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A modern myth of grassroot communication

A critical perspective on social media use in land conflicts in Cambodia.

Tomas Hultman
Tessan Nordeman

Informatörsprogrammet
inriktning fred och utveckling
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Abstract

Social media is a collective name for the communication channels that allow users to communicate directly with each other in real time through text, image or sound. This study sets out to describe, analyze and draw conclusions on the use of social media in land conflicts in Cambodia.

Experts debate on the importance of social media in social change, and aid institutions encourage social media presence for grass root organizations. With this study we want to add a grass root perspective from a development context, trying to see how the communication and information work with social media actually works.

We decided to focus on social media's agenda setting, advocacy and mobilizational possibilities, and interviewed eight organizations, three journalists/bloggers and one newspaper editor to get a broad perspective of social media's usage in land conflicts, and we also conducted a small case study on the land conflict Boeung Kak lake's presence on Youtube.

The results showed that the organizations were using social media in many different ways, and on different levels in their communications work. We could however not see any clear interlinkage between the usage of social media and a success in neither agenda setting, social mobilization nor advocacy work; even though there are success stories we could not see consistent patterns in them.

Our conclusion is therefore that a more objective and rational picture of social media is needed, that acknowledges the potentials but also shows the obstacles. Our hope is that this study can give a more balanced approach to social media's place in developing countries in general and Cambodia in particular, helping actors to understand the different factors that need to be addressed to make it a successful tool of communication.

Keywords: Social media, land conflicts, Cambodia, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, blog, development communication, Boeung Kak Lake, social change.

List of abbreviations

Affiliated network for Social Accountability (Ansa-eap)
Building Community voices (BCV)
Cambodia Daily (CD)
Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (CCHR)
Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights (Licadho)
Cambodian Peoples Part (CPP)
Economic Land Concessions (ELC)
My Village Initiative (MVi)
Indigenous Community Support organization (ICSO)
Information and communication technology (ICT)
National Television Kampuchea (TVK)
Nickname (nick)
Non-governmental organization (NGO)
Office of the high Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)
Phnom Penh Post (PPP)
Public Service Broadcasting (PSB)
Radio Free Asia (RFA)
Sam Rainsy Party (SRP)
Short message service (SMS)
Social land concession (SLC)
Swedish international development cooperation agency (SIDA)
United Nations (UN)
United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
United Nations Children Fund (Unicef)
Urban Initiative (UI)
User generated content (UGC)
Voice of America (VoA)
Voice of the Kampuchean People (VOKP)

Contents

1 Introduction

In this chapter we will present a short background of the research subject, being social media and its possibility to create social change such as they proved to do during the Arabic Spring, information that we consider it important for the reader to have before taking on the rest of the study. We will also present this study's purpose as well as a description of our research questions, and last we will describe the outline of the study.

1.1 Social media

Social media has been a hot subject and during the last five years there has been a boom in the usage of social platforms and networks on internet. In what is called Web 2.0, user generated content (UGC) has increased and the information order that was before, with a selected few gatekeepers (like editors, politicians and journalists) via the traditional media, is being transformed. Nowadays more people are sharing information amongst themselves and with the contacts they choose, in the way they decide. The one-way and controlled information flow is now a multi-way information flow, allowing real-time interaction between people that are situated on different sites in the world. Anyone with an internet connection can tell the online world about news and issues. Besides blogs and web pages we also include wikis, online communities, Skype, Flickr, LinkedIn, Myspace and micro blogs as social medias that actually build upon the exchange of information, communication and creation of relationships (Haider 2011). This gives companies and organizations the possibility to interact with their customers, audiences and target groups in a way that was not possible before, and get contribution and confirmations as well as complaints or criticism directly and sometimes openly.

This also means that the average user has more control and power over the information-flow than before (Bergner & Olofsson 2010) and those citizens who have the same interests can find each other and create online communities easily and quick. In his study from October 2006, Castells finds that "Technorati was tracking 57.3 million blogs, up from 26 million in January 2006. On average 75,000 new blogs are created every day. There are about 1.2 million posts daily, or about 50,000 blog updates an hour" (Castells 2011:10) and the trend is not changing. So, the difficulties of information overload1 is also present when working with development and social change online.

1.2 Social media and social change

After the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia 2011, social media and net activism as a tool for social change has been widely debated and celebrated. Cory Doctorow (2011) of the Guardian discussed this issue as well as criticized the book *Net Delusion* in his article *We need a serious critique of net activism* saying: "The Net Delusion argues that technology isn't necessarily good for freedom – but how else can the oppressed have a voice?" (Doctorow 2011). His colleague from the Guardian, Anne Nelson (2011), emphasized on the critical perspective in her article *The limits of the 'Twitter revolution'*, saying that even though social media can be a powerful tool for social changes, it cannot replace real citizen activism on the street. Yet another article *Social media, a critical tool for Middle East protesters* from Voice of America stressed the same thing (Villareal 2011). Ethan Zuckerman, a senior researcher for the Berkman Centre for Internet and Society, means that Internet users were influential in organizing these protests, but that this is only part of the story. "I don't think they could have happened without MEDIA - the combination of Al Jazeera, social media and other media forces," (In Social Media: Catalyst or hype? 2011).The article *Social media in Egypt: a*

powerful tool for political change from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) on the other hand talked about the possibilities and the power of social media, citing Egyptian activists that credit the online tools for the success of the revolution.

These are just some examples of the opinions that are heard in the discussion of the subject. The well-known Egyptian blogger Salma Said said on the conference #net4change that Swedish international development cooperation agency (SIDA) arranged that it was not social media but people on the square that made the change, and the stones they used. "After the internet blockade people actually had to get out on the streets and DO something" (Said 2011) and as written by the journalist Nemat Sadat, in the comment field of professor Clay Shirky's article *The political power of social media,* published at the newspaper Foreign Affairs website; "social media is not the cause of revolution, of course, it is the anger that accumulates living under a repressive regime". This reflects one of the critical views on social medias actual effects. After the Arabic spring revolutions reporters without borders stated: "(a)lthough the Internet is certainly used by dissidents, it is also used by the authorities to relay regime propaganda and enforce a police state" (Reporters without borders 2011) as well as censoring information both to and from the outside world. As Huma Haider concludes; "although social media allows for the development of community and collective identity at low cost, this does not necessarily translate into street action, which is necessary for the success of a protest movement" (Haider 2011:7) and as well as there has to be other factors in favour of a successful change in social structures, like a political will. Revolutions in Thailand and Burma for example, were well spread in the social media networks, but did not succeed in their strive for a shift in the government, and all this tells us that social media is a complex area of research with plenty of differences and contexts.

2   Purpose and objective

In this thesis we want to analyze the use and impact of social media as a tool for social change, focusing on and come to an understanding on how organizations and land conflicts in Cambodia. We aim to understand who is using these media and if, and also what, that impact has been, trying to see if the social medias can go beyond the quite politicized and corrupt media landscape of Cambodia, and transfer some power to the grass root level.

2.1   Problem definition

This thesis attempts to answer the following question: How are organizations using social media in land conflicts in Cambodia? In the case of Boeung Kak lake we have also looked at: How has the reporting about the conflict looked like in social media? To answer these main questions, we have come up with some working questions that also need to be answered:
· Who is using social media in the land conflicts?
· How is traditional media used?
- Which social medias are used?
· What are the social media used for? (strategies, goals with the use and social media?)
· What impact does it have? (does it set an agenda for traditional media, raising awareness)
· What difficulties are there for the organizations and groups working with land conflicts in accessing and using social media? (such as language, internet access etc.)
· Who do they want to reach, and who are they reaching? (gender, age, politicians, other non governmental organizations (NGO's), nationally, internationally?)
· What priorities do organizations do in their use of social media?

We believe that social media is a complex area of research, since aim and usage may vary

depending on the person or group using them and their context. Some may use social media for advocacy, some for creating relationships and others for marketing, and we think that it is very important for all actors, including donors, to understand what social media are and how they best can be used for people involved in land conflicts in particular.

2.2   Outline of the study

This study will follow a traditional way of presenting research material, starting with an introduction to the background of the study and the context of which social media interest has sprung. In this chapter we will also present the purpose of the study as well as the problem definition, and after that we will give a presentation of the study's context, being land conflicts in Cambodia and the media landscape in Cambodia. Then we will shortly summarize some previous research in the field of social media as a tool for social change and development work from five different researchers.

In the theory chapter we will present three different theories that we have focused on while preparing for the collection of material and analyzing the data found: Agenda setting, social mobilization and advocacy.

Why we chose these theories is presented briefly in the beginning of every theory presentation. In the next chapter, method, we will discuss our selection of informants and ways of collect and analyze the material as well as present our informants and describe the process of gathering material. We will also discuss some critique that we have against our study together with an ethical discussion on how the study might have affected our informants. Then we will present the result of our study, letting the informants come to speak and share their experiences and opinions as well as presenting the findings from the minor case study. After that we will discuss the results, trying to see the general in the specific and find reasons to the results. We will finish with a short conclusion of the study, and have added two appendixes for more detailed information on interview questions and the organizations work.

3   Context of the study

In this chapter we will present the background of the subjects that we aim to investigate: new media and what impact they can have in land conflicts in Cambodia, and a brief presentation of land issues in the country. We have chosen to present some of the latest news published on land conflicts in Cambodia to give an insight on what issues the latest reports has brought up on the issue.

3.1   Media landscape in Cambodia

After the Khmer Rouge took control over Phnom Penh in 1975, the radio stations were nearly exclusively used to spread communist propaganda while other media like TV or newspapers almost seized to exist. After Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodian territory in 1979 ended the dictatorship of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, radio stations were slowly starting to broadcast news and programs again (Tive 2002). Since the old government had killed the majority of the country's educated population (Fröberg Idling 2006) there was a lot of capacity building to be done before there were enough educated journalists to run the radios, newsletters and television programs. During the 1980's the Kampuchean Radio and Television Commission was established as well as the Voice of the Kampuchean People (VOKP), later called Voice of Cambodia but the almost thirty years of civil war that ended in the late 90's have made progress slow and difficult. Still, "the notion of the media as 'society's watchdog' is not well understood by the government or even by many media practitioners

themselves" (Im 2010:8). According to the Ministry of Information, there were 327 newspapers, 129 magazines, 36 bulletins, 27 foreign newspapers in Cambodia in 2008 (Ministry of Information in Im 2011:6) and many of them are merely a tool to spread political propaganda. Im (2011) writes that broadcast media is heavily controlled by the government, and our informants for this thesis agrees with that, giving the traditional media a lower credibility for those who are aware of the situation.

3.1.1   Media landscape of today

The center of the country in many ways is the capital Phnom Penh, where also most of the medias are based and distributed. The wages are low, and some journalists make the most out of the country's corrupt system and write, or not, about things that will give them something extra in their pockets (Tive 2002). According to the study *A Public Service Broadcasting Model for Developing Countries: The Case of Cambodia* (Im, 2011) the country has "never experienced politically and commercially independent media such as PSB#[1] in its history" (Im 2010:2). The political opposition party Sam Rainsy Party has for example been denied radio broadcasting license and TV Broadcasting license (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003)

The most popular and widespread media is the radio with an estimated number of one million radios in the country. Journalist Sarayeth Tive (2002) says that "(r)adio, on the other hand, remains the most accessible form of mass media. It is not expensive to purchase and it runs cheaply with batteries where there is no electricity" (Tive 2002:1) and this seem to still be accurate. The radio is accessible even in the most rural areas where broadcasting can be listened to from loud-speakers in the market and the radio can run on batteries. Most of the medias in the country are in Khmer, but more and more radio programs, especially in Phnom Penh area, are in English and there are also several newspapers in English, for example the Phnom Penh Post (PPP) and the Cambodia Daily (CD).

There is also one more side to the Cambodian media landscape, and that is the corruption and politicization that exist. According to Transparency international (2011) Cambodia had a Corruption Perceptions Index of 2,1 which made them the 18th most corrupted country in the world. Tide says:

> There is a close link between politics and the media in Cambodia. The broadcast media in Cambodia are dominated by the current ruling political party, the Cambodian Peoples Party (CPP). Opposition newspapers do write articles which openly criticize the government and its politics, but employees are often unwilling to give out the addresses of the newspapers offices as they fear for their safety (Tide 2002:2).

This is something that reflects the whole society and also the media landscape, and as we have read and seen Cambodian news in English for a couple of weeks now we have noticed that even though there are reports on assault or land conflicts, there is rarely any direct criticism towards the government. Also many critical or controversial blogs are anonymous, for example the KI Media blog that is dedicated to publish sensitive information about Cambodia. Also Reporters without borders show in their reports that journalists have been killed or jailed because of their work and the freedom of speech is not quite an institution yet. Reporters Without Borders press freedom index placed Cambodia at a shared 117 placing out of 173 countries (Reporters Without Borders 2012).

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1   PSB is short for Public Service Broadcasting.

3.1.2 Internet in Cambodia

Cambodia was said to have around 12.000 internet subscribers in 2005 (Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts), 78.000 in June 2010 and latest numbers are that around 450.000 people have internet access in the country (Internetworldstats 2011), which is around 3.1 percent. However, in the rural areas in Cambodia, internet access might be far away and there are still people that cannot handle a computer. Most internet cafes are situated in the cities, even though power cuts make the access unreliable. Also, most information on internet is not in Khmer and many people, especially the older generations, do not speak or read English or other languages at all, so for them there are even more challenges to get online. The Khmer unicode[2] have facilitated the access to Khmer content online, but still not all national blogs or organizations use it.

