Democracy’ must be explained and promoted among policy/ law maker. In fact, lack of understanding regarding freedom of expression and press as well as lacking of exercising rights as an active citizen present a major challenge to political participation and decision making advancing democracy and social justice in Cambodia.

Many politicians and political experts were aware that social media can promote participatory democracy and provide political opportunities and public platform for political discussion and debate in Cambodia, so it is strongly recommended that the concept of “Participatory Democracy” be explained to public. The concept could be promoted through video clip, workshop, public forum, roundtable discussion, seminars, conference, TV program, dialogue...etc. One public or internet users and policy makers understand “Participatory Democracy” concept, they will be able to defend their freedom of expression in online community or even encourage the government to eliminate the draft of cyber law which should not be implemented in Cambodia, new- born and fragile democracy to underestimate freedom of expression of internet users. When policymakers, especially government know the benefit of using Web 2.0 for participatory democracy, they may no longer monitor or control the internet or find a means to silence online dissent, but rather provide free public platform for people to have political discussion and expression and debate freely because social media can provide public platform for people in decision making, policy formulation and implementation.

Second, the internet accessibility and technology literacy should be guaranteed to people. Without proper internet access and knowledge on social media usage, it is quite hard for technology illiterates to voice their concern, opinion to policymakers or government. Recently, not all schools in Cambodia provide the internet to students and not all people, especially one from the disadvantage group or economic disadvantage can access internet.

Third, the government should allow civil society and media institutes to participate in drafting the cyber law to serve public interest and build the transparency. And the law should be widely spread and shared to people and people have a chance to learn it. And make sure that cyber law is used to serve the need and interest of people, not the government.

It was interesting and surprising to know that almost all politicians agreed that they have full freedom of using social media for political purpose without political pressure and oppressive conduct. So the government should not draft the cyber law and let politicians and people enjoy using social media freely. By doing this, Cambodia would be seen as a matured democratic country fully promote the freedom of expression and press through online community. Even though this time might not be the right moment for the ruling party to consider social media as public platform for participatory democracy, in the long run, when the number of internet users increasing and the number of people connect and engage opposition party via social media, and

the concept of the participatory democracy is well understood among the internet users, the social media will be the most used media tool for political connection and engagement and participatory democracy building in Cambodia.

Possibilities for Future Research

The number of politician respondents was small and only two politicians from the ruling party agreed to fill in our online survey. It would be better to explore and get more politician respondents from CPP. In addition, for the next study, we think it would be better to study the Facebook page of the political party, party leaders as well as their Twitter and blog, meaning that researcher should include all their social media accounts.

There are several areas worthy of further research. In addition to those briefly noted in the limitation of the study, the following may be worth consideration. This study focuses primarily on political exploration on social media by looking at only Facebook at four external dimensions: (1) Web 2.0 for political connection; (2) motivation and reason of online usage; (3) behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media; and (4) impacts of Web 2.0 on participatory democracy. Other factors such as Web 2.0 for political movement and campaign, digital divide in political use, cyber law for online expression which may also influence the possibility of participatory democracy building in Cambodia have not been covered by this study. It may be useful for future research to explore the influence of those dimensions as well.

In addition, it would be useful to have a quantitative survey on public attitude towards political connection and engagement with politicians in order to study the attitude and behaviour of politicians based on public perspectives. This would be necessary to help politicians to reflect on their behaviour towards their social media usage. Also this survey should include the perspective of internet users towards freedom of expression, so it would be beneficial for policymakers to draft cyber law or make decision whether or not this law should be reinforced or implemented in Cambodia. We suggest the future researcher to approach more politicians for the study, plus an in-depth study of social media usage of political leaders such as PM Hun Sen, Mr Sam Rainsy and Mr Kem Sokha should be conducted in order to study their political strategies, political campaign and marketing before the National Election 2018.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Table

Table 2: Criteria to observe the dimension of Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement:

Dimension	Observation on politicians' activities on internet
Political connection and engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The frequency use of Facebook - Frequency politicians post, share, or produce: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Civic and political issues 2. Activities of their political party 3. Personal content

Table 3: Criteria to observe the dimension of reason and motivation of online usage:

Dimension	Observation on their activities on internet
Reasons and motivation of online usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The number of LIKE, COMMENT politicians interacted to social media users. - The contents of comment that politicians responded to social media users.

Table 4: Criteria to observe the dimension of behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media

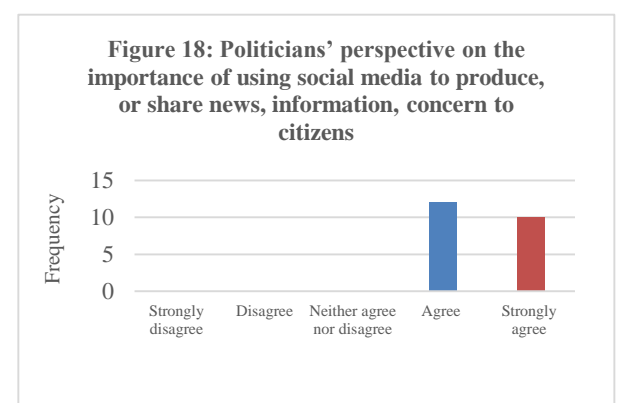
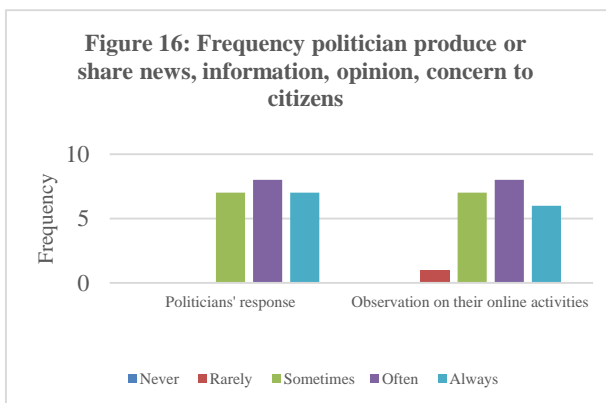
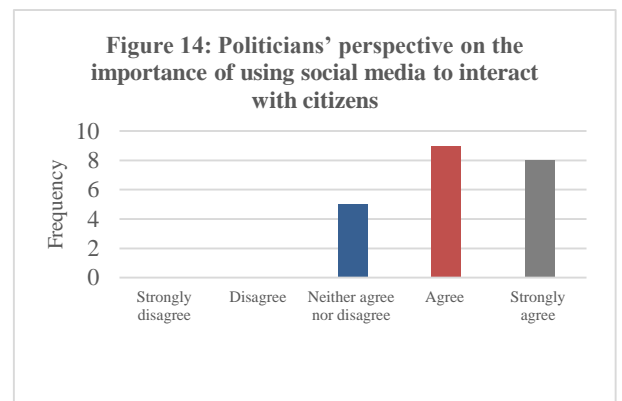
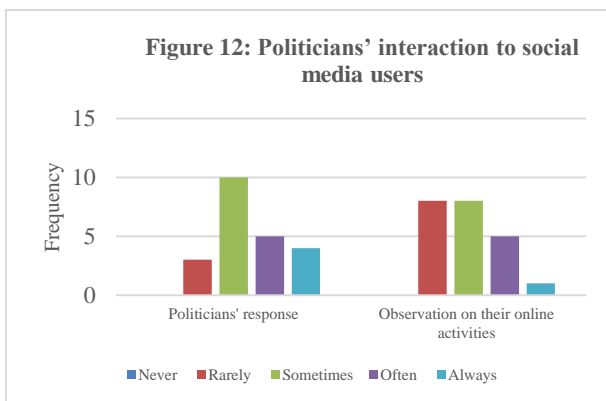
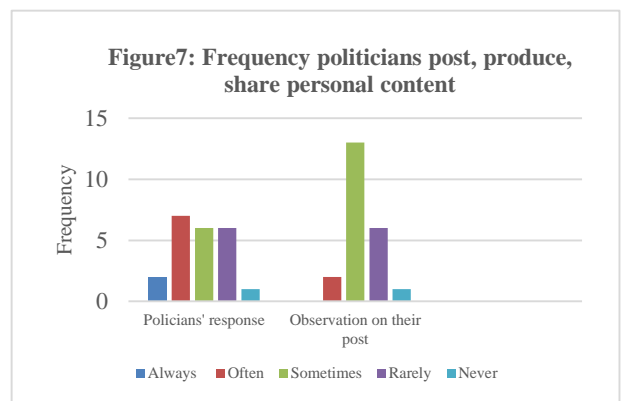
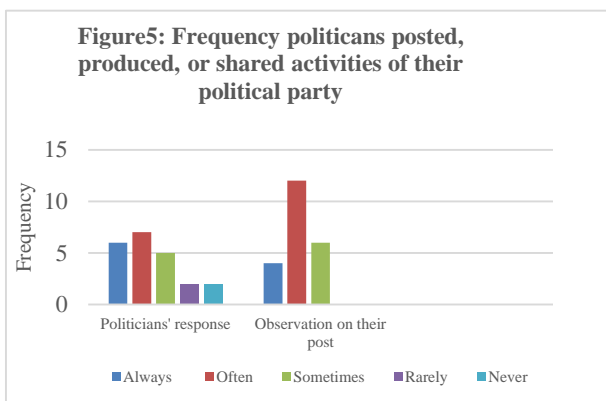
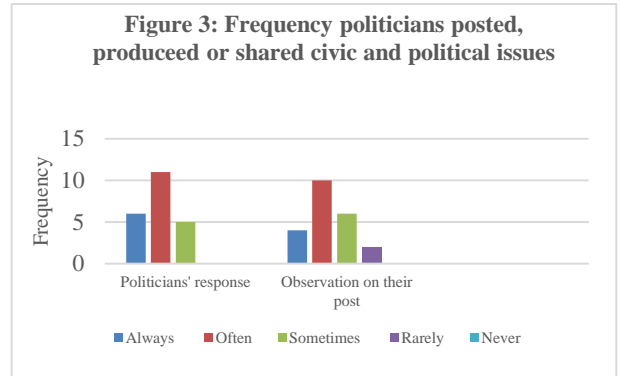
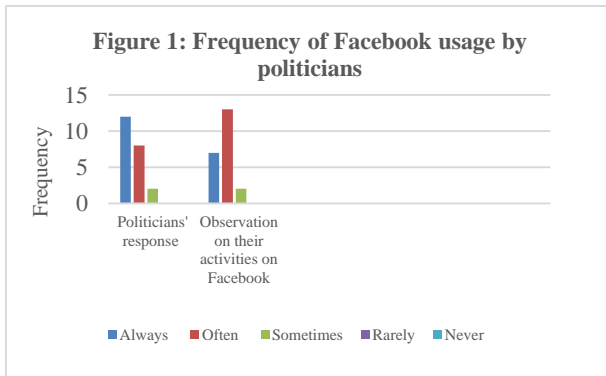
Dimension	Observe the content of post and politicians' activities on internet
Behaviour and attitude of politicians towards social media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The private setting on Facebook: whether they allowed people to comment, tag, message, search or post on their timeline - Frequency that they responded to (1) the positive comment; (2) negative comment of internet users or voters. - The contents of comments politicians responded to (1) positive comment; (2) negative comments - How politicians took action to the internet users and voters who used curse words or sticker with unfaithful image.

