

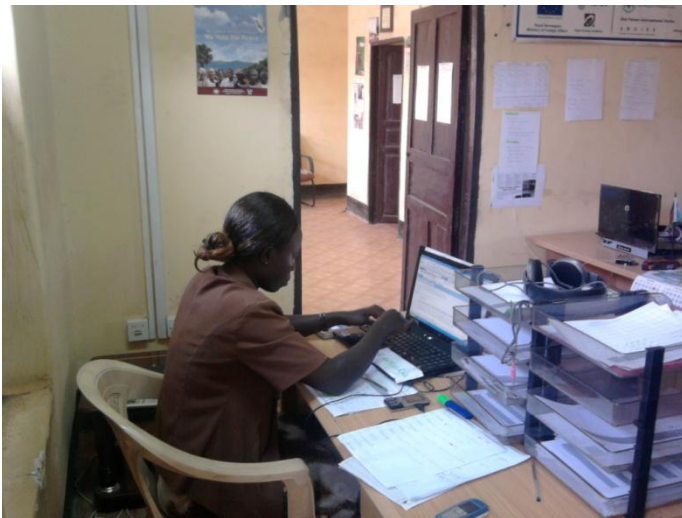
MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN SUDAN

MONITORING THE COVERAGE OF SUDAN 2010 ELECTIONS

INTERIM REPORT No. 3

Period 13 February – 21 March 2010

Issued on 2 April 2010



I. Executive Summary

Media Monitoring activities run by the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC) continue on a daily basis. Monitors are observing that the coverage of election contestants and politicians has increased considerably from February to March. Both TV and radio have almost doubled the airtime devoted to reporting on candidates and parties. The trend in the media coverage continues to be one focused mainly on the National and GoSS Presidential elections. This trend is also reflected at party-level where the NCP and the SPLM receive the highest percentage of time and space. The NCP is given 46% of the total airtime dedicated to election and political coverage on television and 53% on radio, whilst SPLM receives 32% airtime on television and 21% on radio. The main focus of the press coverage is, like in the previous reporting period, still on the executive positions in the elections like the Presidency, State Governor posts and for the National Assembly (receiving respectively 38%, 39% and 22% of the total space).

News is the main format used by the radio and TV stations to convey information regarding elections and politics (around 50% of the overall airtime); programmes outside the scope of editorial control of the media – namely free and paid airtime – are also central in the media campaign of parties and they represent almost 30% of all the broadcasting devoted to politics.

The tone of the coverage is in general either neutral or positive while negative reporting is very sporadic. The NCP and the SPLM are the main targets of non-neutral reporting in all observed media. Usually the media outlets aligned with the NCP take a negative tone on SPLM, and vice versa; the outlets aligned with SPLM use a negative tone when covering NCP.

There is an evident increase in the number of episodes of hate speech in the period from February to March, mirroring the escalating intensity of campaign language and tone. The inflammatory language generally involves political parties and candidates that are both the main sources and the main targets¹. Defamation is the main type of hate speech with accusations and mutual blaming taking place between the main contestants; a slight increase in calls for violence has been observed. In line with the previous period, the print press was the main channel through which the messages were conveyed.

The Media and Elections Project, funded by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is implemented by the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium, a group of national and international organisations with expertise in media support. These are: Sudanese Development Initiative (SUDIA), International Media Support (IMS), Norwegian Peoples Aid (NPA), Osservatorio di Pavia, Arab Working Group for media monitoring and Fojo Media Institute.

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¹ The target is the individual or group against whom hate speech is directed, as reported by the media.

II. Foreword

The Sudan Media and Elections project as implemented by the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC) falls within the context of the larger programme of the UNDP elections support programme in Sudan. One of the main activities of the project is the monitoring of the Sudanese media's coverage of the elections. Working through two media monitoring units (one in Khartoum and one in Juba) and with monitors in seven states across the Sudan, the project commenced its media monitoring operations on 13 February (coinciding with the official launch of the election campaigns) and will continue until the end of May to monitor post-election coverage. The SMEC carries out media monitoring of four TV stations, seventeen radio channels and thirteen newspapers on a daily basis². All selected media are monitored according to a methodological approach created in 1995 and based on content analysis. The approach has been tested and adopted in a number of elections by international organisations and civic society groups all over the world.

The monitoring of election and political coverage is based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis and aims to observe and assess the extent to which media provide fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders. The project also monitors hate speech or inflammatory language to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increase any potential tension related to the elections.

This report is the third bi-weekly report on the media monitoring activities carried out by SMEC. Bi-weekly reports are being made available to the general public during the course of the campaigning period with an interim report to be produced after the elections and a final report to be produced in June.