3.1.3 Social media in Cambodia

Social media is getting more important everywhere in the world, and Cambodia is not different. According to Internetworldstats (2011) every internet user also has an account on Facebook and the younger generation, especially in the cities, is well connected. Some young bloggers - also called "cloggers", as in Cambodian bloggers (Cain 2009) - actively take a part in spreading information and opinions on Khmer issues to the world. These young and engaged people have together organized workshops in the universities of the country on the subject of social media and new ways of communication. Both on advertising, talk shows, organizations homepages and the different newspapers the Facebook information is there, and the audience is encouraged to "join" and "like".
Big organizations like United Nations Development Program (UNDP) broadcast TV programs on development and social issues together with National Television Kampuchea (TVK) on Youtube and it is also possible to contact most NGO's on their homepage or Facebook account. Some of the cloggers, like Kounila Keo (blueladyblog) and Sopheap Chek (sopheapfocus) take an active part in raising awareness about the injustices and social issues of the country.

3.1.4 Traditional media's latest coverage of land issues

Land issues in Cambodia are a common problem. The traditional media in Cambodia almost daily reports some sort of news that have to do with land issues. In the media one can also see proof of different kinds of methods used to protest against what people think are unfair conditions and crimes against their rights. Phnom Penh Post reported in January 2012 about a village that went out and blockaded road 76a in Cambodia. This they did because they had lost their right of the land that they grew cassava on, in an economic land concession in 2008 to the company TTY Corporation Co. The protest was also against the shooting of four men that was shoot by the guards from the company during a previous protest against the company's clearing of the cassava. This has resulted in a statement from the government saying that the villages will get their land back on which they harvest cassava and the men that were shot will receive compensation (Titthara 2012a).

Another dramatic direction protest can take is pictured in another article in the Phnom Penh Post, where one village kidnapped five employees of Jing Zhong Ri Cambodia Co Ltd. The company had started bulldozing land that belonged to the village, and villages kidnapped the employees because they wanted to prevent the bulldozing of what they claim is the village land. However the company claim that they have the right to use the land. The company has

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2   A writing font that allows people to publish texts with Khmer symbols and letters.

got a 70-year lease for a rubber plantation on an area in Lamphat of 9,224 hectare. The villages released their hostage after two hours when an agreement had been reached and the company agreed to temporarily stop bulldozing (Channyda Chhay 2012).

According to a news article more than 1000 families had to be force evicted to leave room for a new gambling resort in the Koh Kong province. The families have filed in complaints since the Chinese company and military police tried to force them away from their homes. The complaint says that the military police have burned down villages to make them move. In the letter to the Koh Kong provincial politicians the human rights group Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights (Licadho) wrote that the economic land concession laws should be improving villages living standard, however this company only makes them poorer (Titthara 2012b).

3.2   Land conflicts in Cambodia

A lot of land issues in Cambodia can be explained by looking at the effects of the Khmer Rough regime during the 1970s. When they had the power in Cambodia all land became collectivized and all the cadastral maps were destroyed as well as all the land titles. The regime also forced millions of people to move out from the cities to the countryside, and people were moved from one side of the country to another. After the regime of Pol Pot ended in 1979 the houses that had been left empty during the large move out to the countryside became properties of the state. However when people started to move back in to the city the vacant houses were occupied on the basis of 'first come, first served'. Until 1989 the government gave the people permission to occupy houses and then sell them as properties. The population in the cities only continued to grow and the house prices went up. The poor people that arrived to the city of Phnom Penh could not afford new houses and was unable to find vacant land, their only option was to move to the public lands which were cheaper, and informal settlements were created. These people are the ones that face the risk of being evicted even though they have been living in that area since 1979. The public land is now more often planed to be sold to private buyers that will develop the area. There is work focused on creating new cadastrial maps and title allocations but it is not a fast process (STAR Kampuchea 2007, Khemro & Payne 2004).

Cambodia has also had an economic growth during the 20th century, this has however lead to a raise in the land prices and a rising threat from private companies buying large parts of the land available in Cambodia, therefore those in the society with a low economic capital have had problems to get access to new land. Global Witness report about this, saying:

> Since 1995 Global Witness has exposed how Cambodia's political and business leaders have exploited the country's natural resources for personal profit and to shore up their own positions of power. Instead of harnessing these state assets to kick-start sustainable economic growth, their mismanagement has fueled conflict, corruption and human rights abuses. Meanwhile Cambodia's international donors have turned a blind eye and continued to finance essential state services such as infrastructure, healthcare and education. (Global Witness 2012:8)

This situation does not lead to any decrease in land grabbings. Another concern is that the indigenous people should, according to a law written in 2001, have the right to collective land properties; however, in 2007 not a single group had received any land title (STAR Kampuchea 2007). An additional problem regarding the land rights and

communication with the indigenous population is that they do not speak or understand Khmer, and thus organizations and other stakeholders have difficulties in building a dialogue with them. According to the land law from 2001 there are four types of categories of land ownership: state public land, state private land, private land and government concession land. State public land is land that is owned by the state and should be used for the public interest. State private land is land owned by the state and used for state institution, this kind of land can be subject of transaction. Private land is land owned by individuals that have the right to do what they want with it. The last concession is land that the government gives to scattered re-settlers. It is important to have an understanding of these different tenure systems because the informal settlements can be located in all of them and therefore have different rights or concern different stakeholders in a conflict.

There have been reports during the last five years that 70 percent of Cambodian land is owned by 20-30 percent of the landowners, while the poorest 40 percent only owns 10 percent of the land. In 2007 only 20 percent of Cambodia's landowners had secure land titles to their land (STAR Kampuchea 2007). According to Amnesty International (2009) there were at least 23 000 people in Cambodia that suffered from forced evictions in 2008, and they continue to write that there are around 150 000 more people in Cambodia living with the risk of being forcibly evicted. The difference between forced evictions and evictions is that with forced evictions those who are forced from their homes have no right to legal protection or trials. There are also other reports about a lot of other crimes against human rights done towards the people that suffer from the forced evictions. Those who are evicted should always receive some form of compensation and be informed beforehand so that new living accommodations can be found or provided (Amnesty 2009). People that are re-located often develop a worse living condition in their new settlement compared to their old, because of the loss of livelihood when they can not keep their old employments. Research has showed that in 2004 people living in squatter settlements have better accesses to basic services as well as employment opportunities compared to the people that have been moved to the government's resettlement. The resettlements are often located several kilometres from their former homes and therefore they also risk loosing their livelihoods (Khemro and Payne 2004).

There are cases where people have the legal documents showing that they own their housing but still live in fear because of the place their homes is located in was not made for that purpose in the beginning and could be developed into something more suitable for the rest of the area. However one of the problems that have sprung out from the 'first come first served' principle was that when the people sold their properties the new owners never got legal documents that showed that they are the owners. There are also those without documents claiming that they have got their homes from government institutions or ministries and therefore has the legal right to their houses (Khemro & Payne 2004).

3.2.1 Land Concessions
Land conflicts in Cambodia can involve a large diversity of stakeholders, from neighbours to military personal, private companies and government officials. However all have the common problem with unlawful methods and often the use of violence. The government have tried many times to make the forced eviction seem to be legal by stating that they are done in the

name of development (Licadho 2009). In 2003 the social land concession (SLC) policy was applied in Cambodia which should have help for the poor and create opportunities for poor people to get a descent living standard by transferring land to them. However the result from SLC became, according to Licadho (2009), an increase of land ownership and economic profit for private companies. SLC is mostly concerning people living in Phnom Penh, sometimes the victims of forced evictions become relocated 20km from their former homes which reduce their possibility of a descent living standard. On the countryside there are more discussions concerning economic land concessions (ELC), private companies taking more and more lands which the local people claim to be theirs. The ingenious people in Cambodia are especially affected by this because they often lack documentation of their land ownership. There are laws that should prevent companies from owning concessions over 10,000 hectares, however these laws are easily avoided or ignored and companies can have 60,000 hectares large land concessions (Licadho 2009). 39 percent of Cambodia's total land mass has been granted to private firms (Boyle and Titthara 2012) which are a growing problem for the rural people in Cambodia that lose arable land.

3.3   Boeung Kak lake

People started returning to the cities from the countryside after the Khmer Rouge government was overthrown, and thus settlements started to be built around the lake in the 1980's (Meng 2006). The area was also a popular public park, and CCHR writes:

> Boeung Kak used to be Phnom Penh's largest lake, an idyllic body of water in the heart of Phnom Penh surrounded by palm trees, guest houses, a mosque and several thriving villages. It was one of the most prominent landmarks, helping to characterize Phnom Penh as a languid tropical city rural charm. It also served as on of its main drainage basins, essential for managing Cambodia's intense monsoon downpours. Most importantly, the lake was the focal point and backdrop for local communities numbering some 4,000 families. Now it is a desolate, apocalyptic landscape of sand, rubble, bulldozers and broken homes. (CCHR 2011:1)

Other sources (Meng 2006 and NGO Forum 2009) agree with this description, which adds that many of the people living in the Boeung Kak area were refugees coming from the remote provinces and the borders of Thailand looking for better opportunities in the city. In February 2007, the Phnom Penh Municipality signed an agreement to lease Boeung Kak lake and the surrounding land for 99 years to a private company, Shukaku Inc. owned by Senator Lao Meng Khim for approximately 79 million USD, or 60 cents per square meter, a sum that is below market value (NGO Forum 2009, Meng 2006 and CCHR 2011). Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (CCHR) (2008) writes that:

> Shukaku is not listed in the local Yellow pages but is otherwise very well-connected. It is owned by a senator from the governing Cambodian People's Party whose wife runs Pheapimex, a company controlling vast swathes of land through government-granted economic land concessions [...] and with the support of a Chinese company, Inner Mongolia Erdos Hung Jun Investment Company, made plans to fill the lake with sand and develop the area into a futuristic cityscape of high-end residential and commercial buildings. (CCHR 2008:3).

The development plan was decided on by Shukako Inc, and people that have been affected by forced evictions in this area have been forced to move 20 km away, and this have caused many of them to loose the opportunity to earn their livelihood, take a job or continue with their business. It is not uncommon to hear about assault and violence

carried out by state officials, police, military and company officials, and in addition the relocation sites do not provide access to basic facilities such as schools, portable water, housing or hospitals (NGO Forum 2009, CCHR 2011). Since the beginning of this land conflict, different stakeholders have been involved in protesting against the violation, and the report from CCHR give a clear explanation to why this specific case is of interest for our thesis:

> They have used technology – recording injustices and events and posting them on Facebook, YouTube and other social media tools – and initiated a "Save Boeung Kak Lake" campaign which has a website that acts as the central hub for information, press releases, newspaper articles, images, and other advocacy documents written by residents and NGO's (CCHR 2011:3)

So, the affected people have themselves taken action and challenged the companies and the government in their struggle to maintain a decent way of living. The 9th of August 2011 the World Bank announced that it would stop loans to the government until it had come to a respectable agreement with the Boeung Kak Lake-villagers (BBC News 2011), and the next day some land titles were given to some of the families affected, but not to all and thus the struggle continues. However, not all people affected by land conflicts have the knowledge or skills required to run campaigns or use new technologies like the residents at Boeung Kak Lake have done, since most land conflicts are situated in very rural areas were the situation is different. Because this campaign have had some progress and success for the affected it is important to understand that it is not a "one solution fits all"-model.

Stakeholders in the conflict of Boeung Kak lake
- Families living/that lived at Boeung Kak lake that have been hurt, threatened or forcedly evicted, around 4000 families.
- Numerous of NGO's such as: Cambodian Centre for Human Rights, House Rights Tasking Force, Urban Initiative, STAR Kampuchea, and NGO Forum Cambodia that have provided support, monitored or taken action in the conflict.
- The government that sold the land and control the police and military interventions.
- Shukaku Inc., the company registered in Phnom Penh and shares address with Pheapimex, was granted land title without any bidding and for a prince far below market price and has started to fill the lake.
- Pheapimex, which also has Senator Lao Meng Kim as its director (or his wife, depending on the source).
- Inner Mongolia Erdus Hung Jun Investment Company that is financing the development of the area.
- The general public, since the park is now gone and this affects both water sanitation and the access to green park areas in the city. There are also warnings about the increased risk of flooding during the monsoons.

4 Previous Research

In this chapter we will present previous research made in the field of social media used for social change. We have chosen to present five different studies that we think give different approaches and perspectives on social medias role in a development context.

4.1 Relations and awareness

Meriläinen and Vos (2011) have investigated how NGO's use social media as a tool for agenda setting by conducting a content analysis of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watchs social media platforms, as well as interviewing representatives from Amnesty Finland about their online communication work. The observation of the social media platforms was conducted during three months, with the aim to increase the understanding and knowledge about NGO's ability to set the agenda in an online environment. Meriläinen and Vos (2011) monitored the organizations Facebook and Twitter accounts during these months, collecting data from the web pages twice a week; Mondays and Fridays. The conclusion of this research was that the organizations used Facebook and Twitter as platforms to attract attention to a certain issue or invite people to visit their website. From the interviews Meriläinen and Vos could see that "[a]ccording to the Amnesty interviewees, social media are used encouraging people to learn more about human rights issues, generating activism and promoting demonstrations or events" (Meriläinen & Vos 2011:306). We have also looked at grass root organizations and not the big international NGO's and have had a larger focus on interviews. However the focus on the thesis was similar to our even though the different context.

4.2 Empowerment

Robin Worley (2011) has investigated how organizations can use media in developing countries to empower citizens. In his dissertation he focused on educating Kenyan youth in citizen journalism. Worley's (2011:4) main question was: "How can citizen journalism and digital stories impact Kenyan youths who are infected or affected by HIV/AIDS?" He continues to write that "[m]edia exposure can shine a spotlight on issues that are often ignored. People who lack power in society are generally not in the media spotlight" (Worley 2011:4). His research is interesting for this study because we also want to see how new digital media channels can help people that lack power in the society. His research built on a project he started in Kenya where he educated children in basic media production and let them create videos and podcasts[3] about their lives and thoughts. The results of the production were later published on websites like Youtube, with the goal to create more awareness about issues related to HIV and AIDS. From his research he came to the conclusion that among other things the youth that had been working in the media project had developed collaboration skills, and that digital story telling is an effective mean of empowering global youths to create positive social changes.