Appendices

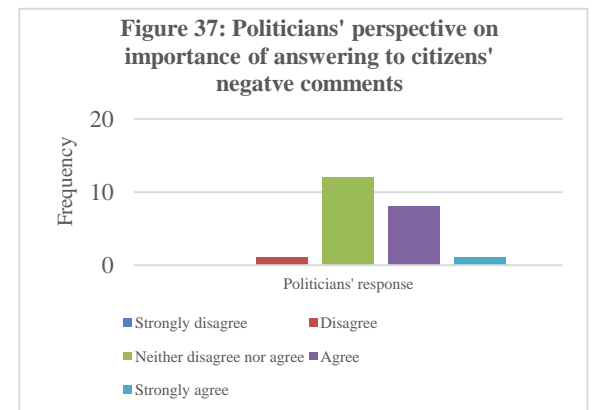
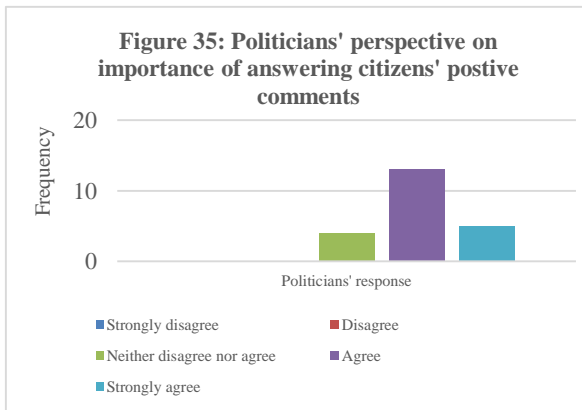
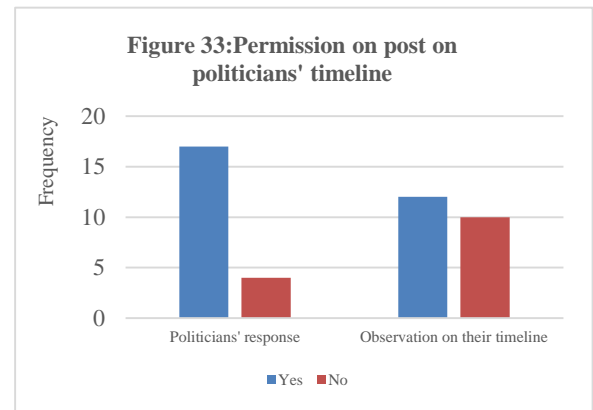
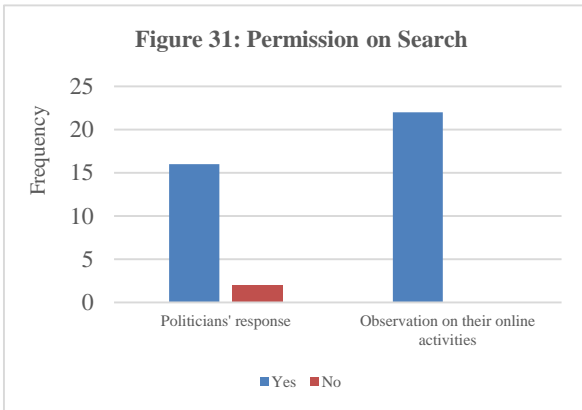
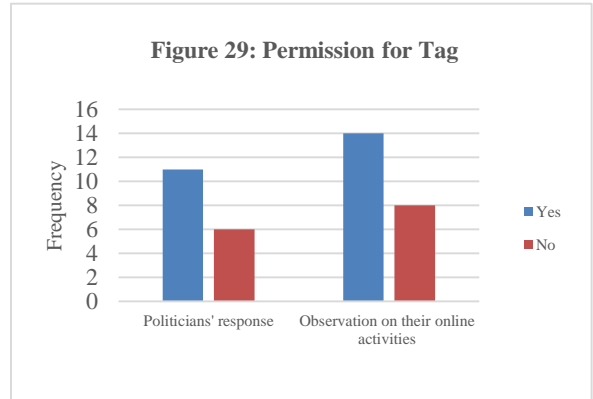
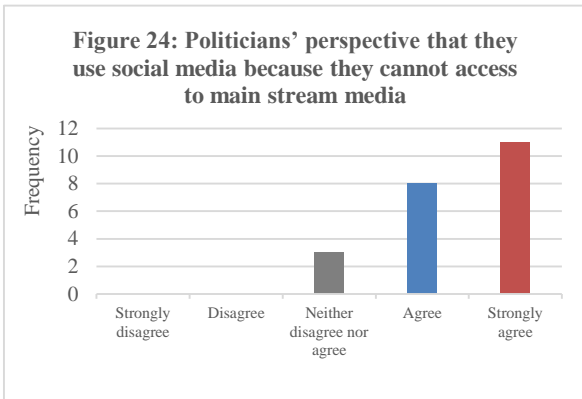
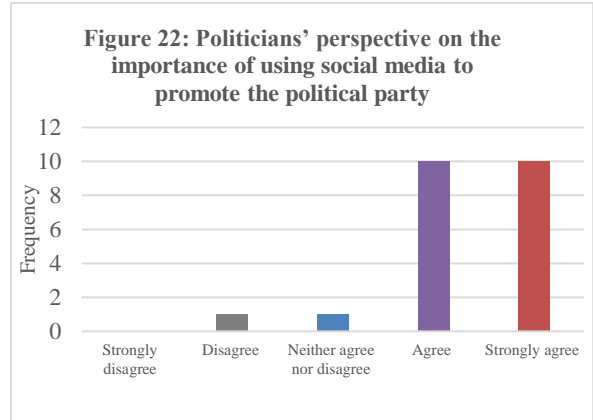
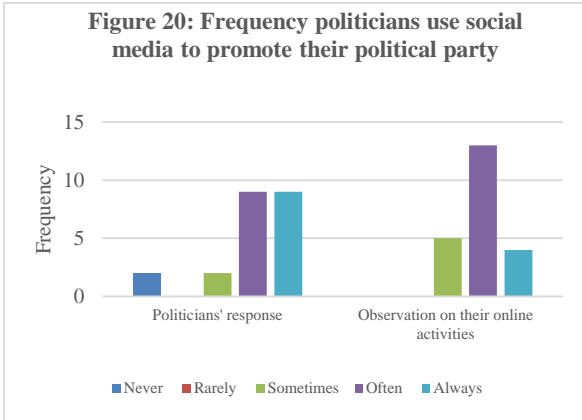
Table 5: Criteria for impact of Web 2.0 for participatory building

Dimension	Observe on their activities on the internet
Impact of Web 2.0 for participatory building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Follow up the same topic or post in order to know whether there is any update or follow- up story - Content that politicians posted to ask for comment, suggestion, idea or decision from social media users or voters - Content about their internal stuff (budget plan, mission, meeting) politicians produced or shared on social media - The number of times and content of comment politicians responded to social media users or voters who challenged and criticized their policy or action implementation - Content of post that politicians responded the most to social media users and voters - Content of comment that politicians called for attention or engagement to social media users or voters - Content that politicians supported social media users' and voters' comments - Content that politicians against to the comments of social media users or voters - Content of their post about public policy or action implementation politicians responded to people's needs, requirement, suggestion, demand or problem.

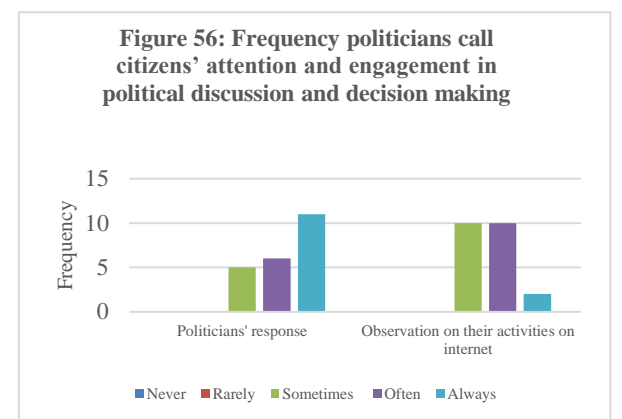
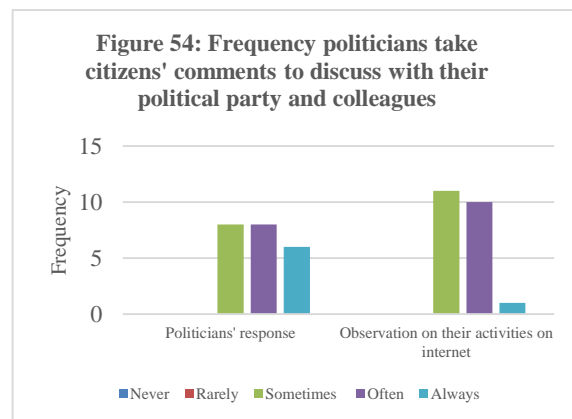
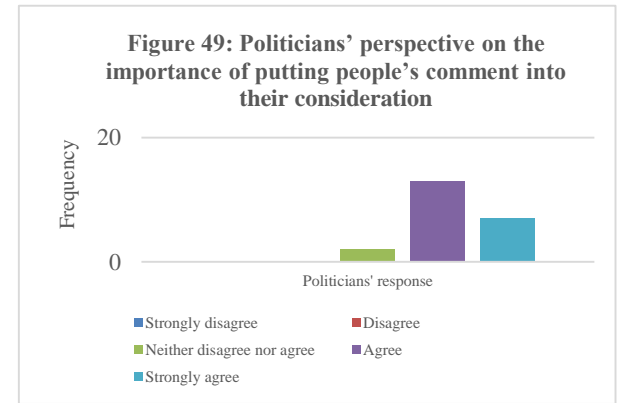
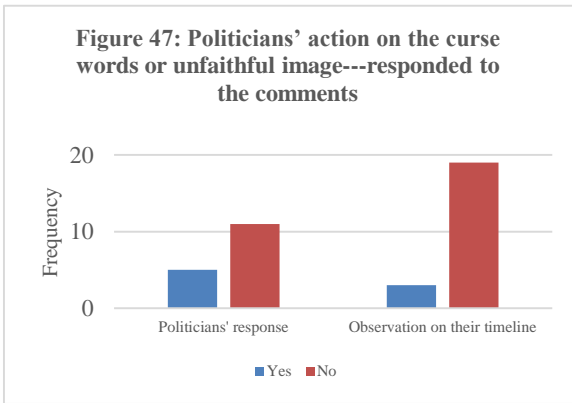
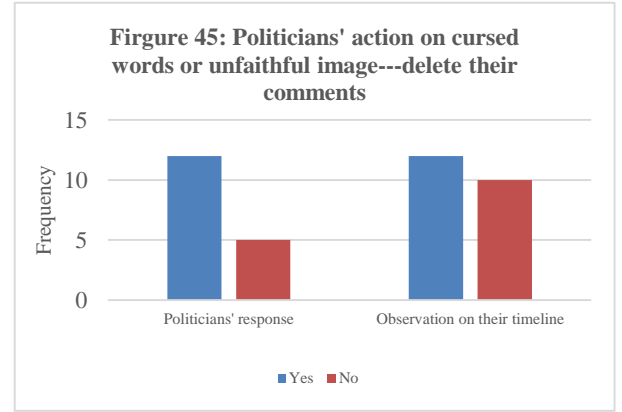
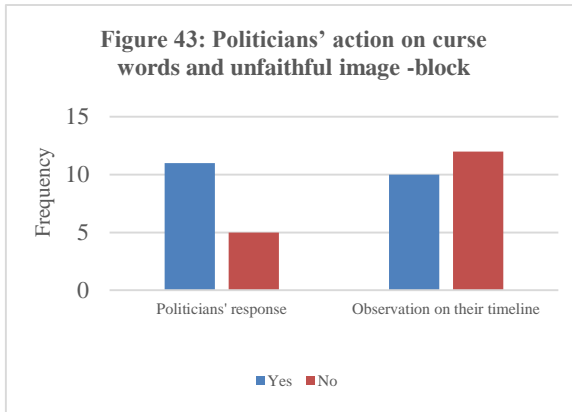
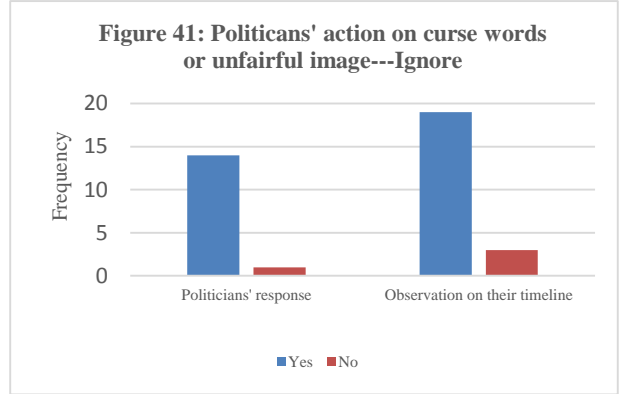
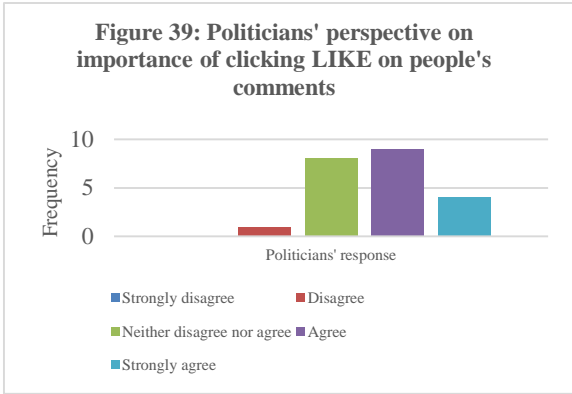
Appendix B: Figure