² Press: Al Sahfa, Al Ray Al Aam, Al Intibaha, Al Sudani, Akhir Lahza, Ajras Al huriah, Akhbar Alyoum, Al Ayam, The Citizen, Juba Post, Khartoum Monitor, Southern Eye and Sudan Vision
TV: Sudan TV, Blue Nile, Khartoum State TV and South Sudan TV
Radio stations; Omdurman Radio, Khartoum State Radio , Peace Service, Al Qwat Al Mussalaha, Saheroon, North Kurdufan, North Darfur, Red Sea, South Sudan Radio, Radio Miraya, Radio Bakhita, Liberty FM, Junubna FM, Rumbek FM, 97.5 FM/Voice of Eastern Equatoria, South Sudan Radio Malakal, Spirit FM

III. Media Monitoring of Election Coverage: preliminary findings³

Like in the previous reporting period (13 February – 7 March) the coverage of the election campaign has been extensive over the period observed (13 February – 21 March). The media provide large amounts of information on the main contestants and parties and are using a variety of formats and programmes for the coverage. Moreover, the coverage of the election has considerably increased from February to March. Both TV and radio almost doubled the airtime on candidates and parties.

The print press coverage of the election campaign was primarily presented in a news format covering the campaigns and rallies of candidates. Many of the paid advertisements were for President Al Bashir, Salva Kiir and Lam Akol. Often such advertisements are not labelled as paid space, thus possibly creating confusion amongst voters and readers, especially when taking into account that sometimes the space of each paid advertisement is a whole page.

The two main parties – the NCP and the SPLM – enjoy most of the coverage in the North and South audiovisual media respectively. TV and radio stations in the North tend to give the NCP and its members the largest amount of coverage. Similarly, the media targeting the South generally give the SPLM the broadest visibility. In both geographical areas, other political forces received limited attention compared to the two main ruling parties. The press reflect a similar visibility of the two leading parties and a clear concentration of the coverage on them.

The monitoring results show that both National and GoSS Governmental officials take advantage of their institutional role to gain additional visibility through staged events. A similar strategy is observed in regard to the CPA implementation in terms of economic development that is often used in the ruling parties' manifestos to win popularity. Some of this increased visibility comes through the coverage of formal events such as the launch of development projects, receptions, inauguration events or inspection visits.

Newspapers dedicate space to opinion polls. The topics are mainly linked to the presidential election. They concentrate on the competition between Yasser Arman and Omar Al-Bashir and the proportion of support for Yasser Arman in the south. Some polls address the candidates in the constituencies or the election of the governor of Khartoum. There are less polls available via television, while radio stations conduct polls mainly by phone calls.

The coverage of voter education is rather weak in the newspapers. The space given to this is mainly paid advertisements published by the National Elections Commission (NEC), explaining the electoral process and how to vote. In some media the main target for voter education are women, urging them to exercise their rights and participate in the political process via voting.

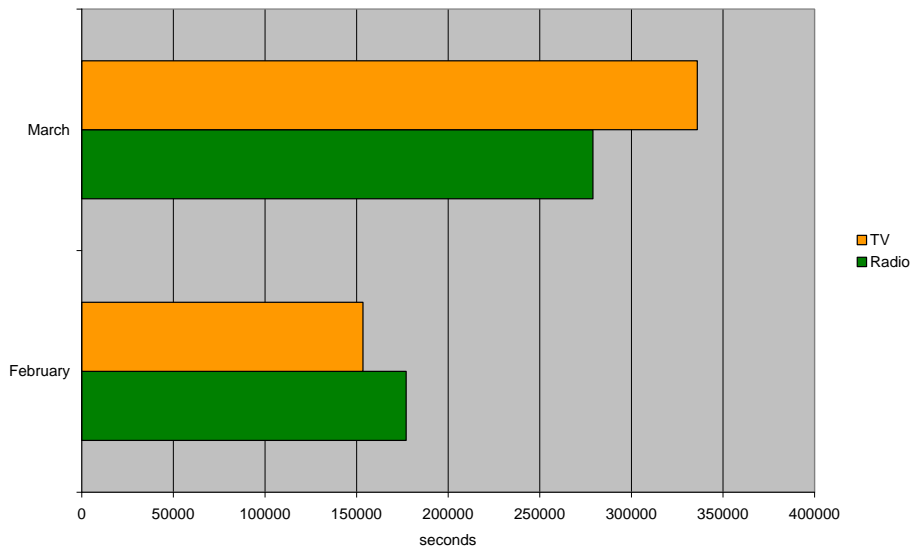
The journalistic style varies between news, opinion-pieces and analysis. The larger percentage of all newspapers are as neutral and balanced as possible in their coverage of the candidates, regardless of the attitude of political actors and their political party. A few cases have been observed where journalists concentrate on covering disputes between candidates and parties, while some journalists include their own opinions on political actors in their news reports. The different newspapers are in general not innovative in their way of coverage and regular cases of inaccuracy such as errors of misspelling of names and words occur.