4.3 Information spread

Sanjana Hattotuwa (2007) has written an article about how new technology, such as mobile phones and blogs, can be used to spread information about disasters and crimes against the human rights. Hattotuwa (2007) writes that with new technology the public could become journalists in their own rights, recording material and spread it through the traditional medias as well as publish and spread the material through social media. According to Hattotuwa (2007) blogs have contributed to bring back democracy to Nepal after the rule of the

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3 Video or sound files that are shared online.

monarchy, a time during which there were extensive human rights crimes. On the other hand, there are also problems with social media, for example information overload, governments that legislates laws against material that is published by citizens, or censorship. Hattotuwa also writes:

There are other challenges associated with citizen journalism, especially in a context of violent conflict. This author receives vicious hate mail, suffers public insults, is branded a 'terrorist' and even receives the occasional death threat – all because of the content he promotes on the citizen journalism websites he edits. (Hattotuwa 2007)

All these examples provide evidence of the difficulties in using social media and citizens journalism as a tool for change. Hattotuwas (2007) conclusion is that we can not prevent disasters from happening but we can learn from them and react to them and citizen journalism and social media can help in that process, strong citizen journalism can create a better understanding of the situation in a disaster or conflict. For example organizations who use reporting about land conflicts with methods similar to citizen journalism should be aware of the risks they are taking. However his study provide an example where social media has been a part of the process of a social change, which makes it more interesting to see if blogs in Cambodia can make a difference in land conflicts.

4.4   Government and voices

In Jeffrey Ghannam's research about the Arabian Spring in 2011 several topics are brought up that are of interest to our research. His research is focused on the use of social media in the uprising and what lead up to it. Ghannam (2011) brings up issues such as harsh laws concerning media and publication in Arabic countries which we can relate to the media policies in Cambodia. The government of Bahrain for example shot down websites that were critical towards the government (Ghnnam 2011). In the report he also writes about how online news receives more and more readers and how the number of Facebook accounts have become higher than the number of newspapers sold in the same area. It is also interesting to see that according to Global Voice Advocacy Director, Sami Ben Gharbia, most of the content in traditional media from the revolution in Tunisia was first published on Facebook. Something that Cambodia and the Arabic region had in common was the ministers and the royal family that were active via social medias, we know that the king of Cambodia has his own blog and excellencies[4] in Cambodia are out on social media platforms. This demonstrates according to Ghannam (2011) some acceptance of social media from the officials. His conclusion was that social media has changed the nature of free expression in the Arabic region, it gives a voice to Arabs of all classes that did not exist before. In our study it will be interesting to see if social media really has given all classes in Cambodia a new voice, like social media had done according to Ghannam (2011) in the Arabic region.

5   Theory

In this chapter we will summarize the main theories that we have used during our research. With agenda setting theory we want to see if there can be an interlinkage between a great presence in social media and traditional media, and advocacy theory investigates if social media successfully have or can be used to change policies and social structures. Finally with social mobilization theory we can better understand if social media has the possibility to unite

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4   People from the highest class in Cambodia, for example the royal family, ministers etc.

big groups of for certain causes or events. All of these theories come from the participatory approach[5] of the field of development communication (Waisbord 2001).

5.1 Agenda setting

We have chosen to use agenda setting as one of our research theories because it has been discussed to be an interlinkage between traditional and social media. Agenda setting has for decades been a research topic in the field of development communication. One thought about medias agenda control is that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*" (McCombs1972:179). After seen frequent coverage of certain issues in the mass media individuals will start to take special notice on that issue; the frequent appearance creates a feeling of that this issue is more important than others. This is according to Hong Nga Nguyen Vu , communication teacher at Zürich University, and Volker Gehrau, professor in communication sciences, (2010) are the most common theory of agenda setting. Wu and Coleman (2009) bring up the concept of first and second level of agenda setting. The first level focuses on the amount of media coverage an issue got, the logical part, as the agenda setting power, and the second level of agenda setting is the way you speak about an issue in mass media, if you have a positive or negative tone etc. Wu and Coleman (2009) also came to the conclusion that negative information has a higher impact at the second level of agenda setting than positive information have. However there is also research claiming that the media does not alone set the agenda and that discussions amongst friends or other people in a persons life also will determine the common agenda (Vu & Gehrau 2010). The effect of the media as an agenda setting mechanism can also be questioned when it comes to reliability; according to Vu and Gehrau (2010) people trust to a greater extent information that is received in a discussion with an other person than the information they get from the mass media.

5.1.1 Agenda setting and social media

Social media has become a way for the public to take some control over the information flow in the world and now there are blogs and videos on Youtube that are first with the latest news and thus become a source of information for the traditional media and an agenda setting mechanism. Sayre et al. (2010) brings up the debate concerning Proposition 8, a ban of same-sex marriages in the state of California that was a heated question in the US state of California in 2008. As mentioned earlier, the new media also have the power to push stories into the traditional media and the traditional and the new media often coincide with the agenda and can then make it stable. The research done by Sayre et al (2010) on Proposition 8 resulted in a conclusion that Youtube has the possibility to set an agenda independently of, and even before, professional media channels; however, the research also showed that the traditional media lead the way before the election while Youtube got a stronger position after the election, so the two media seem to have been used for different purposes in this case. Interestingly enough, in a study conducted by Obar et.al (2012) regarding social medias effect on spreading news and awareness, and create collective action, Youtube was ranked lowest in all categories (Obar et.al. 2012) and this shows that there is no clear results or consensus in the debate on social media's importance in the agenda setting process. In the same research it was shown that the strongest social media in all categories was Facebook. Facebook received such high rates because of its ability to inform large groups about details of meetings and giving a place for people to express their opinion, among other reasons (Obar et.al. 2012). It is

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5   The participatory approaches of development communication promote a bottom-up perspective on communication, whereas the modernistic approach is top-down.

also easier for the media to set the agenda when issues are concrete and are conflict-laden; what is considered conflict-laden can differ due to culture, political system and ownership of the media and other variables. Regarding social medias however, an issue does not have to be conflict-laden to be spread and shared; any text, video or photo that in some way connect with people can turn viral and even make it to the traditional medias due to its online popularity. Examples of this are:

· Will it blend? A campaign made by Blendtec (Liljegren 2011) that posts videos on how the company's founder demonstrate if his blenders can blend different things like iPhone3, golf balls, 24 credit cards or a cooked chicken with bones left.
· Kony 2012 was a campaign from the organization Invisible Children (Persson 2012) that aimed to make the warlord Joseph Kony famous and visible, and thus contribute to him getting caught and put in jail.

Even though different, these videos quickly spread and became the topic of many conversations, both online, in the traditional medias and between people on the streets, showing us that the agenda can be set online. This phenomena, however, also showed how a viral campaign can backlash, causing a storm of critique on social media, since the sender no longer can control the discussion after publishing the video in this case, online. In the case of the Invisible Children campaign plenty of well under-built critique was published on for example Justiceinconflict:

> As we speak, one of the most pervasive and successful human rights based viral campaigns in recent memory is underway. Invisible Children's 'Kony 2012' campaign has taken Twitter, Youtube, Facebook and every other mainstream social media refuge by storm. In many ways, it is quite impressive. But there's one glaring problem: the campaign reflects neither the realities of northern Ugandan nor the attitudes of its people. (Mark Kersten, 2012, PhD student in International Relations at the London School of Economics)

Andrew Harding (2012), Africa correspondent on BBC News, as well as Michael Wilkerson (2012) of the Guardian have both written similar articles, stating that the campaign was not only quite useless in spreading awareness but also used imperialistic and patronizing rhetoric and oversimplified the issue. So even though social media can give grassroots a voice, this voice does not have to be neutral or correct, and despite the lack of reliability it seems as people are spread the story on just because their friends on Facebook urge them to.

5.2   Social Mobilization

In this research we have also paid attention to if social media can bring people together and unify them into one group or network that share the same goals and opinions regarding certain issues. We have therefore decided to look further into the social mobilization theory to get a better understanding of that process. Bekker et al. (2011) explain that here are three kinds of mobilizations: macro-, meso- and micromobilizations. The different kinds of mobilizations are not always separated but can interlink with each other as well. Mobilization is a process that starts with people becoming aware of a problem and then identify it as such an important problem that it lead to action (Waisbord 2001). Social mobilization is also defined by the United Nations Children Fund (Unicef) as "[i]n other words, social mobilization seek to facilitate change through a range of players engaged in interrelated and complementary efforts" (Unicef 2011).

Bekker et al. (2011) writes that new media such as Youtube, Facebook and social networking sites create a shift in the mobilization structures, that Web 2.0 technologies encourage micromobilization by individuals and small groups.The authors continues to write that media as such can enlarge an mobilization that is already existing by creating a snowball effect to make more people become aware of an issue. Mass media also plays a big role in legitimizing micromobilizations such as protests by reporting about them.

According to Waisbord (2001) a successful mobilization must be built on a decentralized structure and a win-win situation for everyone involved, and when the interest is high among those involved in the mobilization the likeliness that it will sustain over time increases. It is also important to mention the importance of triggers in the society that lay as a foundation for mobilizations. The case study that Bekker et al. (2011) looked at showed clear events in the society that worked as triggers for a mobilization among the students in Netherlands. The students created demonstrations against an increase of scheduled school hours. This case came to the conclusion that the power of social media channels such as MSN and Youtube lies in the text messengers and the pictures that could be uploaded through mobile phones. Another strong factor in the success of the new medias lay in the ability to share experiences and thoughts to create relationships between people and make them more likely to come together in a mobilization. However, for the success of these kinds of mobilizations there is a need for the individuals to have access to the social networks, and there is a need of people that are accessible (Bekker et.al 2011).

5.3 Advocacy

In this study we also wanted to take into consideration the advocacy function of social media in general, and how that work is carried out in the land conflicts in Cambodia in particular. There are different views of advocacy work, for example there is the health focused theory of media advocacy that Waisbord (2001) describes like this:

> Media advocacy is the strategic use of mass media to advance social or public policy initiatives. Its goals are to stimulate debate and promote responsible portrayals and coverage of health issues. Advocacy requires the mobilization of resources and groups in support of certain issues and policies to change public opinion and decisions. It consists of the organization of information for dissemination through various interpersonal and media channels towards gaining political and social acceptance of certain issues. (Waisbord 2001:23)

Advocacy can address almost any issues in society and most NGO's and lobby groups are doing some kind of advocacy work, being distinguished from the political parties and conspiratorial groups since they only seek to influence policies, not exercise any formal power (Obar et.al 2012). They are usually trying to change policies on a certain issue, and the traditional methods of advocacy are for example writing letters to editors, public service announcements and visits with policymakers. In this digital era however, it is important to also look at the new ways and possibilities to get the message out, and Galer-Unti (2012) writes that both Facebook, MySpace and Twitter are tools that an be used successfully in advocacy work for individuals or groups. On Facebook, for example, it is possible to create networks with people that support certain ideas, causes or organizations and highlight the advocacy efforts by making them "friends" or "favorites". Blogs can be used for writing information about advocacy work and also let other people use this information, re-blog it or comment on it directly on the blog. In sum most social medias have the ability to report and

generate news, and this also allows those with misinformation the same chance to have a public voice and get their information spread.

6 Method

In this chapter we explain the methodological approach used to collect and analyze data for this thesis as well as provide an explanation on how we have selected informants and case, starting with a list of the informants. We also present the factors and variables that we think can have affected our research and the result and the limitations of this study.

6.1 Semi-structured interviews

According to Rabionet (2009) the semi-structured interviews give the researcher a structure that allows the interview to focus on the research topic or question at the same time as it is not limiting the subjects of the interview in their answers. We have also used material found on different social medias regarding the land issues, which has then become our secondary data. This has mostly been scientific reports and articles published on internet. The reason to why we have used a lot of data from internet is that we did not have access to relevant books and literature during our time in Cambodia.[6]

6.2 Overview of the Informants

Affiliated Network for Social Accountability-East Asia Pacific (CAMBODIA) (Ansa-eap)
Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (CCHR)
STAR Kampuchea
Ou Banung
My Village Organization (MVi)
Building Community Voices (BCV)
Urban initiative (UI)
Sidon Sok
Indigenous Community Support organization (ICSO).
Kounila Keo
LICHADO Canada
Justin Heifetz

6.3 Selection

We choose to contact organizations and people that worked with land conflicts or with social media and traditional media in Cambodia to meet them for interviews and learn more how their work with social media looks like. The selection has mostly been based on a snowball effect, we were given suggestions of organizations we could contact and then we were referred to new organizations. We send out emails to more then 20 organizations to see who had the interest of participating in our research and eight of those returned the emails and said that they wanted to participate. Thus we did seven semi-structured interviews and one mail-survey with somewhat different questions. We also contacted three journalists/bloggers and the goal with this was to see how social media reporting looks like when you are not employed by an organization but nether the less report about social injustice. To get a stronger perspective from the traditional media landscape in Cambodia on social media, we tried to contact editors at Phnom Penh Post, Cambodia Daily, Cambodian Herrold, Kog Sante Pheapdaily and Rasmei Kampuchea Daily. The only response came from an web editor at Phnom Penh Post and the questions we asked the editors were:

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6   For our ethical guidelines and interview questions, see appendix 2.