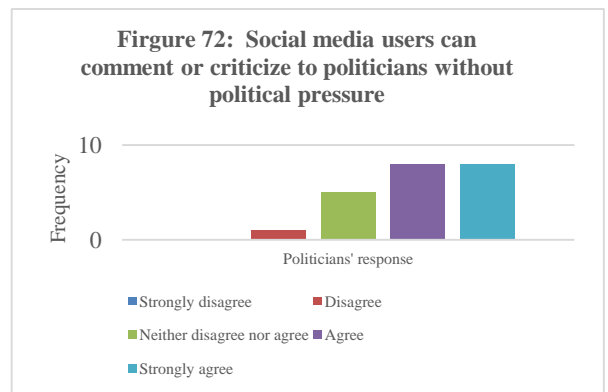
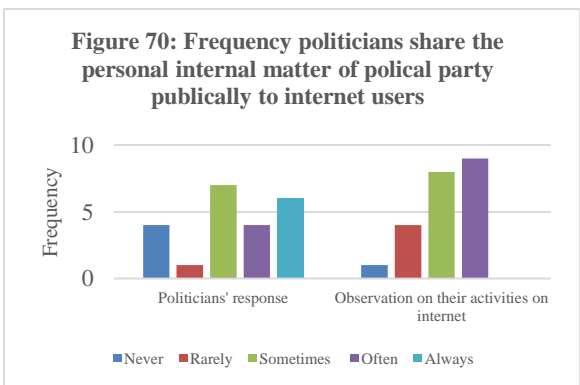
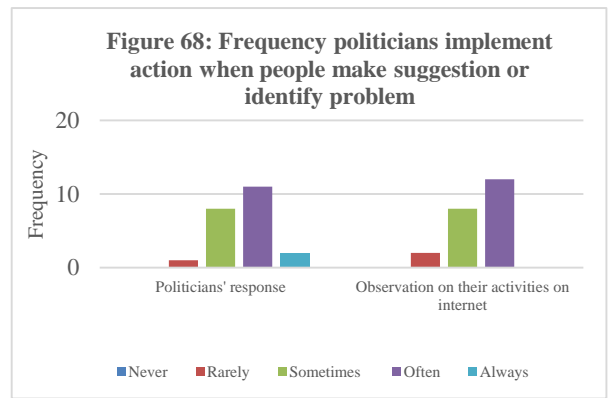
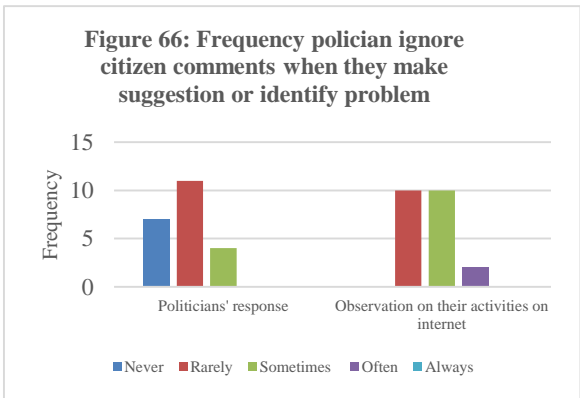
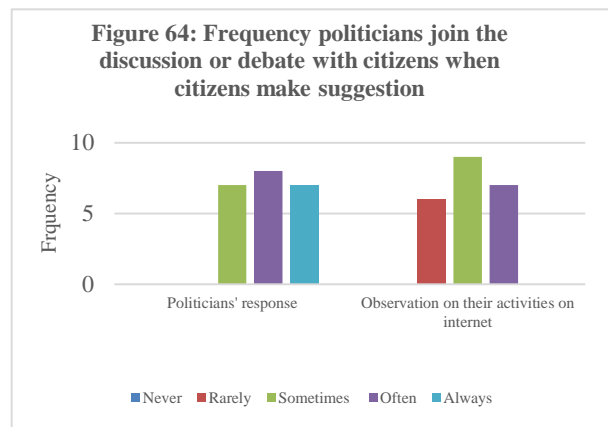
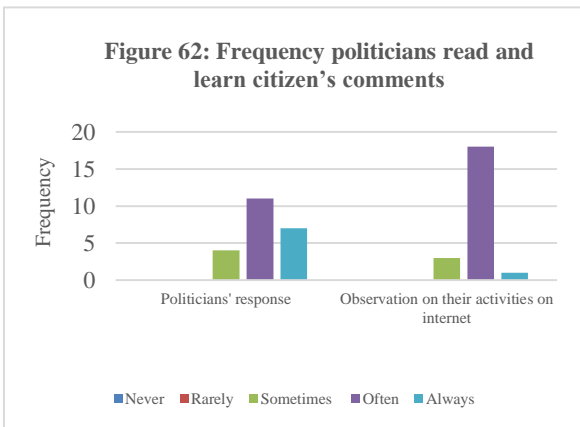
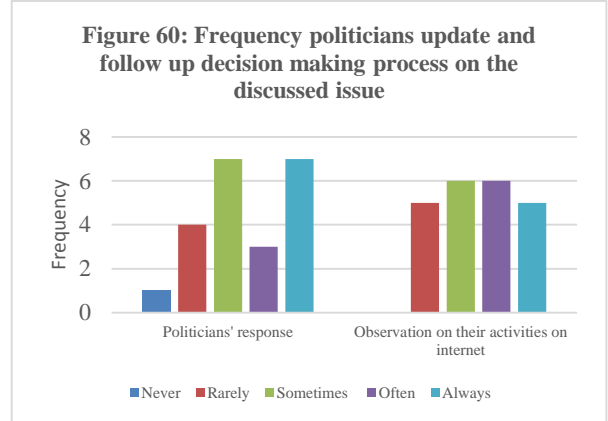
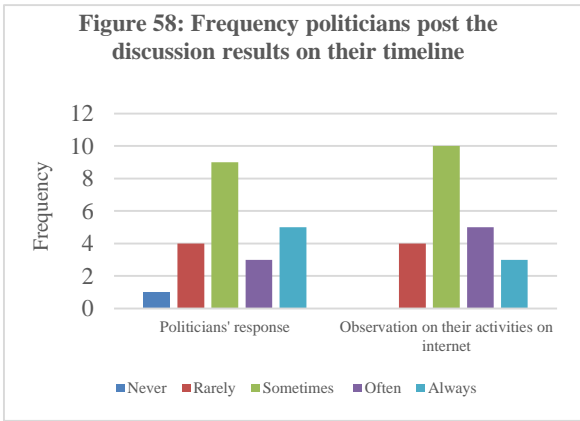
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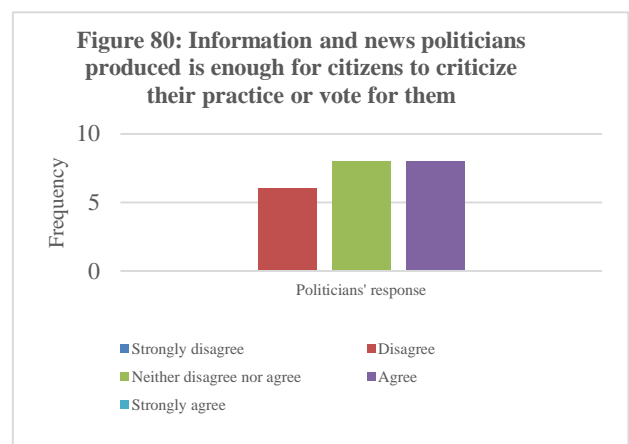
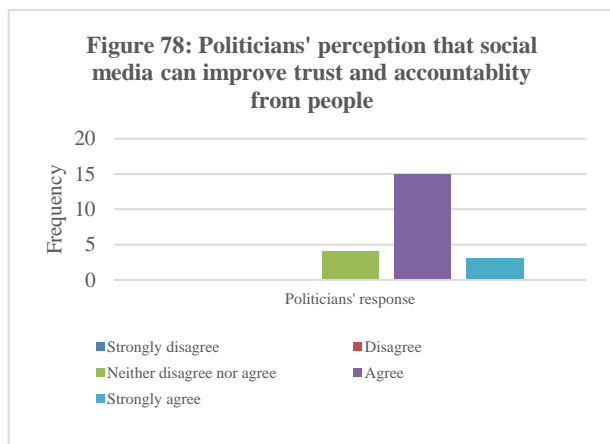
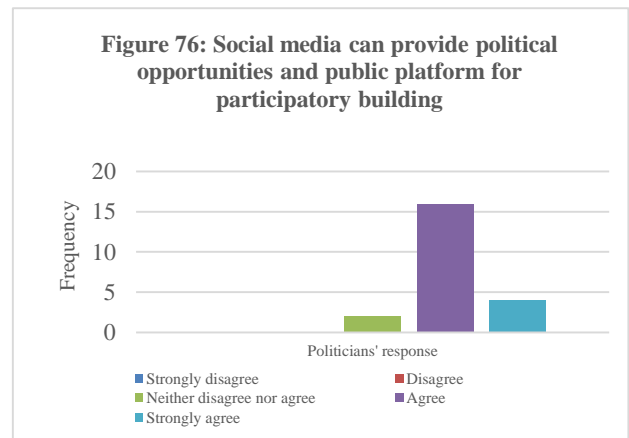
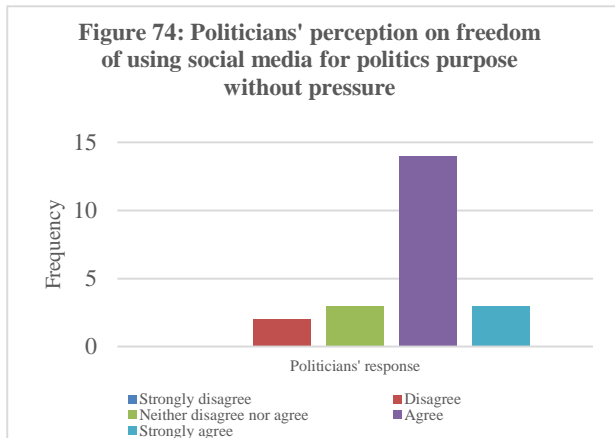
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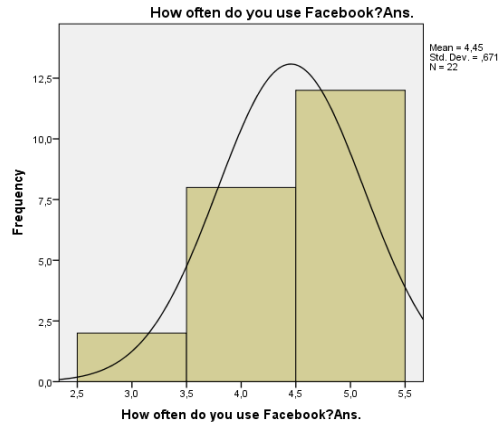
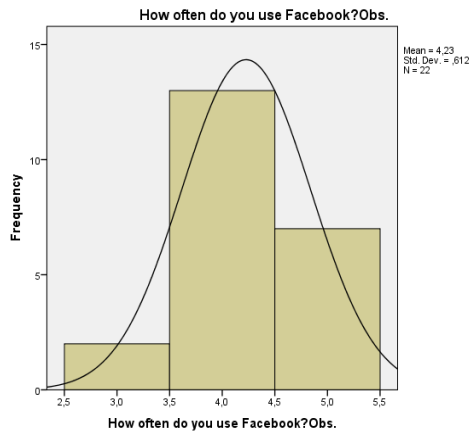