³ The data from the Media Monitoring of Election coverage refers to the period of 13 February – 21 March 2010.

IV- A. Radio and Television: coverage of the election campaign

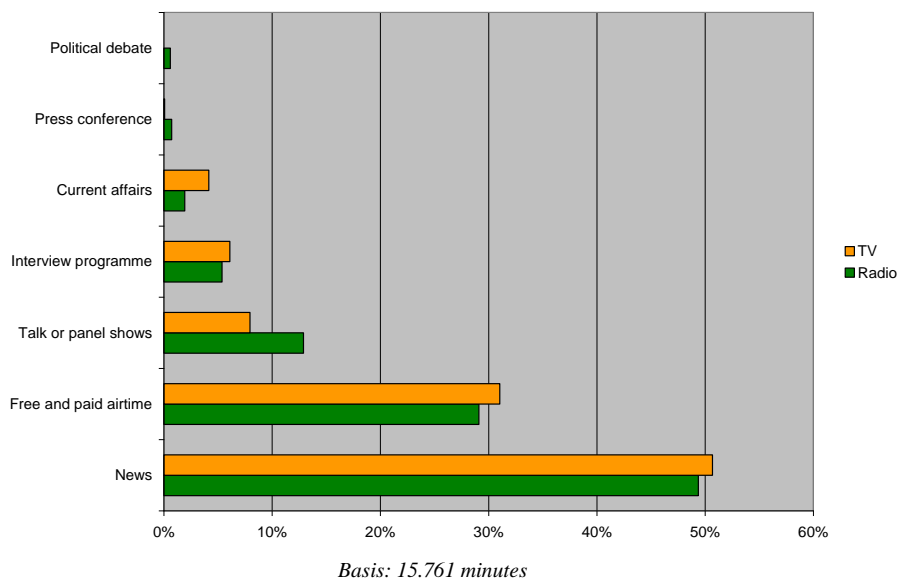
The coverage of election contestants and politicians has considerably increased from February to March. Both TV and radio have almost doubled the airtime devoted to report on candidates and parties.

Allocation of time over the campaign period (aggregated by month)



News is the main format through which radio and TV stations conveyed information on the elections and politics (around 50% of the overall airtime). Programmes outside editorial control of the media – namely free and paid airtime – are also central in the media campaigns of parties and they represented almost 30% of all broadcasting devoted to politics.

Allocation of time among genres to election coverage



The distribution of airtime on editorial coverage⁴ shows that two main parties receive most of the

⁴ This category includes any kind of coverage under the direct editorial responsibility of the media outlet: news articles, editorial, analysis and opinions, interviews, photos, cartoons as well as polls. It does not include paid political and

coverage in both types of media. The NCP received 46% of the total airtime on editorial election coverage on television and 53% on radio. The SPLM was given 32% of the airtime on television and 21% on radio.

Consistently with what was observed in Report 2, the editorial choices of the channels in terms of coverage reflect their geographical audiences: the media targeting a Northern public devote most of their airtime to the NCP, while the media broadcasting in the South dedicate most of their coverage to the SPLM. Other contesting parties receive very limited coverage in both areas.

Allocation of time to political actors on TV and Radio – aggregation by party

TV		Radio	
PARTY	Total	PARTY	Total
NCP	46%	NCP	53%
SPLM	32%	SPLM	21%
PCP	4%	Others ⁵	7%
Others ⁶	3%	UNP	3%
UNP	3%	Independent	3%
Independent	3%	PCP	2%
SAP	2%	URRP	2%
DUPO	2%	MBO	2%
SCP	2%	SAP	1%
URRP	1%	SPLM-DC	1%
DUP	1%	DUP	1%
NNDP	1%	SCP	1%
SPLM-DC	1%	NNDP	1%
Total	100%	SSDP	1%
<i>Total in absolute values – 5618 minutes</i>		DUPO	1%
		UP-C	1%
		Total	100%
		<i>Total in absolute values – 5374 minutes</i>	