· How do you consider the power of social media (like discussions on Facebook, blogs, videos on Youtube etc) regarding the news agenda in Cambodia?
· Do you usually pick up stories from the social media, or can you see that your stories are spread and create discussions online?
· Is social media important for you in your work?

6.4   Validity and reliability - criticism of the selection of informants and interviews

All the informants that we have gathered data from are relevant for our thesis, however there are a lot of organizations in Cambodia working on land conflicts. Despite the fact that our selection process was based on those who answered our mails, we were still able to offset rural-urban biases and get a broad range of NGO's with different size and structures to interview for the study. We do not think our informants have something to gain from lying to us, but the possibility exists that they might want to gain face our create a better image of themselves, or that we might have misunderstood them due to intercultural differences.

The amount of informants is according to us sufficient to create enough data that we can build a valid result on. We wanted to have more information from journalists and editors that would have enabled us to gain perspective on the relationship between organizations use of social media and the traditional medias. It was also hard to find the contact information to newspapers in Cambodia and therefore we could only send requests to the five previously mentioned newspapers. Due to time restraints we excluded extensive research on radio and TV.

It is always hard to know if you ask the right questions during the interview, and a problem for us was the language barrier. English was not our first language and neither for our informants and this created some problems because we had to adjust our language and questions for each interview when we realized that the informant did not understand our question. Therefore we do not know what kind of influence the language problem can have had on or result.

6.5   Analysis of interviews

When we had gathered all the data we started to look at all the interviews, see what had been said and put the subjects that emerged in to different groups. When we had gathered all the material the actual the process of result build started. According to Ekström and Larsson (2010) the base of presenting the result lies in structuring the material after the themes that can be observed among the material. One of the recommendations from Ekström and Larsson (2010) was to organize the material in to different group of issues that was brought up in the interviews, which we also did. With the result we wanted to see if we can find any patterns and if it is possible to draw any general guidelines when working with social media and social issues like land conflicts in Cambodia. We have build our discussion about the effects of the social media use around the opinions of the interviewed informants and the results from our case study.

6.6   Case study

We wanted to create an in depth use of how use social media is used in land conflicts and therefore we also included a case study in our research. A case study is according to Johannessen and Tufte (2003) a study that describes a study in detail and limits the

description and discussion to that single case. This means that we took the knowledge and results we found in the general and descriptive study of social media in land conflicts and further deepened it with the information about this specific case (Priest 2010:31). In this case study we wanted to see what was reported on social medias around the land conflict at Boeung Kak lake in Phnom Penh. We also wanted to see for ourselves how social media was used in land conflicts without having to trust the experiences and opinions of our informants. Boeung Kak lake was the most reported case when we searched on internet and social medias and therefore it made it to a acceptable case for our research. It is however a controversial case with powerful stakeholders which made it harder for us to gather data that gave a diverse view of the case. While selecting social medias, we made a quick overview of which social medias that seemed most commonly used by the organizations, and therefore chose Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and blogs as our focus, and did not pay attention to other social media channels like Reddit, Google+, LinkedIn etc. We started to look at different social media to see what was found, and we could see that Boeung Kak lake was a relatively well covered issue at Youtube, and due to space limitations we have not included the findings on the other social medias since they were not as profound. The Youtube data was gathered by doing a search on "Boeung Kak lake" in YouTube's search field which gave extensive findings which will be described closer in the result. We divided the videos into different categories of users and video content to enable an easy analyze of who has posted the videos and what kind of information do the videos show.

6.7   The effects of our thesis
It is important to consider how our thesis can have affected our informants situation. Most of the interviews took one hour which meant for most of our informants only one hour of lost work time. We have offered anonymity for our informants that limit the risk that the informants would be able to be identified and exposed to any danger because they have participated in our research. Another effect our thesis could have triggered was a discussion among our informants in their work with social media and could change their communication plan.

6.8   Ethical guidelines during interviews
Before the interviews we had created a small text which we showed to everyone we interviewed. The text described the reason behind the interviews, what the process of there information looked like and the text also pointed out that we did not want to make them uncomfortable, therefore they had the choice not to answer our questions, end the interview, be anonymous and they also knew what would happened to their information after it had used in our report. This text also told them in writing what our vision and purpose was with the research. Rabionet (2009) writes that this kind of documentation is good to have to ensure that informants agree on the terms that the research is conducted on and feel secure in the situation.

7   Result - Social media in Cambodian land conflicts
In this part of the study we are going to present the results from our study, outlining the experiences and opinions of our informants regarding social media in land conflicts. Five of the eight organizations that we interviewed were actively using social media in their work, and below we have gathered their thoughts together with the information given by the two journalists and the editor interviewed and the organizations that did not use social media. First we will give an overview on how the social media landscape looked like during our study, outlining what, who and when social media is used. Then we will present how the

organizations are using social media and the challenges that face the organizations working with social media and land conflicts in Cambodia today. We will finish with the relationship and linkage between traditional and social media, before moving on to the discussion of the results.

7.1 Social media landscape

In this chapter we will present how the three biggest social medias (Youtube, Facebook and blogs) are used in Cambodia's land conflicts, based on the information from the interviews. We will also present which organizations are using social media, and how their use of social media varies.

7.1.1 Different organizations, different needs

Of our interviewed organizations, who not all use social media frequently; it seemed like those working with grassroot empowerment and mobilization were less likely to use social media in their own information work, like BCV, ICSO and MVi, whereas organizations mostly concerned with agenda setting and awareness raising were more active online, like UI, Ansa-eap, CCHR and LICADHO Canada. However, even though they are not active themselves on social media, the grassroot organizations were training their target groups, mostly village people in rural areas, in computer skills and blogging:

> BCV have conducted six courses with the community related to computer skills. Each course we train up to four people. [...] First time is the basic skills, second Khmer unicode and internet. They learn to upload content to blog. We cannot teach them to write in English so everything is in Khmer. (Ran Sopheak Pagna, BCV, 20/3 2012)

Also the organizations knowledge and economical resources have an impact on the social media priorities and choices, but all seem to agree that the presence itself is necessary. We were interested in how the organizations had prioritized between traditional vs. social media, and why they did the prioritizing that they did. STAR Kampuchea was not grading social media as important at all in their work, while for other organizations it's higher ranked; San Chey at Ansa-eap said that while the radio was their most important media channel, Facebook came second. Journalist student Ou Banung said:

> Radio is the most popular media because it reaches most people, and crosses barriers such as illiteracy, lack of technological knowledge and bad internet connections. TV is used by politicians to promote themselves and journalists are not always professional, and some take bribes to publish stories, due to very low salaries especially in the countryside. Also, people have a very low trust in journalists, if they do not know the person well. (Ou Banung,13/3 2012)

> In seven provinces the indigenous people is a majority and after a consultation we found out that few receive information, but they who receive is through radio. Up to 95% receive information through radio, other receive from TV and some by magazine. Some villages, no TV. But radio is everywhere. But now with the high technologies, people can use their mobile phone for radio. (Ran Sopheak Pagna, BCV, 20/3 2012)

Most of the organizations acknowledged the importance of radio and saw it as their main information tool when working nationally. When they spoke about radio they usually meant RFA or VOA, and rarely the local radio stations. Those who were

advocating towards an international audience or the young Khmer middle class in the cities, they also needed to participate online since social media and especially Facebook has grown so popular the last years. As for the journalists, they also made priorities:

> Boeung Kak lake is big, and that is also because it is in Phnom Penh, its easy for journalists to get there instead of going to Prey Lang, which take seven hours or more, but there are many factors that have made Boeung Kak lake famous, no only social media. (Nora Lindström, UI 23/3 2012)

The distance between the news and the media is also according to Ran Sopheak Pagna at BCV a problem when it comes to social media:

> The situation of internet is only rich in the cities, but all the information about the issues that has happen is in the rural areas in the forest. The information will be old because they have to spend two full day to get to the village to upload their images or texts. Only the villages with easy access has the opportunity to upload. (Ran Sopheak Pagna BCV, 20/3 2012)

This means that the bad infrastructure of the country also contributes to information flow and media coverage and affects the organizations priorities in their choice of communication tool, depending on were they are situated.

7.1.2 Youtube

Only one of the interviewed organizations was using Youtube at the time of our study, Licadho Canada, and they have been using it to post what their advocacy videos since 2007. In the beginning they had around 1000 views on their videos, but since they started to post their videos also on Facebook in 2011 the number of views has increased over to 40,000 views. However, we have seen that other organizations are using Youtube to share information and direct issues regarding the Boeung Kak lake conflict and that information is available in our case study. In general we have seen that few of the NGO's that are working with land conflicts are using Youtube in their work, but the content on Youtube is still greater and easier to find than blogs, tweets and Facebook pages.

7.1.3 Facebook
Facebook was by far the most used social media among our interviewed organizations, and the aim was not only to be available for a bigger audience online but also to be able to both receiving and giving comments, according to San Chey at Ansa-eap. He mostly used his personal account to advocate important issues, since he had several thousands friends on that one, while the Ansa-eap account still not had so many friends. CCHR had over four thousand friends, both individuals and organizations, and they said that they had noticed a change in the discussions on Facebook:

> If we look at Facebook, human rights issues are now included in the discussion. Before they just post status about what they are doing, but now they also discuss about the human rights. (Chak Sopheap, CCHR 6/3 2012)

CCHR used both English and Khmer in all their information work, so also on Facebook, which made all the discussions and updates available for all their friends, while most

other NGO's only used English. Star Kampuchea who was not registered on Facebook, said that the reason to why they did not work with social media was that they did not have the skills needed. Chet Charya meant that since the staffs was not educated in social media usage the material published online might not have been adjusted to that kind of media, and the feedback could be handled in the wrong way.

> This is new technology and I think it is very important to use Facebook and Twitter for the organization, but we are not there yet, to put the accurate information and so. (Chet Charya, Star Kampuchea, 12/3 2012)

Nora Lindström at UI agrees to that saying:

> It's a little bit difficult with Facebook; you can have a group, a normal account, a fan-page, what is the best one for our organization? At the moment we have both a normal account and a fan-page but I think we should decide on just one. (Nora Lindström, UI, 23/3 2012)

Facebook is also, as we stated earlier, popular in general in Cambodia, and some numbers suggest that almost every internet user has a Facebook account.

7.1.4 Blog
Most[7] of the organizations did not have their own blogs, but some of the staff that we talked to had their own personal blogs; also all three journalists had blogs that we can call semi-professional, since they used it both for professional and personal purposes. The blogs were used not only as diaries but also to raise awareness of issues related to development, human rights and authorities violations as well as personal success stories and funny things. Everyone was using English on their blog, and Chak Sopheap explained that when she started to blog she had no choice, since the Khmer unicode did not exist. Then she reached quite a large international audience and they wanted her to stay to English. She also said that blogs are not so popular to read and follow in Cambodia and therefore she would not reach a large audience nationally even though she would change into Khmer.

7.2 How use social media?
In this section are we going to present the key roles of social media in the organizations and also for the bloggers and journalists, and their goals and strategies with using social media. The different sub-chapters are not put in any specific order since we found it difficult to grade for example the importance or commonness of them based on our study.

7.2.1 Create relationships
Social media is a tool that can be used in a variety of ways depending on ones goals and objectives with online presence. One of the reasons why several of our informants said that they were using social media was that it was one way to spread awareness of the organization and create relationships with those who were interested in their causes. San Chey at Ansa-eap was using Facebook to connect to the public, "to make friends" and to make people aware of the organization and the social issues of the country:

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7   Due to the safety of our organizations, we will not specify this more.

We are linking to other organizations and business companies. they link to us too. I have more than thousand friends [...] Why start a Facebook for Ansa-eap? Because I want the public to be aware of Ansa-eap [...] and i think some people want to learn from Ansa-eap, I want my foreign friends, like people in the head office to know what we are doing here, and everyone understand English. (San Chey 5/3 2012)

San Chey was not only using Facebook both professionally and private, but also run his own blog were he wrote about issues that concerned him. CCHR was also using social media to create networks and build relationships with other organizations working with a certain issue. Chor Chanthyda at CCHR said that:

[We] want to reach both civil society and other organizations working in the human rights field and most organizations that have a Facebook account or a blog mention that they link to other organizations and the others are linking back to them, following up on each others posts and share information about news and happenings. (6/3 2012)

This way the organizations can act fast and be updated on the latest news, for example on the land conflicts, even though they are not specifically working with all of them themselves. As Lee Robinson on Licadho Canada stated, also support is shared in their networks on social media:

Also interesting is that our relationships with partners have also strengthened through Facebook. Because many people also post about important events in their personal and work lives, and post at times of strong emotions, this provides an opportunity for other colleagues and partners to reach out and share those celebrations and the sad times too; building trust and friendships that ultimately strengthen our working relationships and collaborations. (Lee Robinson LICADHO Canada, 16/5 2012)

So social media did help building stronger connections both between organizations and their target groups but also between organizations. Keo Kounila pointed out that bloggers usually want to write for their own sake - they want to "connect to the world" (Keo Kounila 16/4 2012) and write about what is in their mind, get new friends and get feedback from anyone. Social media also give its users the possibility to receive instant feedback and comments from other users, as well as being shared in other users networks and channels.