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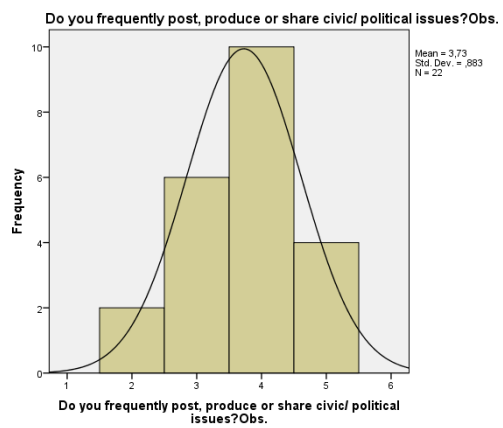
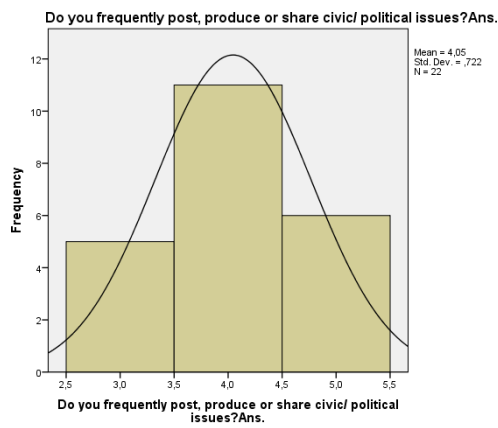


Appendix C: Histogram

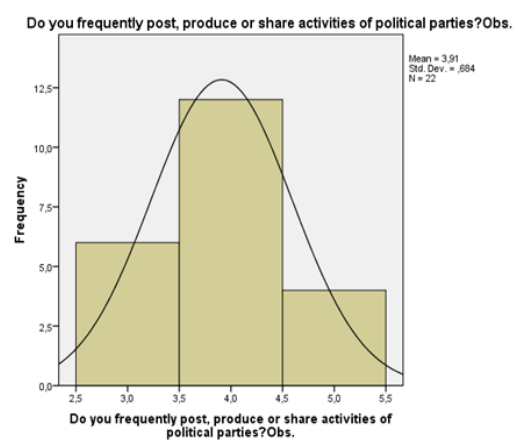
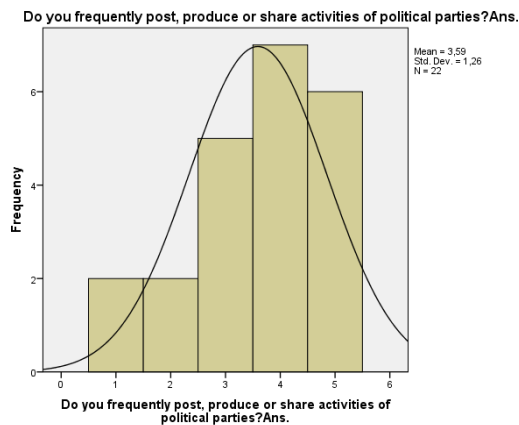
1. Frequency of Facebook usage (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation).



2. Frequency of politicians produce and share civic and political issue (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation)

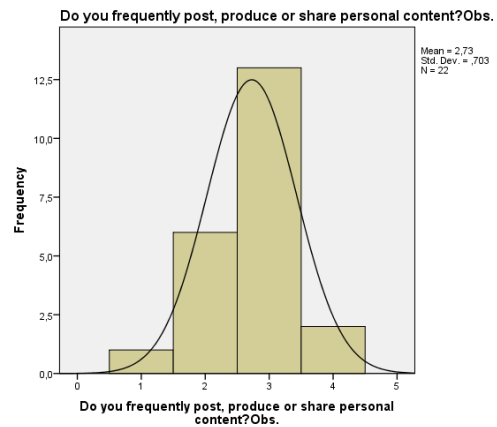
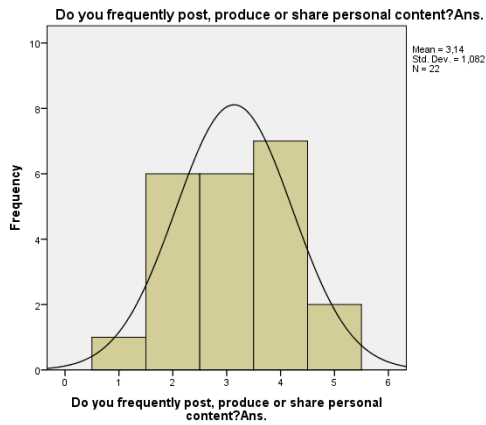


3. Frequency politicians posted, produced or shared activities of their political party (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation)

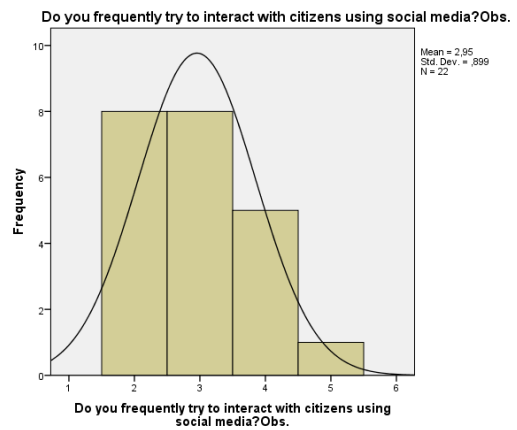
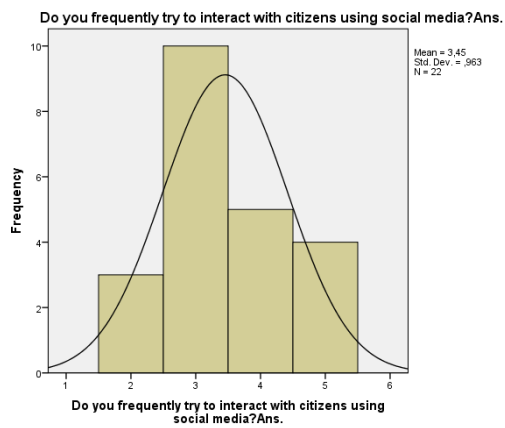


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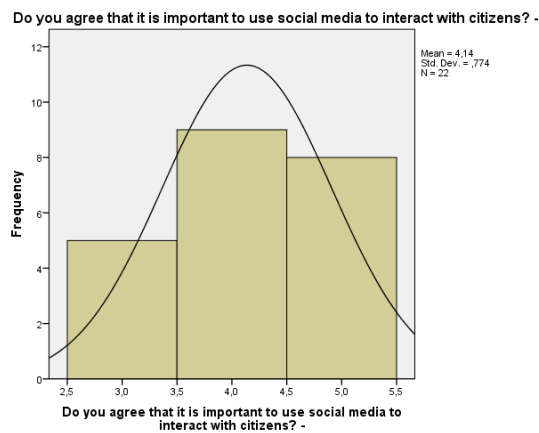
4. Frequency politicians posted, produced, shared personal content (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation)