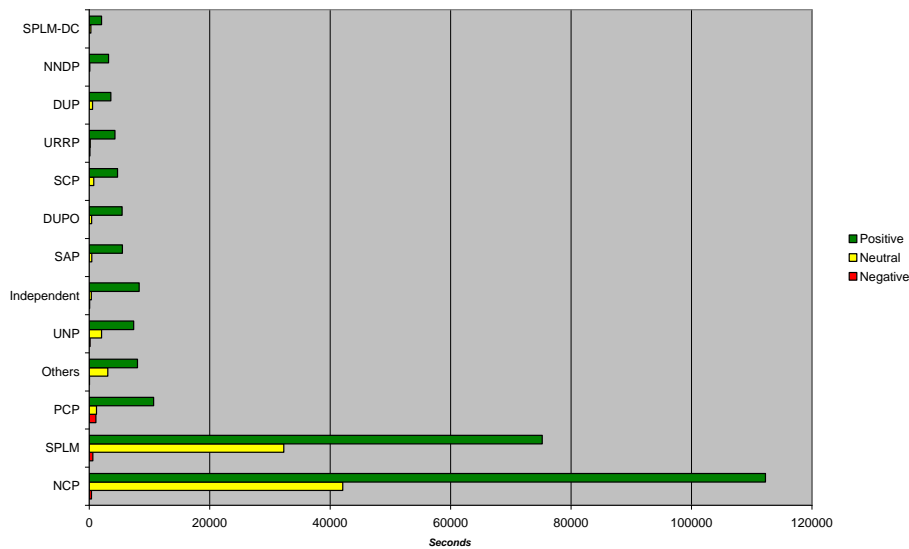
The tone of the reporting is generally either neutral or positive. Negative coverage is very limited. The NCP and the SPLM mostly enjoy positive visibility, thus reinforcing the quantitative advantage they already enjoy in terms of exposure. The tendency to cover the two main parties in a favourable manner is also observed for radio channels, although using a less positive tone than TV stations. A negative tone is used more sporadically for smaller parties that are covered either neutrally or positively.

election advertisement, free airtime established by the NEC mechanism, mails from readers.

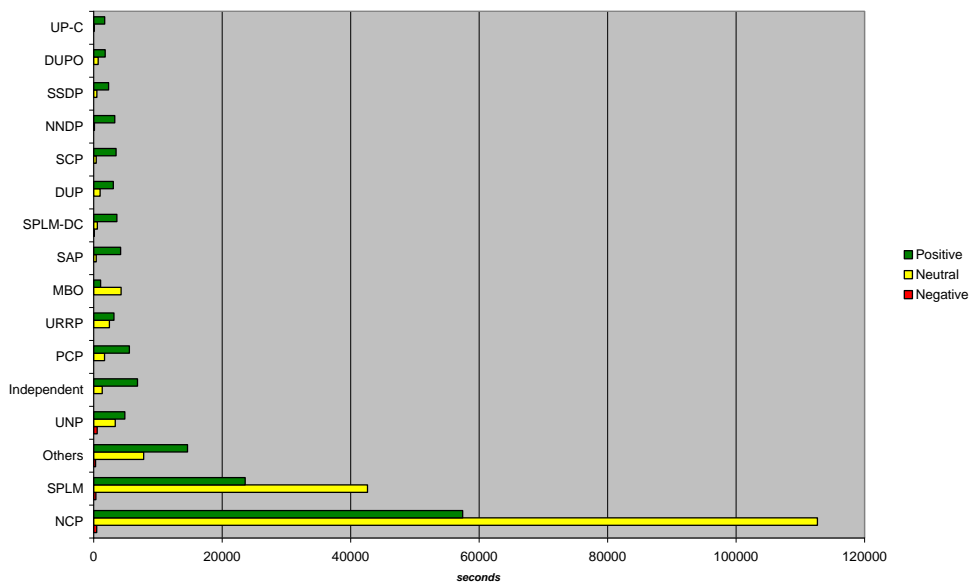
⁵ This category includes all parties that received less than 1% coverage: SNFGUP, USNP, PSJP, NPAP, NLP, SNLP, NDA, SUFP, MSUP, BC, PFDR, UDSF, UPRD, RCP, UFP, FWP, LDP, WBP, SUNP, NRP, BCP, USDF, NUDP, NUP, NDFP, NSP, ADP, SConP, NASP, WANUP, SDPCES, SFLP, IMP, MP, SA, SNFO, UDP, SBP, UDSPF, SLFOP, EDP.

⁶ This category includes all parties that received less than 1% coverage: BC, EDP, SA, MBO, SNFGUP, SSDP, SLFOP, NSP, SSDF, Other, NRP, SANU, UP-C, EPJD, SBP, UFP, BCP, UPRD, NDA, RCP, NUDP, NJP, USDF, SFLP, JP, USAP, SNFO, JNA, NDUF, HDP, SUNP, UDF, PSJP, LDP.