7.2.2 Control the message and own the channel

When using social media, people can express and share their own stories, which also can be a way to empowerment. Chak Sopheap said that "blogging and the social media is another channel we can use [...] with the new media the citizens have a tool to their own advocating through their own media". Social media was perceived to be the organizations "own media" that they could control and decide over, as our informants at CCHR stated:

The traditional media only pick up some stories, but with social media we can write and express things freely, with set agenda and edition, with the new media we citizens have a tool to do our own media that traditional media will not pick up. (CCHR, 6/3 2012)

So the possibility to express opinions and tell the stories that the traditional media wont tell is an important part of why organizations used social media. Keo Kounila said that she started blogging because:

> Mainstream media did not represent the whole population, I can now express my ideas, connect to world and share whats going on in Cambodia more freely. People are often afraid to speak about bad things. Blogging is a useful tool to use to express, it gets others. It's used when media is not doing their job, not criticize enough. (Keo Kounila 16/4 2012)

Keo Kounila had also been holding workshops to teach others how to use blogs and social media to express themselves and make their voice heard in several provinces in the country. By this we can see that some people, especially in the young generation, have a will to express themselves and challenge the political system, even though it might be difficult and dangerous, since Cambodia's traditional media landscape at present is politicized, quite corrupt and censored. The ownership of the message that social media enables is therefore important, but also the fact that it is possible to be anonymous and not use ones real name or position while expressing an opinion. During this study we came across several blogs that were written by an anonymous blogger and they were all critical towards the government in the country. Ou Banung also said that sometimes people can feel more safe posting controversial messages on Facebook or Twitter, so called micro blogging. These posts are not as easily found as blog posts and Youtube videos, social medias that she thought were more used to keep a message online for a longer time. Keo Kounila also discussed about how micro blogging through Twitter and Facebook had become more popular according to what she had seen. She thought that "people turn to micro blogging because it is faster. Blogs are however more valuable because it is there, you can Google it and it does not disappear that fast" (Keo Kounila 16/4 2012). That was the reason to why she blogged more than focused on micro blogs, but on the other hand she also said: " it can be more secure to post sensitive issues on Twitter and Facebook because it is not that easy to find at it disappear after a while" (ibid). Also journalists use blogs as a channel to express their opinions, and Sok Sidon also talked about a case where he had written about journalists taking bribes after seeing it happen himself, but the editor never published it.

7.2.3 Mobilization
Also the possibility to mobilize people to come to a certain event through social medias can be used according to Nora Lindstöm at Urban Initiative (UI), but with certain limitations:
But for social things they can be useful, to use it for events, concerts and so on, but I not so much for demonstrations or those kind of happenings [...] I'm of the opinion that first you have to have a person on the street, then comes social media. It's not a secure tool; you create an event, people "like" it or say that they will come, but no one shows up. You need people who are already mobilized, and then maybe a few more will come from the social medias. It's a tool for people, but not the most important one. (Nora Lindström 23/3 2012)
Also at BCV and CCHR the informants talked about how the indigenous people and other social groups affected by the land conflicts could use social media to communicate with each other and by that sharing news and support each others causes, but it did not seem to happen to a large extent. In other issues, however, Chak Sopheap had seen some mobilizations through the social media, and she also mentioned that she had seen results from her blogging:

I wrote an article [about a Chinese journalist that lied about the origin of a famous movie star that was Khmer], and at the end I said that all Cambodians should not be angry but we should connect our own platforms where we can publish our own news, and people contact me and were inspired, we should have our own platform and not let them manipulate us... Now we have that [platform], and it is quite inspiring for me as a blogger. (Chak Sopheap, CCHR 6/3 2012)

So there are possibilities also for internal mobilization in Cambodia through the blogs, even though they are not great and might mostly be actual in issues affecting the people who are already online.

Also the government has started to use social media as a tool to spread information to the citizens, Chak Sopheap (CCHR) explained, saying that they still announced draft laws and other information on boards, but also online; through so called e-government. This gave the civil society a better chance to quickly spread the information and mobilize a counter force towards the unpopular propositions.

When we asked for the draft law on acid violence and posted it on sithi.org even victims commented on it, so somehow we can see a sharing of information on social media [...] because the access of information is difficult in Cambodia. (Chak Sopheap, CCHR 6/3 2012)

In this case social media gave a voice to those who rarely have been given one regarding this issue - the victims could comment on the organizations website - and also civil society and CCHR could share this with the government to make their point, and the law was then changed. Also Licadho Canada had seen mobilization after social media postings:

LICADHO Canada team members use Facebook to post texts and info from communities and partners about upcoming community actions, memorials and court cases. Partners, including UN employees have said directly that they attended specific events/emergencies because they saw it announced through our Facebook pages (and often despite that the same info went out via email and text messages and was largely ignored). (Lee Robinson, LICADHO Canada, 16/5 2012)

So their experience was that the messages and announcements posted on Facebook had a bigger impact on the people in their networks than the directly sent ones.

7.2.4 Donors influence
In our interviews we also came across the opinion that online presence is important to the donors and to reach an international audience, but even though all organizations have their own website we do not count these websites as social media per se, since most of them only show general information about the NGO and also are rarely updated. It seemed that having at least a homepage online was essential, and the Facebook pages had the same status. Sun Youra at MVi said:

It is also quite new for us because we are on the grassroot level. Because we want to have the information for our donors, that is why we developed the web page [...] it is not often updated because of limited resources. (Sun Youra, MVi, 16/3 2012)

It is not updated often, but at least it is online to show the donors that the organization is doing something and makes the organization searchable. The focus of the online presence was not really to reach any specific audience, but to be available and provide information to any audience and person that would be interested in the organization and its work. In the case of the Khmer population there are mostly they young middle class that goes online and can be reached this way. Mr San at Ansa-eap also stated that he needed to show his donors what the organization in Cambodia was doing, and in that the social media had been an easy tool. Most organizations said that regarding the spread of awareness about social issues, it was "the people" in general that needed education and not any specific group or nationality. The fact that the posts on social media usually were in English was because they wanted to reach an international audience, and since their audience in Cambodia did not have easy internet access they were easier reached through traditional medias like the radio.

Keo Kounila mentioned that the fact that her words will be searchable online is important, and the target group will create itself, being the people that take interest in her words and information. Within Cambodia, she points out, the internet users are between sixteen to forty years old, live in the cities and are those can afford it, but internationally the audience can be more diverse as a target group. By being a Khmer blogger she can make people around the world take interest in Cambodian issues, even though that is not her main purpose with her blogging.

7.2.5 Extended spread and sharing

Users of social media can spread a lot of information that eventually might reach a huge number of people, so that the person behind the original post no longer can control the message and the effects it might have. Blogger Keo Kounila also thought that social media is powerful in this way, saying that "it accelerates the process of change, it might not create the change alone but it can make it faster" (16/4 2012) even though its challenges. Nora Lindström agreed, saying that:

> We do not use Youtube that much, because we do not do so many videos. But we do spread other organizations and activists videos on our social media. (Nora Lindström, UI, 23/3 2012)

In our searches of videos regarding Boeung Kak lake we could also note that many users on Twitter link to videos and blog posts that were posted elsewhere on social media, so social media can increase the spread of a message.

> We can see the growing impacts of our own advocacy work through social media, particularly around faster information sharing, broader reach with video advocacy, growing networks, etc to know that it is worth our time and effort to continue down the path of using social media in our work and sharing that information to key leaders and partners. (Lee Robinson, LICADHO Canada, 16/5 2012)

Social media's sharing options were also used for protrotion of theorganizations. CCHR had been using Facebook for a long time and Chor Chanthyda described it as a "good platform to promote whole CCHR on" (6/3 2012) as well as reaching out to a global audience regarding human rights. Ou Banung also said: Politicians use traditional media to promote themselves, but normal people use social media" (Ou Banung,13/3 2012). This was confirmed by several informants that also explained that traditional media

journalists could be told to for example write about a politician handing out rice to poor families just to promote that particular politician. "Normal people" on the other hand, can create an image with the updates and photos they post on Facebook. Ou Banung had a blog which she used to promote herself and her ideas - as many Khmer people, including the king. Several of the informants also mentioned that social media made their information work go faster, since there is possible to simultaneously share a message to thousands of contacts, who in their turn might share the message to their contacts and so on.

7.2.6 Summary
In this chapter we have seen that the different organizations and persons had different and diverse reasons and motivations to use social media. Social media also seemed to have different impact for different organizations, and not all could for example see that their stories had an agenda setting function from social to traditional media. For organizations working with empowerment, social media can be a good way to give people a voice and make them feel that they can share their experiences with the world. It also seems like the donors and other international organizations are the main target groups reached, and then random people interested in their issues. It also a way to show that the organization is established and actually exists, and making its work searchable online. The fact that social media is fast and cheap, however, can not be said to be valid in Cambodia in general even though it can be a great reason to use it in Phnom Penh, but this will be discussed more in the next chapter.

7.3 Challenges to use social media
In this chapter we are presenting all the difficulties that the informants have expressed in using social media in Cambodia in general and in the land conflicts in particular.

7.3.1 Access to infrastructure
There were plenty of challenges that our informants saw in using social media, both in land conflicts and generally, Chak Sopheap at CCHR explained:

> When looking at internet in Cambodia, one can see that the internet access is quite low. The exact amount of people having access to internet differs depending on which ones research and numbers you look at. However they (who wrote the discussed newspaper article) believed it was close to 10% of the total population, which is one of the higher numbers. They believe this because the accessibility of internet has grown bigger because of the mobile modem, now people can buy the modems relatively cheap. People also have an increased access to internet through mobile phones. (Chak Sopheap, CCHR 6/3 2012)

This made it hard to really reach a high number of people in the Cambodia, and to reach a wide range of different target groups since there were quite low numbers of users in the countryside, in the older generations and among the poor part of the population. We have also noted that the organizations mostly say that they get feedback from an international audience, and this would be due to the limited audiences in Cambodia.

> The percentage of Cambodians using Facebook is still too low to be a critical mass or to be used effectively to mobilize except in Phnom Penh. (Lee Robinson, 16/5 2012)

The limitation of a national online audience makes online presence for the organizations quite useless in terms of information spread and mobilizations on a grassroot level.

Resource and language difficulties
Various informants also talked about the Khmer unicode as something that have made it easier for people to both publish content and read online, however it needs some time to get used to. This came from the fact that other big obstacles for our interviewed organizations to use social media were language:

> My English is not good enough to access to the social connection on Facebook. No experiences about blogs [...] Most of the indigenous people speak their language. They cannot speak pure Khmer. The new generation can understand Khmer. During the meetings there is a need of translator. The local authority are also indigenous people and can also communicate with the government officials however they are on the government side. (Sun Youra, My Village Initiative (MVi) 16/3 2012)

and regarding resources:

> The situation of internet is only rich in the cities, but all the information about the issues that has happen is in the rural areas in the forest. The information will be old because they have to spend two full day to get from the village to upload their images or texts. Only the villages with easy access have the opportunity to upload. (Ran Sopheak Pagna, BCV 20/3 2012)

Since many of the land conflicts take place in remote areas they affect the indigenous population and very poor people, and thus there was not only a problem with the Khmer-English translation but also the fact that few of the affected in these areas even can speak Khmer. Naturally that makes access to information and spreading ones own information online quite difficult. Then there was also the problem with knowledge and writing skills.
Also Keo Kounila saw this challenge, that the average person might not have the skills to write good posts and research background and facts about an issue, while journalists are trained to write and research. When the aim is to empower indigenous people and advocate against the maltreatment of the poor in land conflicts, resources might not be best spent on increasing the staffs computer skills. Keo Kounila summed up the difficulties facing social media success in Cambodia:

> We have a culture of silence and fear, many technological challenges, a big knowledge gap between urban and rural population, old and young. (Keo Kounila 16/4 2012)

So far the ones who could and would make extensive use of social media were those with knowledge in both English and Khmer, and this excludes many of the people affected by the land conflicts, who are, as stated earlier, usually from poor and rural areas with less access to education.

7.3.2   Political situation
Being a critic of the government can be dangerous; Keo Kounila talked about journalists being shot down in broad daylight after writing critically about the government before the elections, while the other informants agreed to that the limited freedom of expression in Cambodia and the risks a critical post could have probably kept people from express

too controversial opinions in social media. One informant[8] explained that government critical blogs could be banned or shut down, and people or organizations behind those blogs could risk threats or violence. Both Nora Lindström (UI) and the journalists talked about censorship, and as Sok Sidon put it; it takes place on several levels:

> It is a double censorship; first people are afraid to speak to me, like to NGO worker and villager, they feel fear. Also the government officials, they are afraid when they talk to us, sometimes they ask us not to write something. But when I talk to the victims, they do not feel fear, they are just angry, they feel no fear anymore. but the people not affected yet are afraid. (Sok Sidon, CD, 13/3 2012)

So people might censor themselves when talking to journalists, then the journalists also censor their stories as well as the editors, and the information that reach the population though traditional media might be far away from the actual truth.

Another big problem for organizations working with sensitive political issues that sometimes go against the government is that policies and laws are easily changed to prevent this kind of activities. Even though they are not using Youtube, MVi has been using video recording in their work:

> We have trained country people to record some information through their camera or what kind of recording they can get. Often it is send to the NGO network. Send it to the international conferences where the videos are subtitled. (Sun Youra, MVi 16/3 2012)

The recordings were done to document government officials violating villages property rights and violence against people. This had consequences though,and the government designed a law to monitor recording and prohibited recording without permission, which means that the violations from government officials became harder to prove. The government also have the cooperation of the phone and internet companies, which make it possible for them to make certain blogs or websites blocked, meaning that it cannot be updated or seen through for the internet users in Cambodia.

7.3.3 Summary:
The organizations objectives against social media were more concurrent than the reasons they used for using social media. We believe that this can be explained by the fact that many of these challenges are the same not only for organizations in Cambodia but for people in general and poor people in particular around the world. Resources and education as well as language barriers prevent many to go online, and political threats endanger the work of advocacy and social mobilization in many new democracies. No matter how organizations or journalists want to use social media, they need some basic things whose absence will make their goal impossible, and these are common for everyone.

7.4 The relation between traditional and social media
In this chapter we are going present how the relationship between traditional and social media looks like in Cambodian land conflicts, starting with explaining the organizations views and experiences of traditional media and journalists. Then we will go on to how

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8   Due to the security of our informants we will not define this person further.

traditional and social media actually are interlinked in the land conflicts, including the experiences of the journalists.