5. Politicians' interaction to social media users (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation)

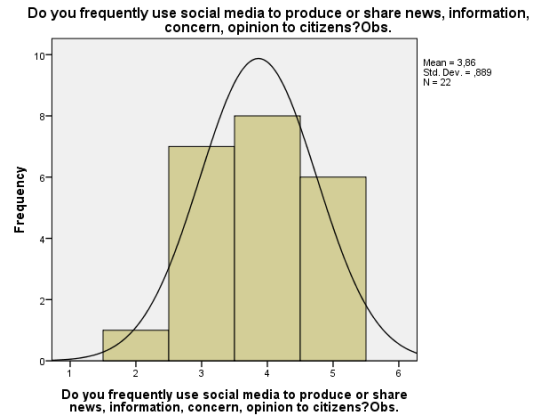
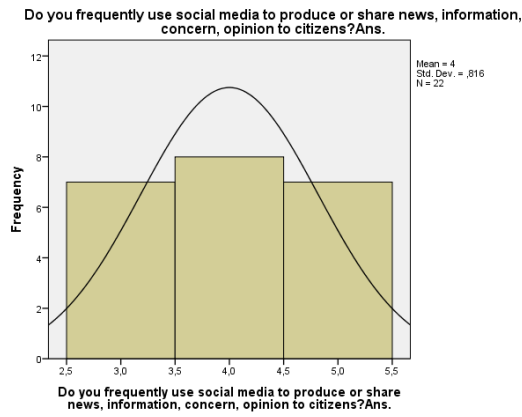


6. Politicians' perspective on the importance of using social media to interact with citizens

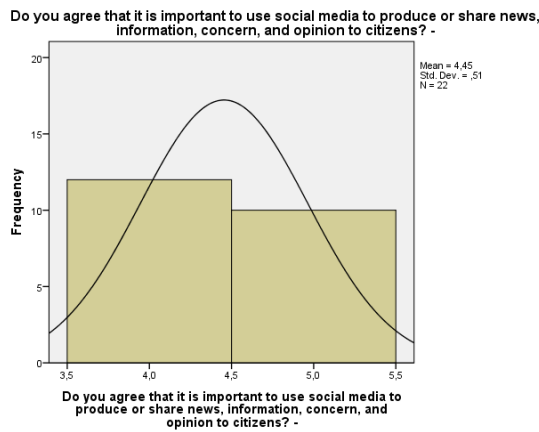


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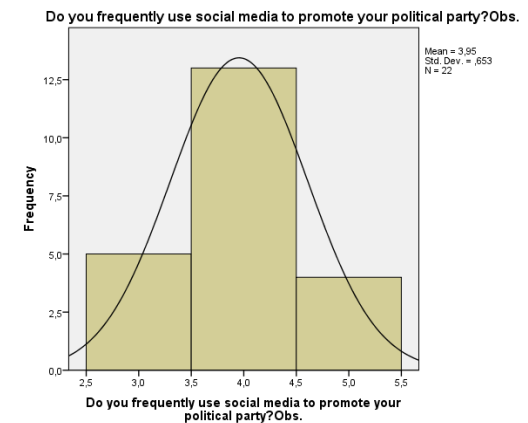
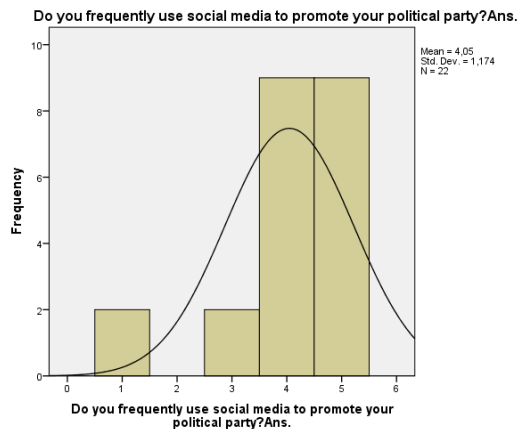
7. Frequency politician produce or share news, information, opinion, concern to citizens (Ans=answer, (Obs=observation)



8. Politicians' perspective on the importance of using social media to produce or share news, information, concern and opinion to citizens

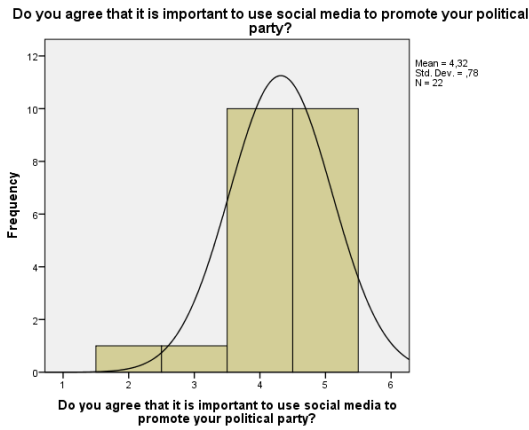


9. Frequency politicians use social media to promote their political party (Ans=Answer, Obs=Observation)

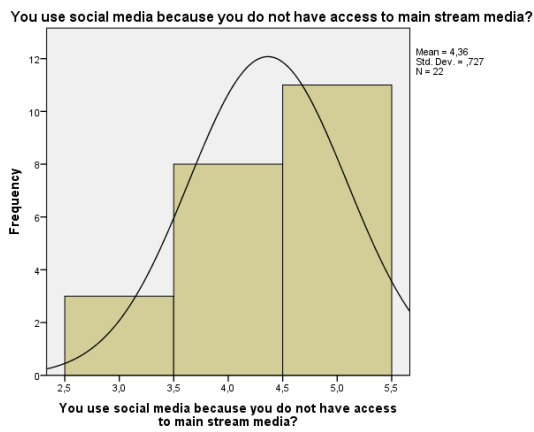


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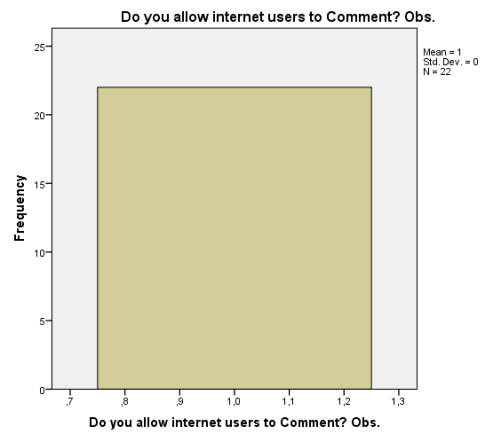
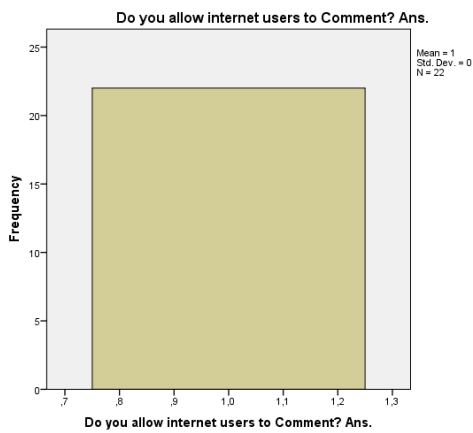
10. Politicians' perspective on the importance of using social media to promote the political party



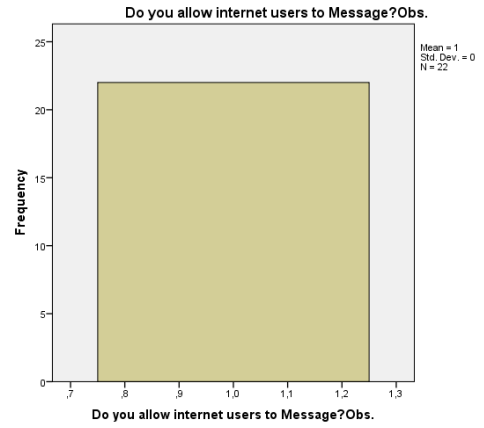
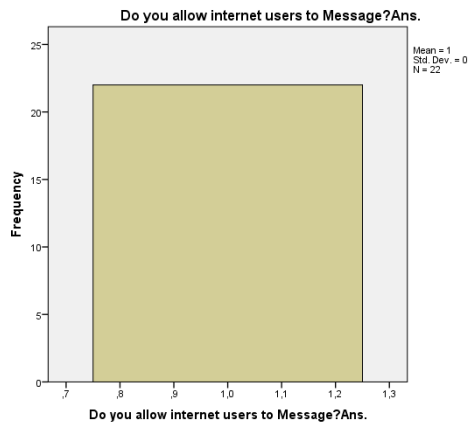
11. Politicians' perspective that they use social media because they cannot access to main stream media



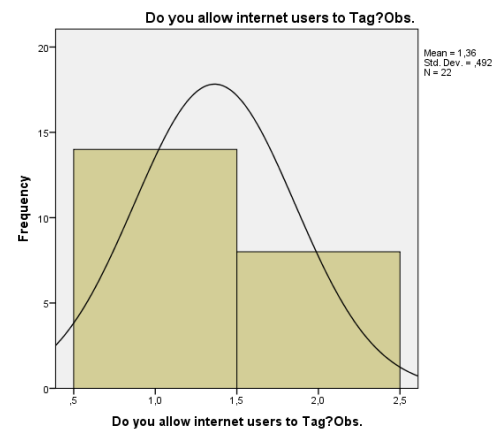
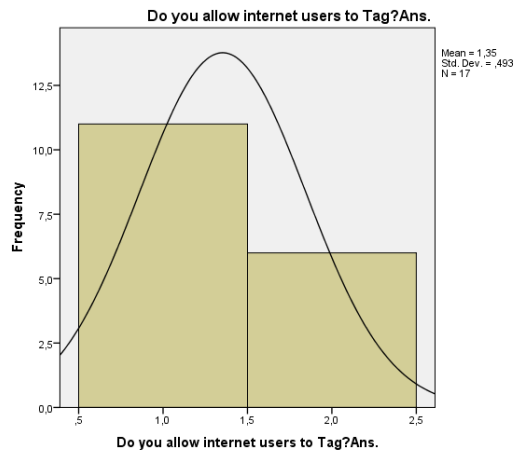
12. Privacy on comment and message



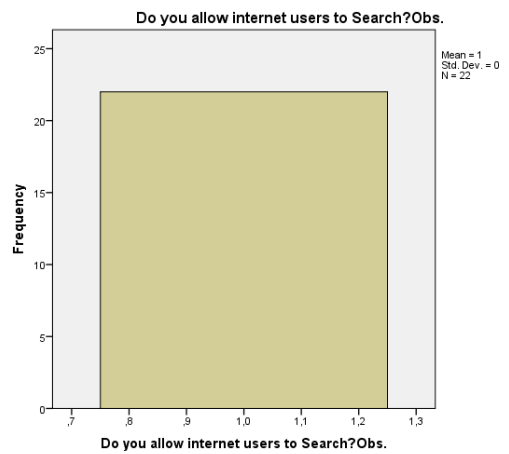
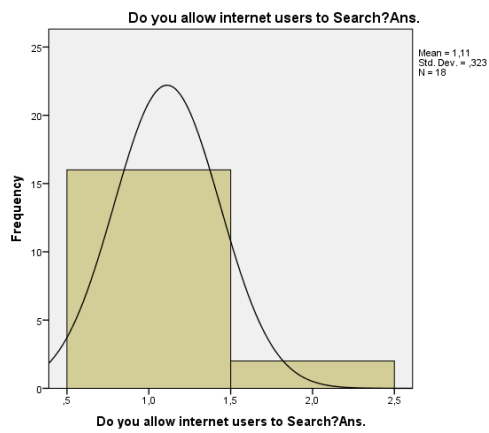
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13. Permission on Tag