Tone of the coverage for political actors on TV – aggregation by party



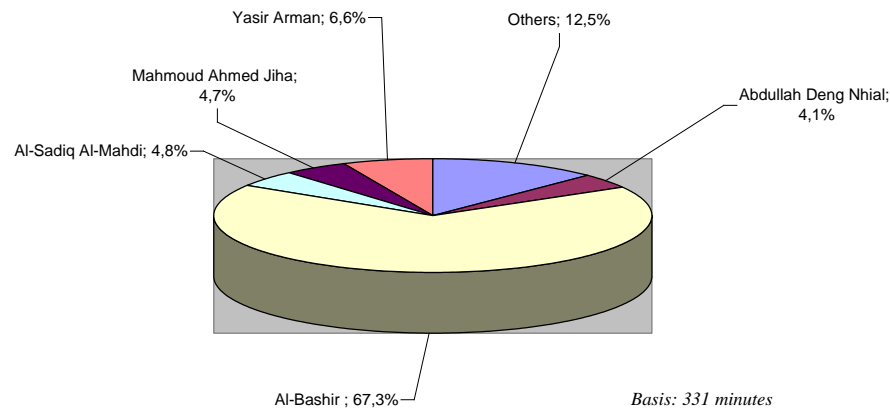
Tone of the coverage for political actors on Radio - aggregation by party



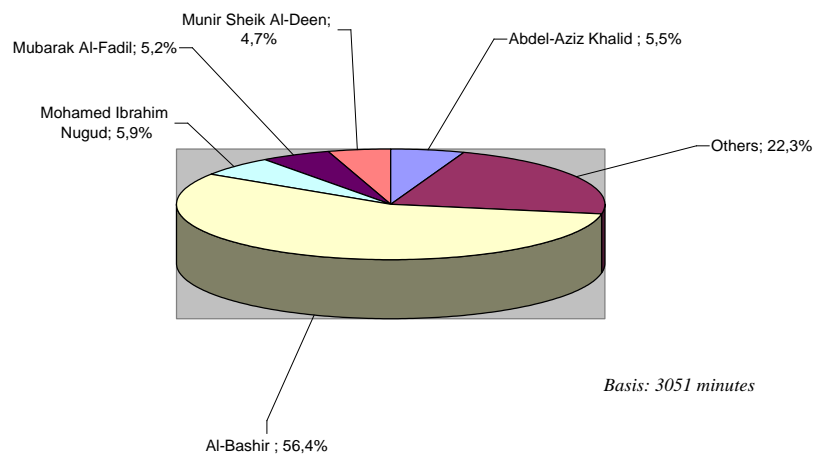
The journalistic focus in television and radio broadcasting throughout North Sudan is mainly focused on the elections for the Presidencies and the National Assembly, receiving respectively an average of 44% and 38% of the overall airtime on television and radio. Southern Sudan media concentrate on the coverage of GoSS Presidential candidates (an average of 47% of the total airtime on radio and television) and the GoSS Assembly (19% average).

President Al Bashir is the contestant receiving the largest coverage in North Sudan Televisions (an average of 68% of the overall airtime devoted to Presidential candidates), while Yassir Arman receives an average of 51% airtime on Southern Sudan channels.

Allocation of space among Presidential candidates on Television – National



Allocation of space among Presidential candidates on Radio – National



In the race for the GoSS Presidency, President Kiir is the most covered candidate receiving an average of more than 90% of TV and radio station airtime in all the audiovisual media monitored. Stations in the North provide a more balanced division of coverage between the two contestants than channels in the South.

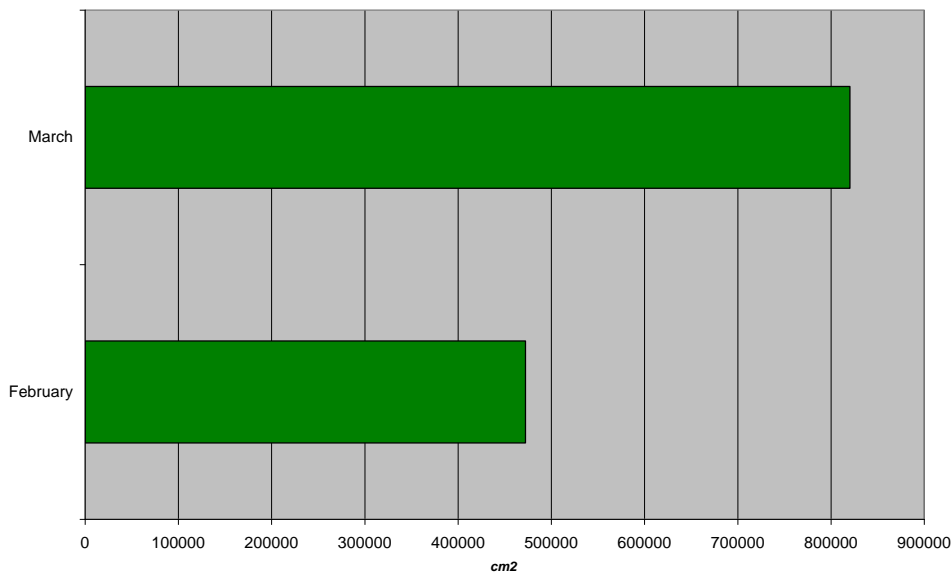
IV- B. The Print Press: coverage of the election campaign

The coverage of parties, candidates and politicians in the print media has escalated from the beginning of the official campaign where the print press uses a variety of formats to report on elections and politics.