7.4.1 The organizations relationship to traditional media

As stated earlier, Cambodian media is at present government controlled with a limited freedom of expression (see chapter 2.1), so we asked our informants how their experience of working with the traditional media was in this sense. San Chey at Ansa-eap said that he thought it was easy to work with the state radio. The radio then set the agenda but those being interviewed had the right to say whatever they wanted. He was not scared of talking about sensitive issues such as corruption or to criticize the government in their way of action, and even the pro-state channels let them (Ansa-eap) be critical, but that "it all depends on the moderator" (San Chey 5/3 2012).

Regarding newspapers, our respondents, both from organizations and the journalists, share the opinion that Phnom Penh Post (PPP) and Cambodian Daily (CD) both try to be neutral and not taking sides in the issues, while other magazines can be pro or contra government.

> The media in Cambodia have two side, one that is pro government and one that are independent. Phnom Penh Post and Cambodia Daily are the independent. The independent newspapers write about land conflicts which the others do not. (ICSO 2/4 2012)

According to the journalists we interviewed, if a reporter is critical of the government there can be negative consequences for him/her, and also for the editor who published the critique. This was also something that the organizations were aware of and one reason to why they found it hard to work with newspaper journalists. The radio channels have greater freedom in that sense, the stations that raise sensitive issues are often located abroad, like Voice of America (VOA) or Radio Free Asia (RFA), and many of the organizations have/were broadcasting shows or sent the stations their news. So both radio and newspapers can and have been used by our informants to spread their causes and opinions, however, none of the organizations have worked with the TV channels in the country.

> The government is using a rhetoric saying that they have to do certain things in order to develop the country, and if anyone goes against the government then that person is against development, which of course doesn't have to be true. TV spreads this rhetoric since the government controls all TV channels. (Nora Lindström, UI 23/3 2012)

This gives that the more control and ownership the government had over the traditional medias, the harder our interviewed organizations perceived that it was to have a good cooperation and be let to voice their voices.

7.4.2 Traditional and social media interlinkage

During this study we noticed that social and traditional media often are interlinked in the case of land conflicts, and articles or talk-shows from traditional media are posted on social media, while comments or discussions on social media have lead to attention in newspapers or radio programs. Chak Sopheap at CCHR said, "it is a constant exchange of information from the social media to the traditional media and the other way around"

(Chak Sopheap, CCHR 6/3 2012), and Licadho Canada said that journalists usually contacted them when they have posted something interesting online. Ran Sopheak Pagna at BCV gave an example of that:

> So far we have one Cambodian news agency... who... They see the blog and they see the content from the community and contact the community for meeting. The community wrote about 20 forest elephants that went in to the town and destroyed a lot. (Ran Sopheak Pagna, BCV 2012)

They were not sure if the article was published or not, since this took place in the province with a local newspaper, but it is still a sign of that journalists take interest in what happens online. Nora Lindström at UI had the same opinion, saying that:

> We try to discuss with journalists, but Khmer media is so controlled that its only with PPP, CD and the radio. They are all on Facebook, and we follow them, they follow us. (Nora Lindström, UI 2012)

The organizations working with radio were also interlinking social and traditional media; they rented air time from radio stations to do their weekly talk-shows but recorded the broadcasts and later posted them on their website, Facebook or other online platforms and by that expanded their covering power. The staff at CCHR did not believe that social media were replacing the traditional media, but meant that the new media add on to the traditional ones:

> Look at the VOA, their main thing is to do the radio, right. But now with the social media they can reach more people and have more interaction with the people. (Chak Sopheap, CCHR, 6/3 2012)

They had also experienced that journalists had been picking up on their stories, like when the government placed a draft law they shared it on Sithi.org and then the CD published a story on the same issue. Both the journalists that we have been talking to say that they get inspiration and news from the social medias at times, and that it is important to get online for them too, but the information flow go the other way around too:

> We have had the "Save Boeung Kak" blog for many years and it gets more and more visitors the more famous the case gets. Media all around the world are following this case, and with the blogs it is easier, since the links do not disappear and the articles stay online. (Anonymous informant)

Also plenty of the blogs about land conflicts in Cambodia do re-post newspaper articles that are touching on the issue or reporting about specific cases, and for some bloggers, that is the only thing they post on their blogs - no own material at all. San Chey at Ansa-eap said that he mostly updated the organizations Facebook account when there has been some kind of hot debate or issue that interest the organization, otherwise Facebook has a low prioritization in their communication work and he has no time to use it regularly.

> Sometimes it is not much activity on the Facebook due to tight schedule. Then people ask; where are you? The hot issues, what we learn from the newspapers, we still comment, even if busy. (San Chey, Ansa-eap 5/3 2012)

During the interview with CCHR we started to talk about a current debate regarding the university students situation, and the fact that there were fourteen topics that the University of law and economics did not permit students to write about, for example land issues, the red cross and human rights. Even though the traditional media were not raising the issue, there had been a debate going on online, on both Facebook and different blogs they said.

7.4.3 So, why use social media?

Those organizations that were using social medias were also asked if they could see any effects of their social media presence. For San Chey (Ansa-eap) it was clear that his social media efforts had had some impact, for example he said that he could see a good response after a publication they did on the case of Bong Kak lake, which created some discussions online. He also said that after he had published some new information about an issue it had happened on regular occasions that journalists called him and wanted to know more about the story or asked him for an interview in a radio show. Ansa-eap had in some cases made press releases on Facebook and called to press conferences and the response had often been good.

Also other organizations mentioned that Facebook is a place for agenda setting and discussion. The staff at CCHR had noted a change in the discussions on Facebook; before it was more a tool for telling people about what you were up to in that moment, now people have started to discuss human rights. There had been, as mentioned earlier, a lot of discussions about the Royal University of Law and Economics and the fact that they banned some words from their internet use as well as fourteen topics that the students could not write about. Nora Lindström had not seen any discussions on UI's social media, but added that she had noticed that people might take articles that they uploaded and then post them on their own pages, and thus there might be discussions on their work even though they could not see them. Also journalist Sok Sidon at CD noticed that his articles were spread on social media:

> When I write the stories of the land conflicts for example the stories come to the blogs. I think it is ok, but they have to respect the rules of copyright and put our names. (Sok Sidon, CD)

He also mentioned that a greater spread of his articles meant that his work was more appreciated, and he thought that CD should also publish its articles online as PPP did.

8 Case study: Boeung Kak lake and Youtube

In this chapter we will present how Youtube has been used in the Boeung Kak lake conflict as a case study, since it has been the most used social media according to our research. Our choice to conduct a case study of the social media usage of a specific land conflict was to enable us to study a concrete example of how social media are used, and to get our own perspective of it, not only the opinions of our informants.

8.1 Boeung Kak lake on Youtube

A search on "Boeung Kak" at the website Youtube gave 129 hits and after a review of the clips we came to the conclusion that of these 129 videos 26 were copies or same videos that already had been posted and 11 videos were not related to the Boeung Kak lake conflict. The aim with this was to find out how the activity related to the conflict looked like on Youtube,

and get an understanding of how big the interest was in this subject. We divided the videos into categories of different users and video content to enable an easy analyze of who has posted the videos and what kind of information do the videos show.

8.1.1 Different users on Youtube

We could distinguish four different groups that published videos related to Boeung kak: Traditional media, NGOs, a user called SRP1995 and other individuals. However the user called SRP1995 had no description in the account and therefore we cannot be sure if the videos have been published by the political Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) or someone else. However, based on the content of the videos, mostly showing leaders in the party on different public meetings, one could believe that someone with close connection to the party is behind the videos. SRP1995 has uploaded so many videos that we decided to make it an own category. The category of NGO does consist of well-known names within the grass-root movement of Cambodia. In the category traditional media there are different names of traditional medias, both international and national, and we think they are really the ones behind the nick. In the individual group there are nicks that we were not able to identified or associate with any other group. By looking at how many views, likes, dislikes and comments the videos had it was possible to see which category of users that gets most attention. To get an overview of the result we created a diagram which shows the relation between the numbers of videos a user has uploaded, the total amount of views the videos had and how many comments they had in total. The amount of comments decides the size of the circle.
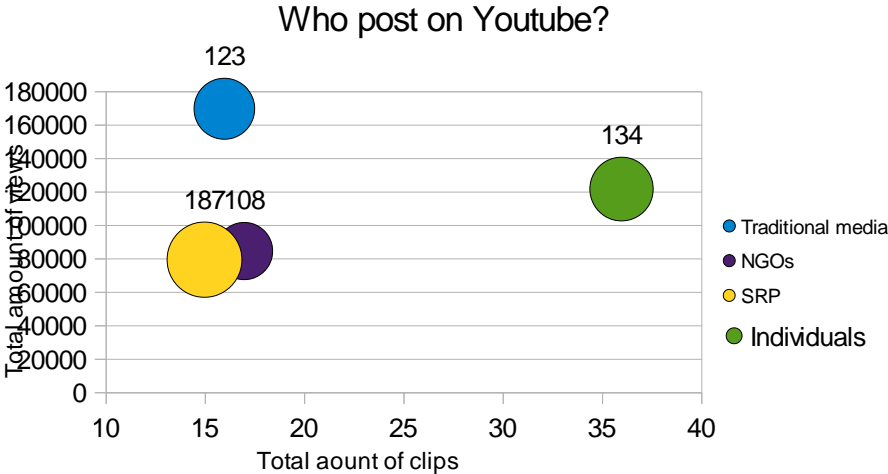

From this we can see that even though the traditional medias have not uploaded the greatest number of videos, they have in total gotten most views. The videos uploaded by the user SRP1995 have received the most comments despite the fact that the user has published the least amount of clips. The group of individual users has uploaded almost twice as many videos as the others; however they come only second in both the amount of comments and the total amount of views. As said earlier we also looked at how many likes and dislikes the categories of users had gotten, and these numbers follows in the diagram:
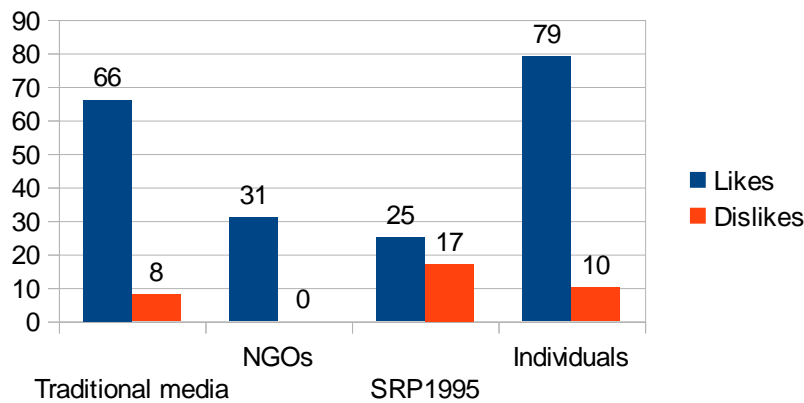
We can see that the only category that almost has the same number of likes and dislikes is the SRP1995, the other categories have a strong majority of likes, and NGOs have only likes.

8.1.2 Different kinds of content

To see what is posted on Youtube regarding the Boeung Kak lake conflict we divided the videos into eight different categories of regarding content: protests, arrests and trials, battery by the police, general information of the conflict, on site documentation, slide shows[6] and officials meet the victims. In the category of on site documentation we included videos about what was happening at the lake side, in the actual surroundings of the lake; some of this material show demolition, others show images of how the lake used to look like. There were some videos that we could not put in any of these specific categories and therefore we created a category for all the remaining videos, showing for example visits at guesthouses surrounding Boeung Kak lake.
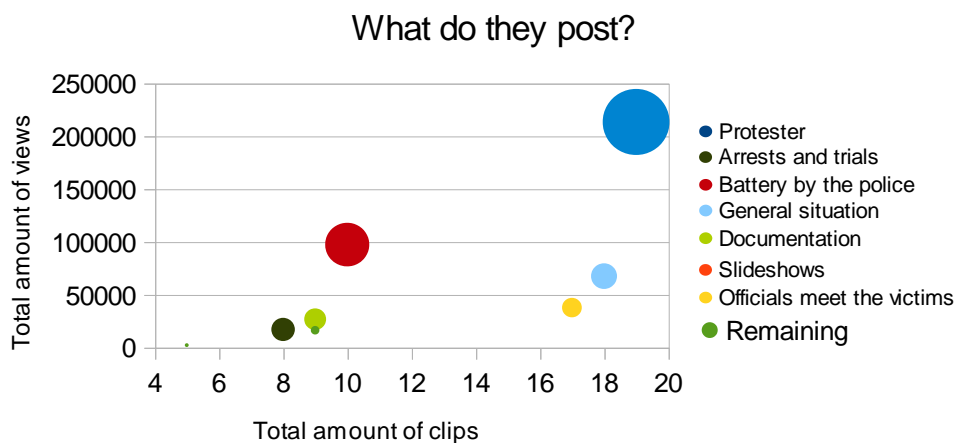
We can see that there are most videos about protests and they have received most views and comments. However we can see that there is no perfect relation between the total amount of clips and the total amount of views of the videos. In the following diagram we can see the statistics of the total amount of likes and dislikes in the categories:
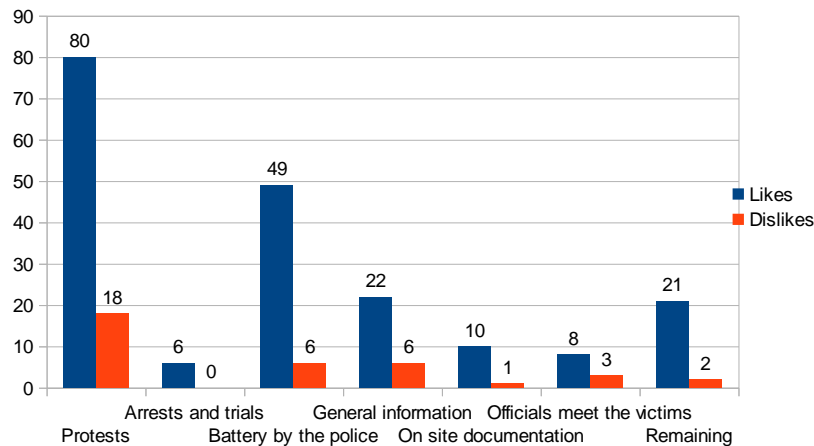
This diagram demonstrate that there is a great interest in videos showing victims protests of forced evictions but the interest in the documentation and the pictures of the Boeung Kak lake is quite low when looking at the views and comments. In the diagram of the amount of likes and dislikes we can see a more equal distribution except for the category *protests* that has the highest amount of likes that is far above the others.