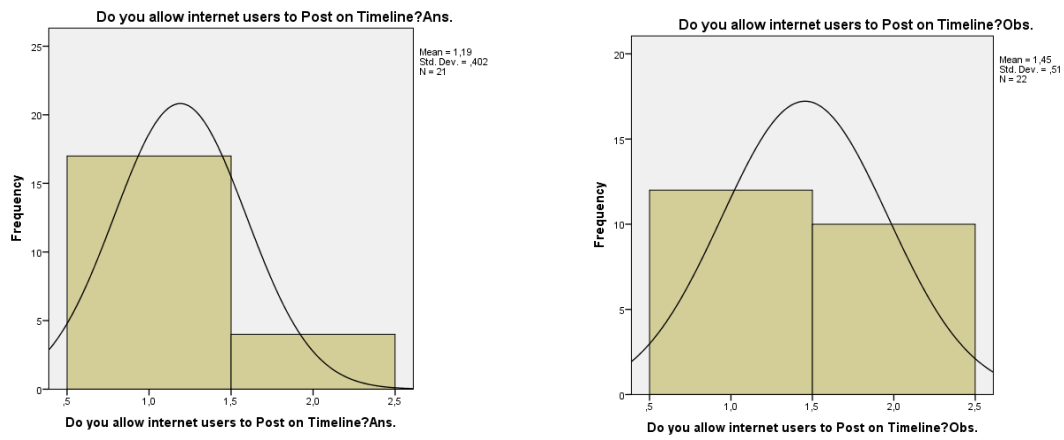


14: Permission on search

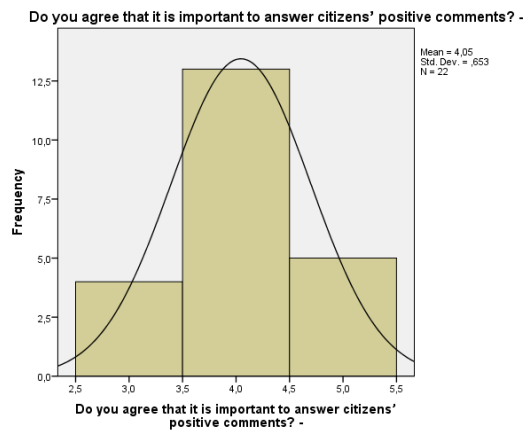


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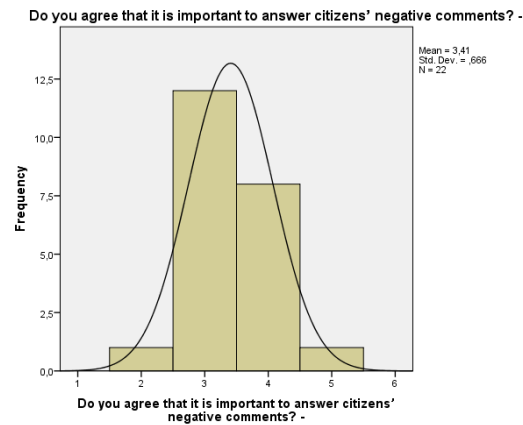
15. Permission on post on politicians' timeline (Ans= Answer, Obs= Observation)



16. Politicians' perspective on answering citizens' positive comments.

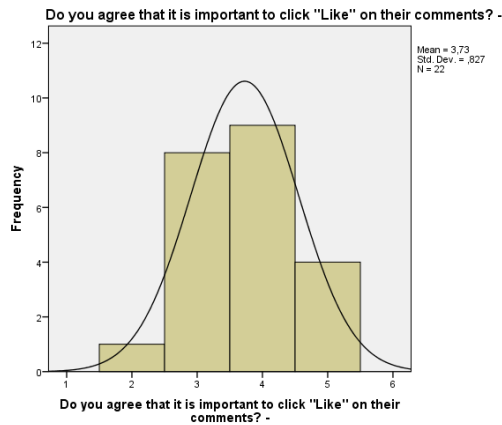


17. Politicians' perspective on importance of answering citizens' negative comments

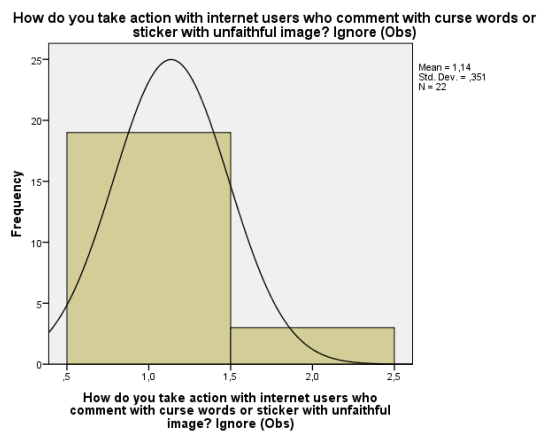
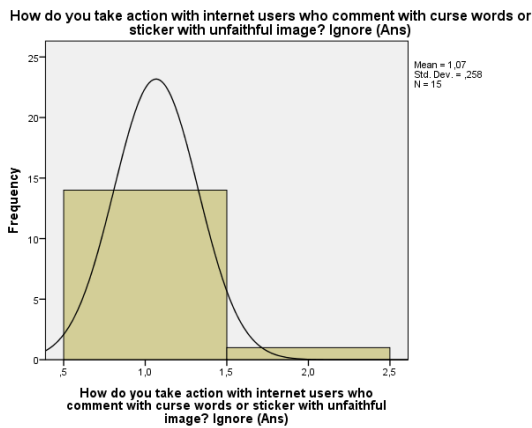


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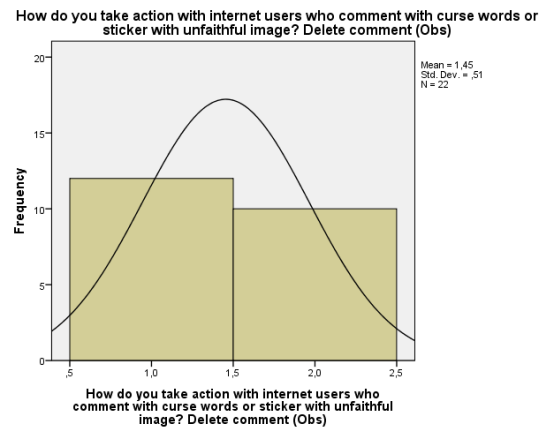
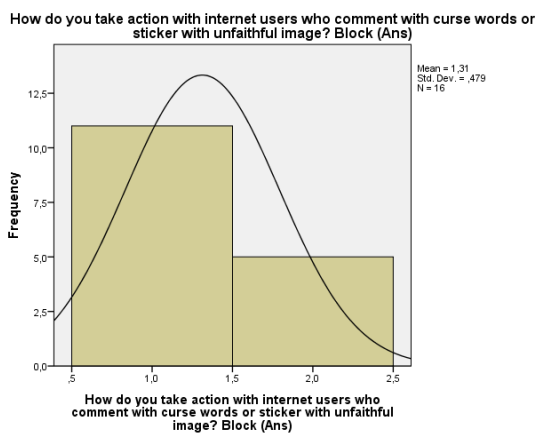
18. Politicians' perspective on importance of clicking LIKE on people's comments



19. Politicians' action on curse words and unfearful image (Ans=Answer, Obs=Observation)



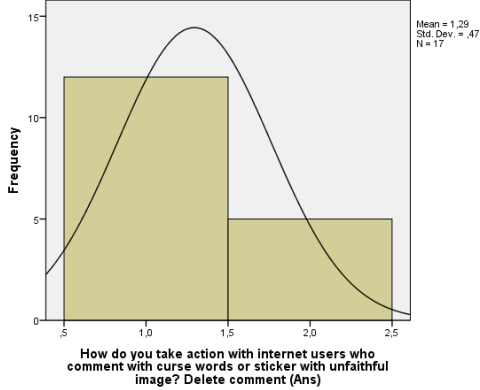
20. Politicians' action on curse words and unfaithful image---block (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)



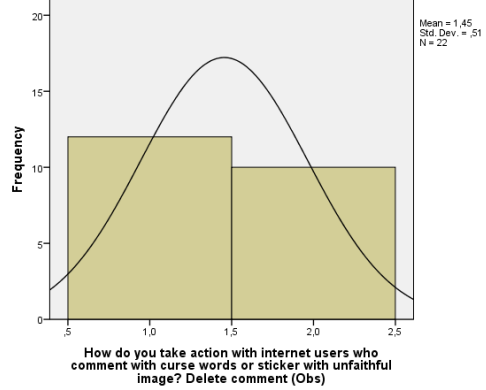
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21. Politicians' action taking on curse words and unfaithful image---delete comment (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

How do you take action with internet users who comment with curse words or sticker with unfaithful image? Delete comment (Ans)

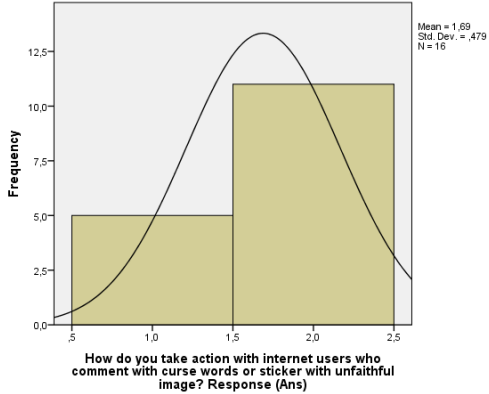


How do you take action with internet users who comment with curse words or sticker with unfaithful image? Delete comment (Obs)

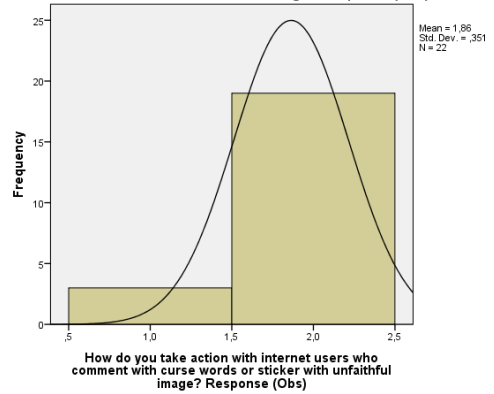


22. Politicians' action taking on the curse words or unfaithful image---responded to the comments (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

How do you take action with internet users who comment with curse words or sticker with unfaithful image? Response (Ans)

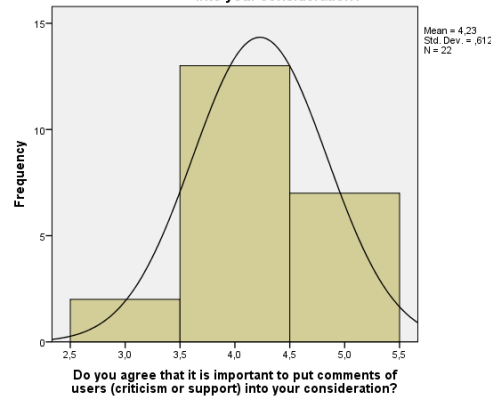


How do you take action with internet users who comment with curse words or sticker with unfaithful image? Response (Obs)



23. Politicians' perspective on the importance of putting people's comment into their consideration

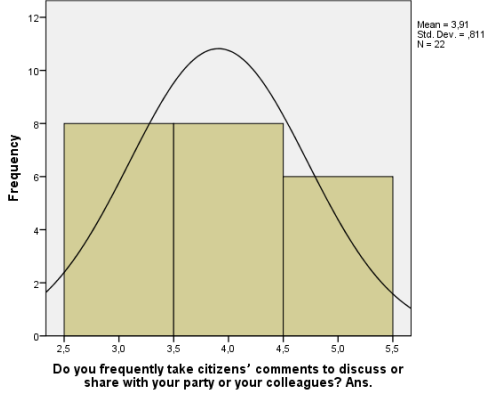
Do you agree that it is important to put comments of users (criticism or support) into your consideration?