The volume of political communication drastically increased from February to March, mirroring the

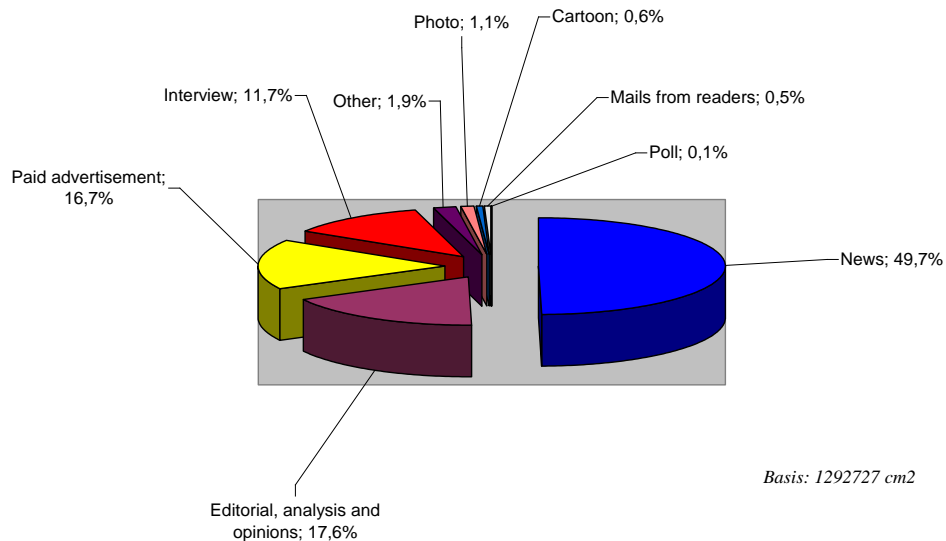
intensification of competition and the growing journalistic attention to the main contestants.

Allocation of space over the campaign period



Diverse genres of coverage are used to inform readers about contestants and politicians. The main formats used are news articles, editorials and analysis. Paid advertising – both election- and politics-related – is another widespread format through which candidates and parties convey their messages.

Allocation of space among genres of coverage



The editorial coverage⁷ of the print press continues to concentrate on the two main parties, the NCP

⁷ This category includes any kind of coverage under the direct editorial responsibility of the media outlet: news articles, editorial, analysis and opinions, interviews, photos, cartoons as well as polls. It does not include: paid political and election advertisement, free airtime established by the NEC mechanism, mails from readers.

and SPLM who respectively received 43% and 23% of the overall space. The distribution of space confirms a polarisation of the coverage based on the geographical reach of each media outlet. The newspapers targeting Northern readers focus in their reports largely on the NCP (46% of the total space), while print media targeting the Southern public allocate the largest amount of space to the SPLM (44%). The other parties receiving meaningful levels of coverage are the Umma National Party in the Arabic press and the SPLM-DC in the English press.

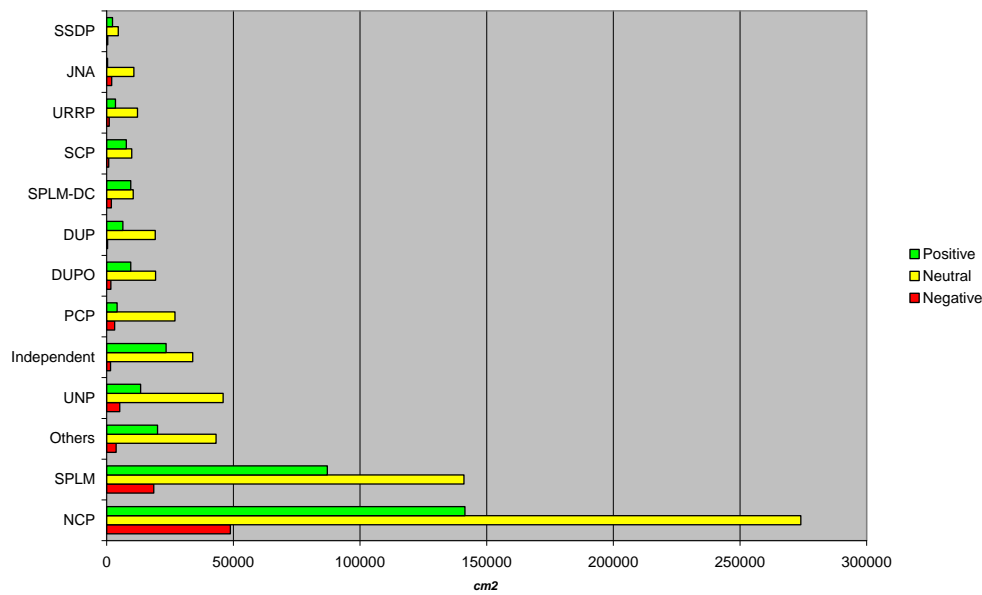
Allocation of space among political actors – aggregation by party