9 Discussion

In this chapter we will discuss the results of the study, summarize them and see if it is possible to draw any conclusions from them and see connections with earlier research and the theories we have based the study on. The different chapters do not come in an order of importance, but try to follow the structure of the study.

9.1 Theoretical perspective

9.1.1 Agenda setting

Our informants have brought up examples of events that first were taken up in social media and then, when it reached a certain velocity and quantity, became a part of the traditional media coverage. The majority of the organizations shared this kind of success stories, which correspond to Vu and Gerhau's (2010) findings of the agenda setting possibilities of social media. Issues that are too controversial will never make big headlines, due to the lack of freedom of expression, no matter how extensively they are discussed on social media. Our findings go against the general conceived opinion that social media in Cambodia would have a strong agenda setting position, when only few traditional media pick up the stories even though they get a lot of attention online. So, even though social media can have an impact on setting the agenda, it does not seem to be extensive, or lead to any dramatic changes in policy making.

So, who sets the agenda? We would say that social media is allowed to set the agenda when addressing certain issues, but the really sensitive issues will be censored, banned or not acted upon due to the political climate in the country. Regarding discussions among the population, social media might have a bigger impact than in traditional media but this is, as stated earlier,

more difficult to prove and we have not been able to demonstrate this in this study.

9.1.2 Social mobilization

Some of our informants believed that social media in Cambodia have the power to mobilize people, however it was not the main goal of the use of social media in most organizations. This brings us to the theoretical discussion of Bekker et.al. (2011) about social medias ability to create micro mobilizations. In Cambodia, the people who have access to social media are not those who have the most to gain in engaging in the land conflicts for example, and thus it is not effective to use social media as a mobilization tool since there are others who would work better.

Who is mobilized in land conflicts? Usually the people affected by a particular land grabbing will mobilize and make a common effort to fight the big companies and the government, but they have not the resources to join forces with other villages and communities affected, and the mobilizations remain small and dependent on the resources and knowledge on a small group of people, most often poor and vulnerable.

9.1.3 Advocacy

Galer-Unti (2012) believe that social media like Twitter and Facebook can be tools for advocacy; Facebook should according his/her theory be useful in advocacy work because it is designed to create networks, give fast feedback and reach a large audience. Several organizations pointed out the networking functions of the site, saying it was an important tool for them. However one can notice the power that the international actors have on the situation in Cambodia; for example in our case study on Boeung Kak lake we could see that some regulations from the World Bank had a positive impact on the government's will to pay compensations to the people affected by the forced evictions. Demonstrations and other advocacy work had not had any significant effect, and the biggest donors like China do not care about human rights violations committed by the government. This shift in aid might also have an impact in the future on how citizens will be permitted to use social media in Cambodia.

9.2 Differences

All of our informants used social media, the organizations as well as the journalist. However, as stated in the results, not everyone use them on a regular basis or in the same way, and while there is a diversity in why they use social media, the challenges they experience are the same. The diverging reasons as to why they used social media can be explained by the fact that some of the organizations use more social media than others. This seem to depend on: the target audience, their skills, their resources and their general aim with their communication work. Some organizations focus on empowering vulnerable people instead of spreading information about their work, while others focus on spreading information. Regarding the choice of social media, some organizations focus on blogs while other focus on Facebook or Youtube. It seems to us that it has a lot to do with what kind of knowledge they have regarding social media and what kind of information work they are doing. If they know how to handle Facebook they start a Facebook page and if they have experience in blogs they use that as a tool. Several of the organizations mentioned the importance of being well educated in how the social medias works and how to use them before they start to use them to avoid mistakes. STAR Kampuchea did not have a Facebook page because they did not have the knowledge to keep it up, while BCV had taken their social media involvement to another level and educated people in how to blog and write articles.

We were unable to see any uniform trends in the social media usage among the organizations that we interviewed, but the trend seem to be that they are positive towards social media and most of them plan to extend their social media work. We could also see that many of them used social media for creating networks and promoting themselves.

It was interesting to note that different social media were used in different ways by the actors in the land conflicts. Blogs and Youtube were more used to archiving information, documenting the development of the conflicts and hold the information searchable, whereas Twitter and Facebook was used to quickly spread information and Youtube/blog posts to create networks. While Twitter and Facebook were social tools, created to reach networks of people and encouraging relations, Youtube and blogs were used to encourage citizen journalism and did not really encourage feedback and discussion in the same way. We also noted that the information on blogs was used in discussions, and was a space for deepening the argumentation of an issue and produce ground material for the discussions. Should we maybe have a more clear distinction between the different social medias, giving that they are different in usage, potentials and design? We could maybe call them live/flash media (like Facebook and Twitter) and slow/carrying social media (like blogs and videos)? The blogs and videos can also get instant feedback and create discussions, but not in the same way as the other two.

It is also interesting to note that Twitter and Facebook can be considered safer for activists, since the posts will spread mainly in established networks and can be more easy to keep away from banning and censorship. This gives a time limitation for the people using them to spread information, and demand more attention from the audience.

9.3 Priorities
In comparison to traditional media the organizations did not prioritize social media very highly, and it was still radio that dominated as an information tool in both reach, costs, availability and stability. According to our informants old media still is needed to reach the population out in the provinces because the infrastructure is not developed enough to make social media available outside the metropolitan centers. Sopheap said in the interview that mobile phones were used to listen to radios, which is a combination of new ICT[9] and old traditional media that is interesting, since mobile phones in the West are used more extensively for Twitter and Facebook (remember the Twitter-campaign that US president Obama used in his first campaign for president). One of the reasons why social media is not big on mobile phones can be that internet is expensive, and many mobiles do not have the possibility to connect to internet. Also the low level of education amongst the population is probably a big reason to why radio still is more popular in Cambodia then social media; many people cannot read and therefore need orally transmitted information.

9.4 Obstacles
All the organizations and journalist that we interviewed agreed on the fact that one of the biggest problems in Cambodia regarding social media is that people do not have access to it due to lack of infrastructure, poor education and ethnic background. It is also interesting to see that even if the Khmer unicode exists, the organizations and the individuals that we have interviewed have chosen to write most of their material on internet in English and not Khmer. This is according to our informants because they want to reach an international audience

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9   Information and communication technology

through these channels. Social media and the internet are considered a way to connect to the outside world and try to spread information to people living out side of Cambodia's boarders since inside the country there are other more suitable mediums that can be used for advocacy or to mobilize people. But, who is listening in the outside world, and are they really creating headlines and creating mobilization abroad? From what we have seen, not really, and thus it seems like all work being put down in social media development sadly is not having any practical effects.

An other problem with social media, that is global, is the information overload[2], that we also took up in Hattotuwas (2007) research; with the amount of blogs and videos posted online, it can be hard for the grassroot organizations to make themselves noticed. As Licadho Canada as well as UI mentioned, there is a bigger chance of getting readers or viewers if other social media also are used to promote the blog or video, such as Facebook and Twitter. However, we ask ourselves if the the quantity of blogs and media channels in the world could decrease the importance of them, since individual blogs will disappear in the mass?

An other global problem with social media is the validity and reliability - since so many can write a blog or make a movie, it can be difficult to separate facts from peoples opinions, and fake facts from real ones. The anonymity that can be an advantage for activists going against oppressing regimes like Cambodia, can also be used to spread lies in other persons names, commit crimes or monitor other users. Knowledge about internet security is not well spread in Cambodia, and as in other countries bloggers can be traced and threatened if they are too controversial. This create what we have mentioned before - the double censorship - and anonymous people online will censor themselves in fear of consequences from them voicing their opinion.

9.5 Target groups and influence

Some of the organizations that we have interviewed have stated that one of the most important reasons to why they have an online presence is to be in contact with the donors and show them their work. Sun Youra, at MVI said that they had an internet site because they saw it as necessary in order to be in contact with donors, even though they neither had the knowledge nor the time to run it. The focus on an international audience then seems to be due to the donors influence and demands. Our research has made us aware of donors influence over the organizations work and their use of social media. The donors are in charge and we would like to question this imperialistic way of monitoring the grassroot organizations.

We believe that social media can provide the marginalized with a voice, thus enabling them to express their opinions and raise awareness of their situation. However, we would like to raise the question to at what cost and on what terms? For an indigenous person in Cambodia it would cost a lot of time and money as well as effort to publish a text online, for an audience that he or she do not know and with few possibilities to reach others in the same situation. the government would for sure not care, since it is not probable that this indigenous voice would represent any real political threat. They may have a voice, but an expensive one, and in this example maybe the radio might have been a better choice since it is cheap, reach more people in Cambodia with the chance to create a mobilization for this cause, and have the possibility to reach a great international audience online as well. It is also possible to get feedback though call-ins during radio shows, being as live as social media.

9.6   Impact
Looking at the actual impact that social media can have, we have noticed that there is a possible linkage between social media presence and succeeding in changing political decisions. The case of Boeung Kak lake is the most famous land conflict in Cambodia, and it has had by far the most coverage in social media as well. But, the question remains: did traditional media create the momentum and social media picked up afterwards, or did the presence of this conflict in social media help spread information and help trigger social mobilization in the case? Because Boeung Kak lake conflict is unique in many ways we are reluctant to make the claim that social media was solely responsible for setting the agenda and mobilizing support.

Hattotuwa (2007) also argued that social media can create a better understanding and give a broader picture of what is happening inside a conflict, and indeed we now have more information available about land conflicts than if there would have been no blogs or videos documenting and reporting about them, since traditional medias reporting is affected by censorship and editors priorities. Also Worley (2011) stress that citizen journalism can change power structures, and change the situation for people affected by government violations. But, what real impact has this had for the people affected by the conflicts? As far as our knowledge go, land grabbings are just increasing in Cambodia, regardless of the increased reporting and information spread. This is very interesting and instead of focusing a lot of energy into developing the social media use in Cambodia, we would start with asking ourselfs if that is going to have any impact at all, and if yes, within what time? Are there maybe other ways of communication that would be better before social media has that kind of possibility?

9.7   Social media hype
Have we placed too much faith in social media as a tool for change after the spring revolutions 2011? Looking at Egypt and Tunisia, social media was used effectively as one of many tools for mobilization, documentation and the spread of information, however, people on the streets were also necessary as well as the support of the military. In Cambodia, the situation is quite different, and to think that it would be possible to transfer the strategies of the Arabic spring to other countries for immediate or guaranteed success seems naive. The revolutions of Burma and Thailand were (as stated in chapter 2.7) well spread in the social networks but did not succeed in changing the government, which mean that social media could not have been the key factor to Egypts and Tunisias success. Cambodians are also (yet not) revolutionary due to decades of civil war and fear of increased violence in the country, and even though they do not approve of the government's violations of human rights, they are not numerous enough to actually mobilize a counter-force to challenge the ruling party. Twitter will not change that, since 80% of the population live in extreme poverty.

But is online activism worth the fuss in the Cambodian context? Our research demonstrates there are many limitations to the spread of social media. For specific groups of people that have the access and resources needed, it may prove be a good tool, however, offline activism is more important in the case of land conflicts, as well as external pressure on the government. Social media is used for reporting about demonstrations regarding land conflicts, not for creating them, and that people dare to state their opinions not only by click "like" on Facebook or spread the words of others is needed to create a change of policies in Cambodia.

10 Future research

Since we have found that social media as a tool for change and development is a really complex area of research, there are plenty of issues that we think would be interesting to study further. We have come up with some questions that could be interesting linked to our study:

· Trends in aid and development work - how are trends and fashion influencing donors demands and opinions regarding grassroot organizations information work? How is this affecting the efficiency of the development projects carried out?

· What cultural differences in the use of social media are necessary to know for development agencies and strategic development communication work? What does a "like" mean and what do people like and share?

· Social media's empowerment functions: do victims of land conflicts feel that they get a voice from social media? How are victims percieving the differences between traditional and social medias possibilities for social change?