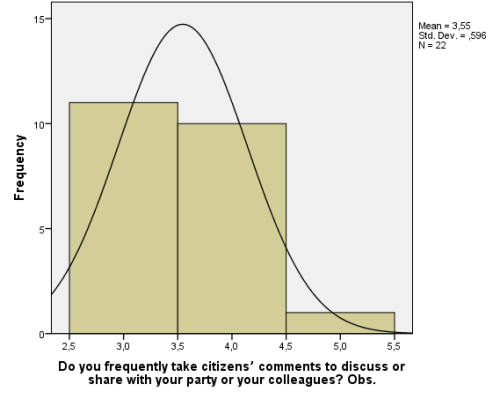
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24. Frequency politicians take citizens' comments to discuss with their political party and colleagues (Ans= Answer; Obs=Observation)

Do you frequently take citizens' comments to discuss or share with your party or your colleagues? Ans.



Do you frequently take citizens' comments to discuss or share with your party or your colleagues? Obs.

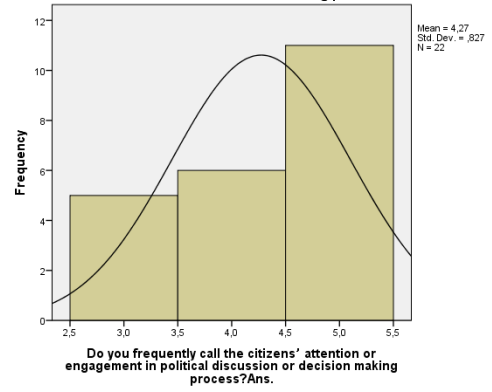


25. Frequency politicians call citizens' attention and engagement in political discussion and decision making process(Ans= Answer; Obs= Observation)

Do you frequently call the citizens' attention or engagement in political discussion or decision making process?Obs.

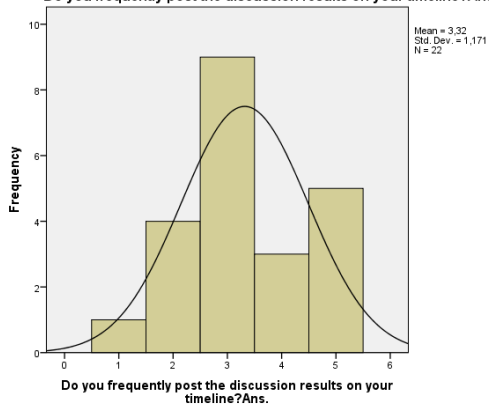


Do you frequently call the citizens' attention or engagement in political discussion or decision making process?Ans.

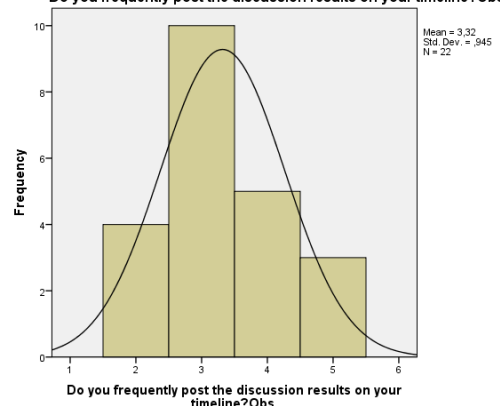


26. Frequency politicians post the discussion results on their timeline when they have political discussion and decision (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

Do you frequently post the discussion results on your timeline?Ans.



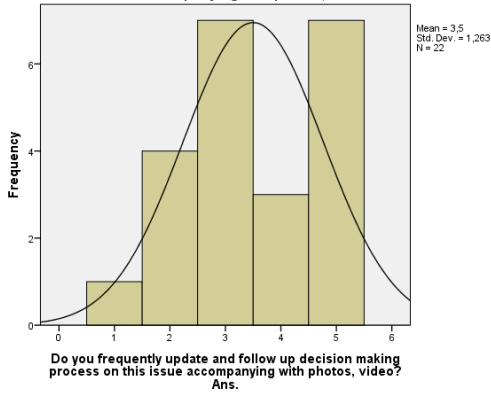
Do you frequently post the discussion results on your timeline?Obs.



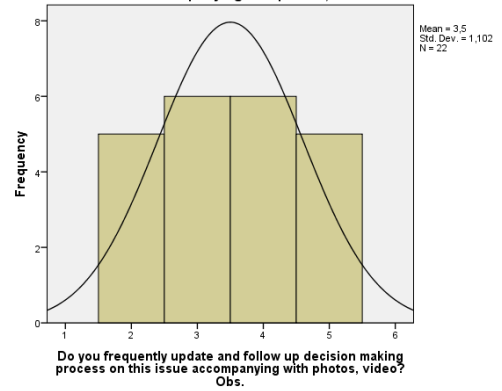
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27. Frequency politicians update and follow up decision making process on the discussed issue accompany with photos and video (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

Do you frequently update and follow up decision making process on this issue accompanying with photos, video?Ans.

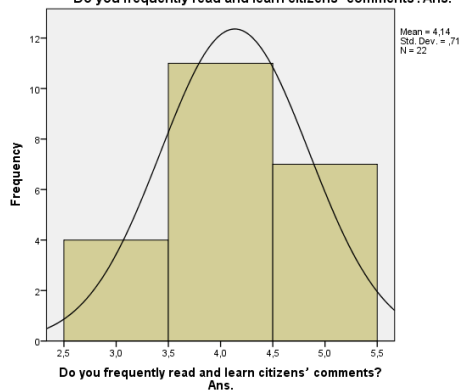


Do you frequently update and follow up decision making process on this issue accompanying with photos, video?Obs.

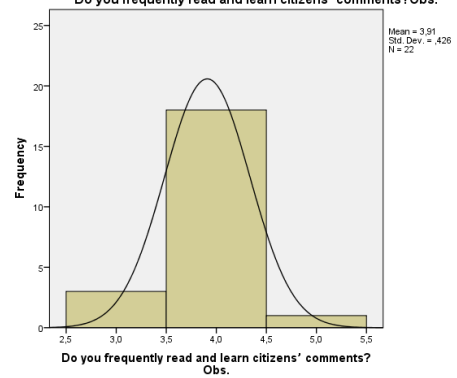


28: Frequency politicians read and learn citizen's comments (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

Do you frequently read and learn citizens' comments?Ans.

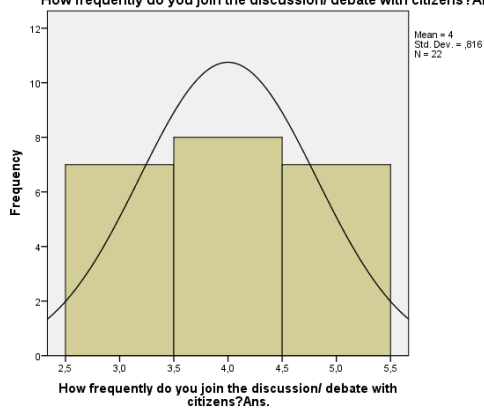


Do you frequently read and learn citizens' comments?Obs.

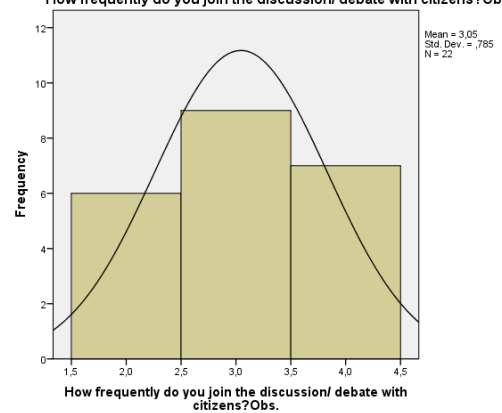


29. Frequency politicians join the discussion or debate with citizens when citizens make suggestion or identify problem

How frequently do you join the discussion/ debate with citizens?Ans.

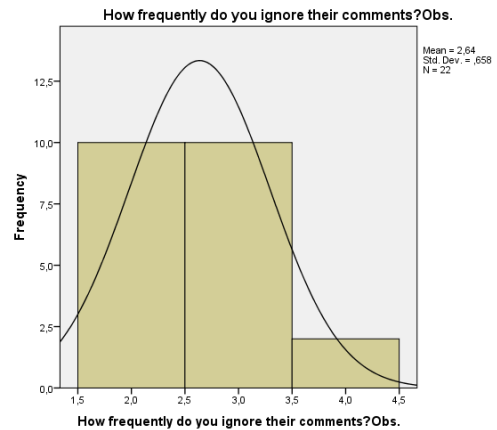
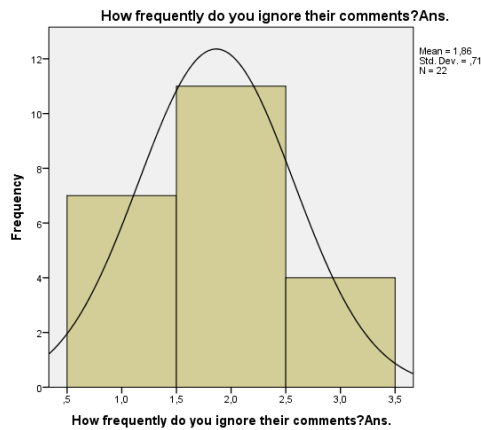


How frequently do you join the discussion/ debate with citizens?Obs.