PARTY	Space
NCP	43%
SPLM	23%
Others ⁸	6%
UNP	6%
Independent	6%
PCP	3%
DUPO	3%
DUP	2%
SPLM-DC	2%
SCP	2%
URRP	2%
JNA	1%
SSDP	1%
Total	100%
<i>Total in absolute values – cm2</i>	<i>1070573</i>

The tone used to cover political actors is mainly neutral, but data show a slight increase in the negative tone of the coverage on the main parties, reflecting the escalation of tension and competition as Election Day approaches. However, neutral or positive tones remain still dominant particularly in relation to the NCP and the SPLM.

⁸ This category includes all parties that received less than 1% coverage: SAP, NNNDP, NJP, UDF, SA, BCP, IMP, UDUP, NUP, MAA, SANU, SConP, BC, SSDF, SNFGUP, JP, NUDP, WANUP, UFP, UDSF, UPRD, USSP, NDFP, DUSP, UDP, UP-C, HDP, EDP, NDA, SBP, USDF, NRP, MBO, NDP, UPopF, SDPCES, SNLP, USAP, ANCP, UDSPF, SFLP, ILP, JAP, NRenP, SSolidP, AA, MSOP, SDCMP, USNP, NLP, NIF, PCongP, NASP, EPJD, LDP, MSUP, FWP, NDUF, NFDM, SUNP, NPAP, ADP, PSJP, FotS, SUFP, RCP, SFNP, SANP, WBP, NSP, SNFO, PFDR, NPP, SLFOP, SUDPC.

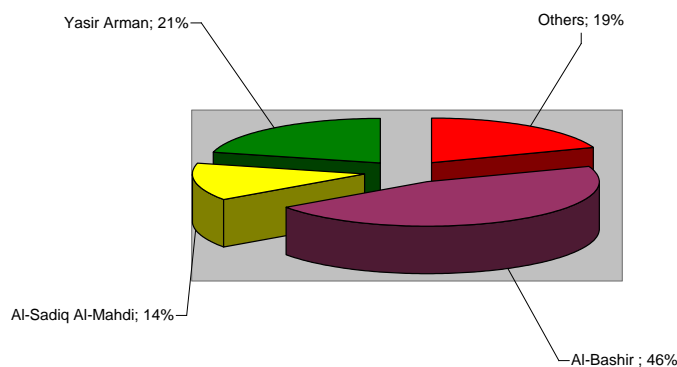
Tone of the coverage on political actors – aggregation by party



The main focus of the press coverage is on the election for executive positions like the Presidency and State Governors and for the National Assembly respectively receiving 38%, 39% and 22% of the total space.

The candidate for the National Presidency receiving the widest visibility is President Al Bashir with 46% followed by Yasir Arman with 21% and by Al Sadiq Al Mahdi (14%). A clear editorial difference is observed in the Arabic and English press. The former provides coverage to all Presidential contestants – although with substantial differences in the volume of exposure, while the latter concentrates reporting on a more limited number of candidates (mainly President Al-Bashir, Mr Yasir Arman, Mr Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi and Mr Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud).

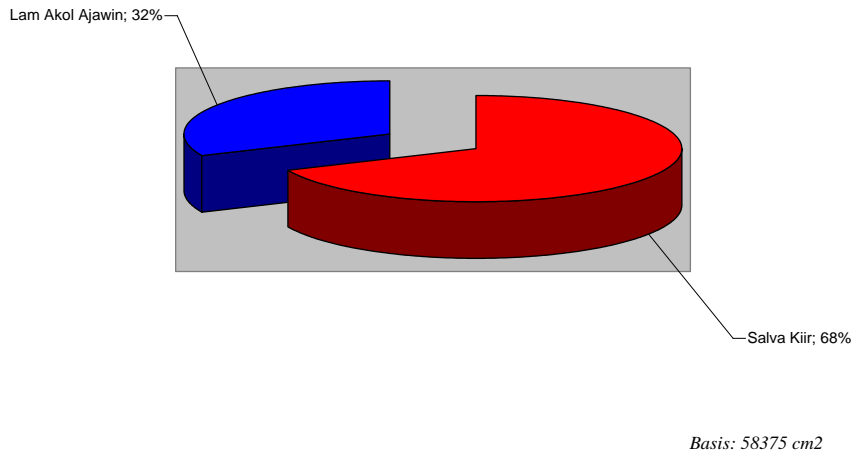
Allocation of space among Presidential candidates – National



Basis: 354165 cm2

Between the two contestants for the GoSS Presidency, President Kiir is allocated 68% of the overall space while his competitor, Mr Lam Akol, received 32%.