· Is information on social media getting more important than traditional ways on communication? One informant stated that invitations to events that were sent on Facebook had a better reach than the ones sent by email - why would that be?
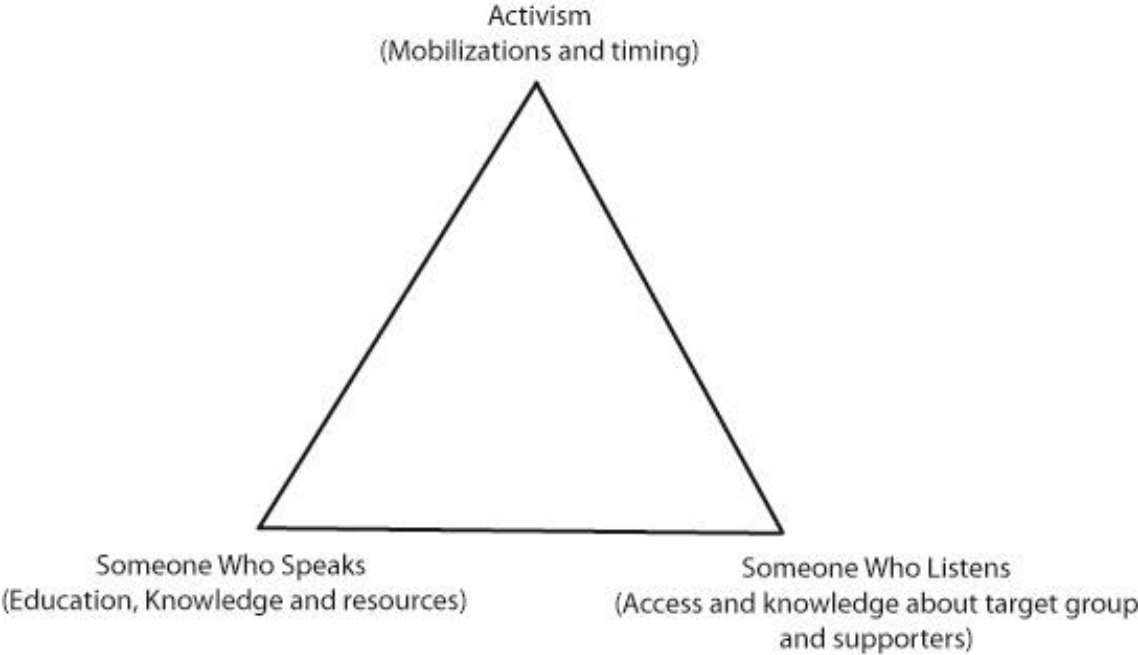
11 Conclusion

As stated in our problem definition, this study set out to research how social media was used in land conflicts in Cambodia, focusing on its agenda setting, mobilization and advocacy functions from a grassroot perspective. We have found that social media is used in many and diverse ways with different goals, depending on the organizations knowledge, resources and focus in their communication work.

Some may use social media for advocacy, some for creating relationships and others for marketing, and nevertheless we believe that it is very important to understand what social media is and how it best can be used for people involved in land conflicts in particular. There is already coverage by traditional media of the land conflicts, but we believe that they fail to mobilize a strong movement that could put pressure on the companies, the government and individuals exploiting the land of the poor. We also think that media in general is failing to put efficient pressure on the actors violating human rights in the land conflicts, both traditional and social media.

However, social media does not seem to create efficient mobilizations either, and the reasons are numerous: the cultural context, demography of the country etc. Social media also has a limited reach in Cambodia, but nevertheless many organizations consider it very important and put a lot of resources on increasing their social media presence, even though when asked they say that they prefer traditional media for information work in the country. We think that this shows how important their communication with the West is for them, and how communication within the country might be neglected due to these priorities. Social media also is a tool for donors to control and monitor grass root organizations in the developing world.

Our opinion considering social media in development communication is that it is a multi-purpose tool - but not a guarantee for a successful information or communication campaign - flexible and complex and by nature very depending and reflects the social context within which it is used. When working on social issues, it is MEDIA that is important, but which media to use depends on the context and the hype that force developing countries to learn and use social media is not the right way to go.

At last we have found that to succeed with social media as a tool for social change, at least these three components are necessary, even though not always controllable:

Activism
(Mobilizations and timing)

Someone Who Speaks
(Education, Knowledge and resources)

Someone Who Listens
(Access and knowledge about target group
and supporters)

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13 Appendix 1 Presentation of studied organizations

Affiliated Network for Social Accountability-EAP (ANSA-EAP CAMBODIA)
Ansa is working to improve governance by mainstreaming the social accountability approach. This is done by: networking, capacity-building, awareness raising and resource mobilization and utilization. They reach out to citizen groups, non-government organizations, civic associations, the business sector, and government institutions and promote the monitoring by citizens of government performance, specifically, the quality of public service delivery and the transparency of public transactions. The bottom line: ethical public leadership. Have had media programs since 2009, and run a radio show with the radio station Voice of democracy - the weekly talk show Social Mirror in Cambodia. Many people are calling in, telling their stories of corruption and bad governance, and land conflicts is not an unusual subject.

Interview person at Ansa-eap: Mr San Chey, Cambodia Network Fellow
Time and place: 5/3 2012, 10 - 11 am at Ansa-eap office.

Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (CCHR)
CCHR promotes a collaborative approach to human rights issues, and works with a number of programs to get different actors involved and empowered enough to get engaged. The bottom-up perspective on their work means that everyone can contribute: ordinary people, grassroots activists, NGO's etc, and they are very active on both social media and radio to raise awareness and help people make their voices heard. They also work with monitoring and mapping the human rights abuses, like land grabbing, mainly through their web portal sithi.org and their weekly radio talk show. They also write reports on special cases like Boeung Kak lake and are a critical voice towards the government actions.

Interview persons at CCHR: Ms Chak Sopheap, Program Director and Ms Chor Chanthyda, Project coordinator, Sithi project.
Time and place: 6/3 2012, 9.00-10.00 am at their office.

STAR Kampuchea
STAR Kampuchea strives for strengthening the democratic process in Cambodia through advocacy work. They want to improve the peoples chance to make their voices heard and raise awareness about violations against human rights, among them land grabbing. They are working in six different provinces with several programs such as capacity building and empowerment, land issues, fishery and forestry programs and volunteer programs which aim toward a cultural exchange between the people in Cambodia and the surrounding world.

Interview person at STAR Kampuchea: Mrs. Chet Charya Executive Director.
Time and place: 12/3 2012, kl. 4.30-5.15 pm, STAR Kampuchea office

Interview with Ou Banung
Ou Banung is a media and communication student that also does freelancing work for Phnom Penh Post. With her education and professional experience she is well informed about the media situation in Cambodia and gave general information about her perspective on the use of social media in Cambodia as well as the traditional media. She also was generally interested

in social issues and had her own privet blog and Facebook account.

Time and place: 13/3 2012, kl. 6-7.30 pm at Pizza Company, riverside Phnom Penh.

My Village Initiative (MVI)
My Village Initiative is an organization working in two provinces, with the goal to improve livelihood of indigenous communities through community organizing and strengthening on natural resource management. They work with equipping people and local groups with the knowledge, skills and attitudes that broaden their options and build up their confidence, empowering them to take control of their lives. The most common issues are forestation, land titling and community partnerships as well as creating small enterprises that make business of traditional crafts and agriculture.

Interview person at MVI: Mr Sun Youra, Executive director.
Time and place: 16/3 2012, kl. 2-3 pm at office of ICSO.

Building Community Voices (BCV)
Building Community Voice is an organization that works with already existing networks, providing them with skill training, support and contacts to other networks, so that they themselves cooperate on violations, issues and assaults that create problems in their lives, mainly in the indigenous populations and in the rural areas. They are working with empowering people in 22 provinces since 2008, and in that time they have seen a boom in community issues that are not taken care of properly by the authorities and the government. Their goal is to teach and support communities to be able to file complaints themselves, since they are the experts on their situation, and a common subject are the land grabbings committed by companies and the government in the indigenous populations living areas.

Interview persons at BCV: Pry Phally Phoung, executive director and Mr. Ran, Sopheak Pagna, network fellow.
Time and place: 20/3 2012, kl 10-11 pm at BCV office.

Urban initiative (UI)
The organization works for the poor in Phnom Penh, and monitors the effect of the urbanization and how the city is developing. They are working with collecting opinions from everyone that has one, and give them a chance to express themselves through their internet site Urban Voices. They also works through different social media channels where they post news articles that is of importance for the people and hope to increase the spread of the information through these channels. They try to make people aware of the injustice that is done in Cambodia and by that create a change in people's opinions that will lead to action, and they have been monitoring land grabbings in an urban area.

Interviewed person at UI: Nora Lindström, Program development manager at UI/teang tnaut, Time and place: 21/3 2012, kl. 5-6 pm, at Eqinox

Sidon Sok
Sok Sidon is a journalist and a translator at the Cambodian Daily and a team leader at a

volunteer program focusing on integrating human rights among kids. Mr Sok has a bachelor degree in education and a strong interest in human rights, peace work and democratic development. He uses different kinds of social medias on his spare time and thinks that it is a good way of gathering and increasing general knowledge. He has a good insight in the media climate in Cambodia and believer in change through awareness rising.

Time and place: 30/3 2012, 9-10.30 am at Baitong Restaurant.

Indigenous Community Support organization (ICSO).
ICSO, founded in 2006, is working with the indigenous communities, promoting their voice and supporting them in raising that voice in matters that concern them. They do this by capacity building and empowerment training, mainly to community leaders that are supposed to pass the knowledge on to their groups, creating an indigenous population that know their social, economic and cultural rights and are able to advocate and raise awareness about them as well. It is important for the organization that the target group is the owner of the process and that they are empowered to protect their natural resources from grabbing and exploitation.

Persons interviewed at ICSO: Svay Sochea, Community led development program coordinator, Eaung Chantorn, Community led development program officer and Uch Sokvibol, and Community led development program officer
Time and place: 2/4 2012, 3-4 pm at ICSO office.

Kounila Keo
Keo Kounila graduated in Media & Communication at Royal University of Phnom Penh in 2010 and is passionate about blogging. She has been freelancing for the Agencies France Presse, Phnom Penh Post and Los Angeles Times, been invited to several international forums on new media and participated in Tedx Talks in Cambodia 2011. She is blogging about social issues in Cambodia at www.blueladyblog.com since 2007 and has conducted workshops on blogging and social media for university students, artists and professionals in the country. She is currently working as a Digital manager for a mass youth campaign by BBC Media Action, the British Broadcasting Corporation's international charity.

Time and place: 16/4 2012, 3-4 pm at Brown Café.

LICHADO Canada
LICADHO Canada describes them selves as a grass-root organization that provides services to communities affected by land grabbing in Cambodia. LICADHO Canada has a close collaboration with the organisation LICADHO – Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights. LICADHO Canada works with three focus areas: Monitoring and Protection, Community capacity building and creative advocacy. The organization tires to create bridges between the communities and NGOs, media and different sectors of the society.
Interview person: Lee Robinson, Director of LICADHO Canada
Time and place: The questions were sent by email and got a reply 16/5.

Justin Heifetz
Justin Heifetz is a web editor at Phnom Penh Post.

Time and place: The questions were sent to him by email and we got response 18/4.

14 Appendix 2 Interview questions

Ethical guidelines during the interview and in the processing of analyzing

This information was given to the interviewees before the interview: This interview is a part of our bachelor thesis in media and communication studies. With this thesis we are trying to answer the question "How are new media used in land conflicts in Cambodia, and with what effect?". What is said in this interview will be used in a responsible way. The interview will be saved academically however the interviews will not as a whole be publicly published any were. During this interview you will have all possible to stop the interview when ever you want to or decline to answer questions. It is possible to be anonymous in the report and then we will put in an alias instead of your name, title and organization. You will also. if you wish, get a copy of the report and give us feedback and comment if you think we have miss quoted you or have any other opinion.

Interview questions for the organizations

Background
- What is your name, age, level of education?
- Are you employed, if so in what sector?

The organization
- what do you work with?
- what does your organization hope to achieve for change?
- How much do you focus on media in your organization? both traditional and social
- What media is no. 1 priority: social media or traditional media?

Social media
- are you using any social media - which one? why?
- what is posted?
- who is posting?
- do you have any goal/strategy for your use of social media?
- can you see that your usage of social media has any effects, and if, how can you see that?
- do you consider social media important for your work?
-who are you reaching with social media - different for different media? (public, organizations, national or international public)
- who would you like to reach?
- which language are you using on social media? is that a problem?
- do you experience any difficulties in working with social media?

Traditional media
-How do you work towards traditional media?
-Most important media channel, Traditional or Social media?
- Do you have contact/good cooperation with journalists?
- Do you often interact with international or national media?
- If not, would you like to, is that important for your work?
- How do you work with media, do you have any media strategies?

Interview questions for journalists

Background
- What media station do you work with?
- What is your position?
- Who old are you?
-What is your experience when it comes to media and Cambodia?

Opinion about social media
- Do you use them?
- If you in what kind of situation?
-Professional or privately?
- What do you think about social media as an information source?
- Do you find information through social media?
- Do you find news material on social media?
- Do you spread your news articles or any other information through social media?
- What do you read about on social media?
- Is or was social media present in your media education?
- How do you describe the future of social media to raise awareness, set an agenda, advocating tool or for mobilization?

Traditional media
- How do you think that the issue around land conflicts is handled in Cambodian traditional media?
- How do you feel about writing anything against the government?
- Who sets the agenda in Cambodia?
- How about international journalists?
- Are they working more with a critical approach towards the government?
- What kind of feedback have you possibly got from government officials about your articles?
- Have you experienced negative feedback from officials on your reporting?
- Do you know about any college who has experienced this?

Land conflicts
- Have you noticed any social media involved in the conflicts?
- What do you think about the reporting of land conflicts in traditional media?
- Has it increased or decreased?
- Have you reported anything about land conflicts?
- Has your newspaper?

Thank you for your cooperation
Tomas Hultman and Tessan Nordeman

Questions send to Lee Robinson LICADHO Canada:
How do you at LICADHO Canada use social media (such as Facebook, blogs, Twitter and Youtube) in your work?
- Can it be a tool in your work with land conflicts in Cambodia?
What kind of result have you seen in your use of social media?
- Do you get feedback through them?
- Do newspapers contact you because of something they have seen through social medias?
What do you think of the use of social media when it comes to agenda setting, social mobilization and advocacy work?
Can it change power structures in Cambodia?