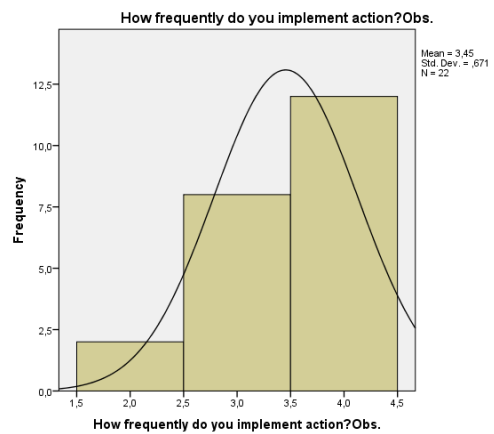
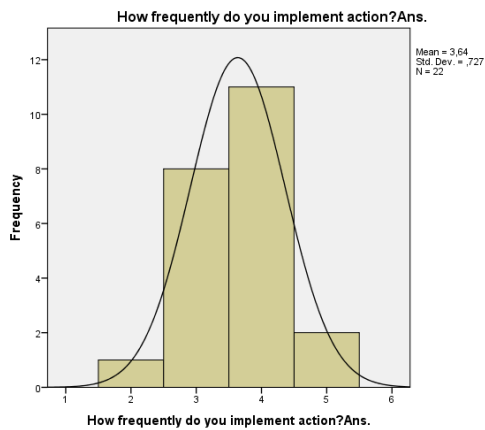


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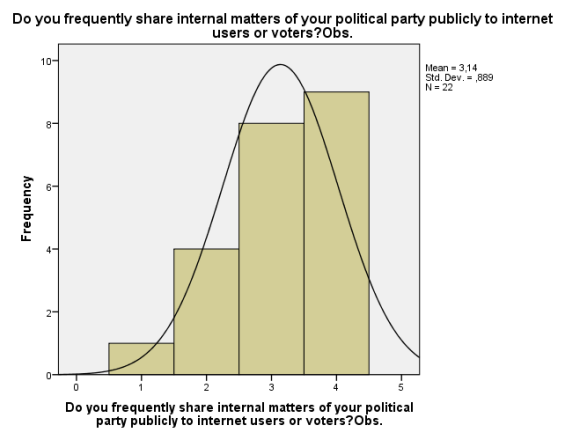
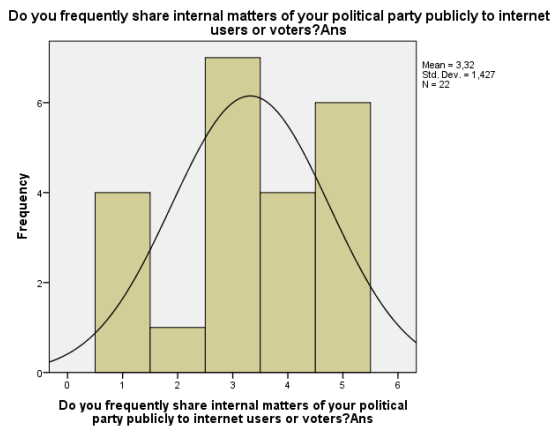
30. Frequency politicians ignore citizens' comments when they make suggestion or identify problems



31. Frequency politicians implement action when people make suggestion or identify problem

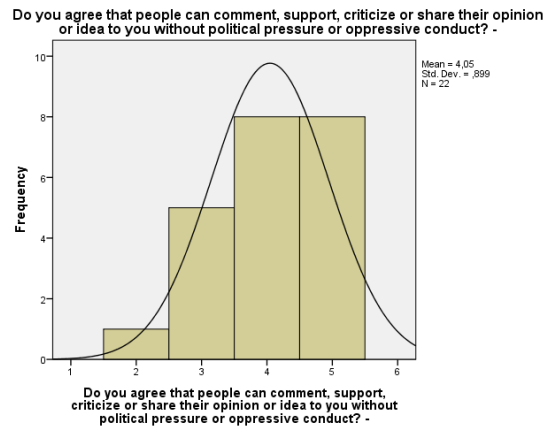


32. Frequency politician share internal matter of political party publically to internet user based on their answer and our observation (Ans=Answer; Obs=Observation)

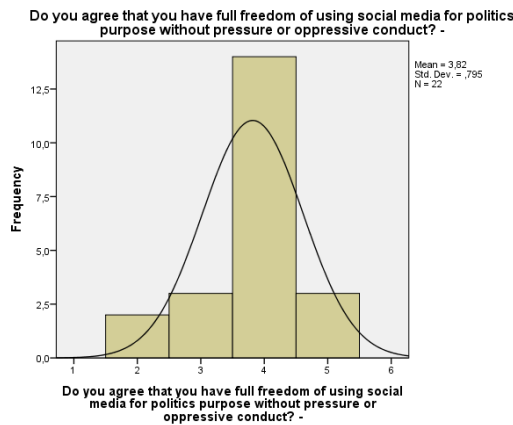


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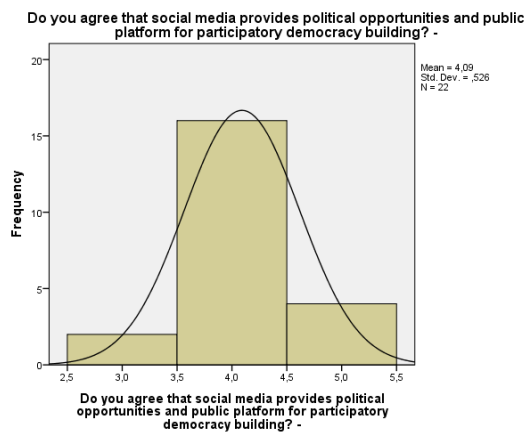
33. Politicians' perception on social media user can comments, support or criticize or share their opinion or idea to politicians without political pressure or oppressive conduct



34. Politicians' perception on freedom of using social media for politics purpose without pressure or oppressive conduct

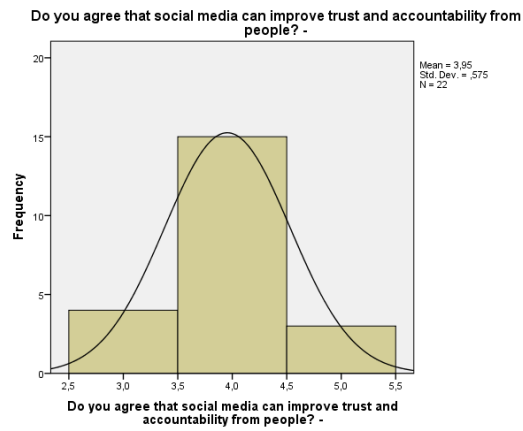


35. Politicians' perception that social media can provide political opportunity and public platform for participatory building

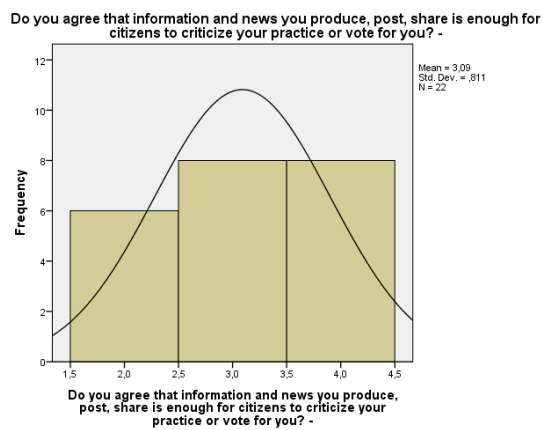


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36. Politicians' perception that social media can improve trust and accountability from people



37. Politicians' perception that information and news that they produced, post, share via social media is enough for citizens to criticize their practice or vote for them



Appendix D:

Survey Questionnaire:

How Cambodian politicians explore Web 2.0 to connect with people and build participatory democracy

Dear his/ her Excellency, I am Kim Samath, a Cambodian Master Student studying at the University of Porto in Portugal. Currently, I am conducting a research in order to obtain my master degree and I would like to ask for your help and kindness to spend around 10 minutes to complete this online survey. All information collected will be kept strictly confidential. I would like to show my sincere thanks to you for your fruitful help and cooperation. Further information, please contact via email: kim_samath07@yahoo.com or moutinho@fep.up.pt (supervisor).

I. Web 2.0 for political connection and engagement

1. *Do you use social media?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

2. *How often do you use:*

Facebook

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

Twitter

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

YouTube

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

Blog

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

3. *Do you frequently post, produce or share civic/ political issues?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

4. *Do you frequently post, produce or share activities of political parties?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

5. *Do you frequently post, produce or share personal content?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

B. Reasons and Motivation of online usage

6. *Do you frequently try to interact with citizens using social media?*
 A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always
7. *Do you agree that it is important to use social media to interact with citizens?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
8. *Do you frequently use social media to produce or share news, information, concern, opinion to citizens?*
 A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always
9. *Do you agree that it is important to use social media to produce or share news, information, concern, and opinion to citizens?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
10. *Do you frequently use social media to promote your political party?*
 A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always
11. *Do you agree that it is important to use social media to promote your political party?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
12. *You use social media because you do not have access to main stream media.*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

C. Behavior and attitude of politicians towards social media

13. *Do you allow internet users to*

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Tag |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Message |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Search |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Post on Timeline |

14. *Do you agree that it is important to answer citizens' positive comments?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
15. *Do you agree that it is important to like their comments?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
16. *Do you agree that it is important to answer citizens' negative comments?*
 A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree
17. *How do you take action with internet users who comment with curse words or sticker with unfaithful image?*

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A. Ignore

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

B. Block

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

C. Response

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

D. Delete their comment

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

18. *Do you agree that it is important to put comments of users (criticism or support) into your consideration?*

A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

D. Impacts of Web 2.0 to participatory democracy building

19. *Do you frequently take citizens' comments to discuss or share with your party or your colleagues?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

20. *Do you frequently call the citizens' attention or engagement in political discussion or decision making process?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

21. When you have political discussion or decision:

21.1. *Do you frequently post the discussion results on your timeline?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

21.2. *Do you frequently update and follow up decision making process on this issue accompanying with photos, video?*

A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

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21.3. *Do you frequently read and learn citizens' comments?*

- A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

22. When citizens make suggestions or identify problems:

22.1. *How frequently do you join the discussion/ debate with citizens?*

- A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

22.2. *How frequently do you implement action?*

- A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

22.3. *How frequently do you ignore their comments?*

- A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

23. *Do you frequently share internal matters of your political party (fund, budget plan, mission, policy or meeting...etc.) publically to internet users or voters?*

- A. Never B. Rarely C. Sometimes D. Often E. Always

24. *Do you agree that people can comment, support, criticize or share their opinion or idea to you without political pressure or oppressive conduct?*

- A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

25. *Do you agree that you have full freedom of using social media for politics purpose without pressure or oppressive conduct?*

- A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

26. *Do you agree that social media provides political opportunities and public platform for participatory democracy building?*

- A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

27. *Do you agree that social media can improve trust and accountability from people?*

- A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree

28. *Do you agree that information and news you produce, post, share is enough for citizens to criticize your practice or vote for you?*

- A. Strongly disagree B. Disagree C. Neither agree or disagree D. Agree E. Strongly agree