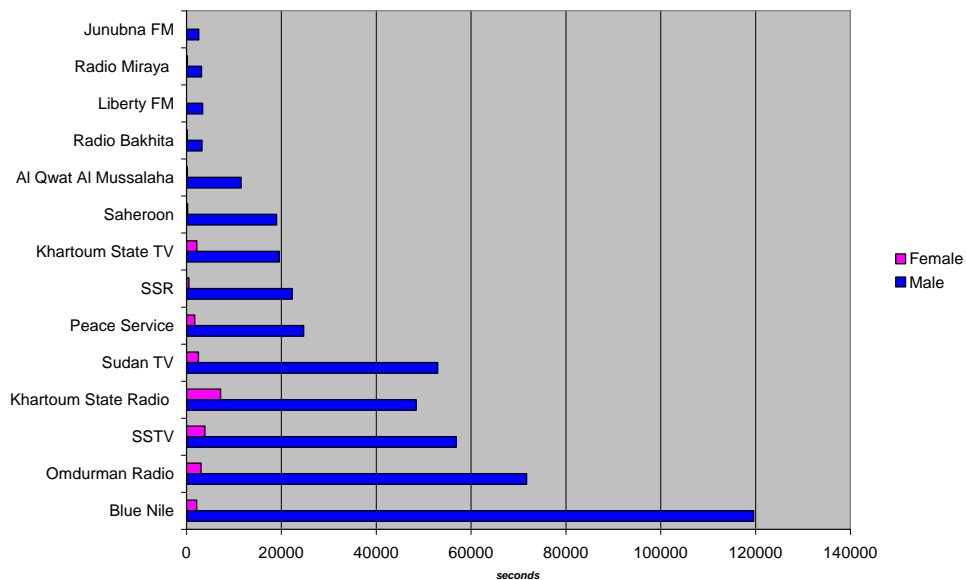
Allocation of space among Presidential candidates - GoSS



V. Coverage of Women and Women’s Issues

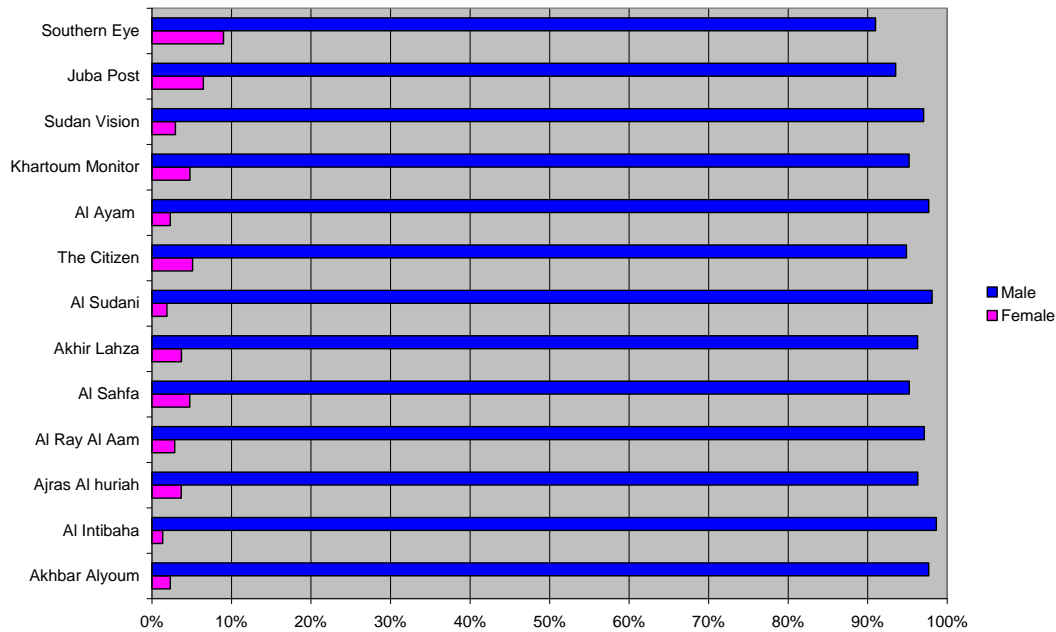
Quantitative data regarding the coverage of politicians and candidates shows that women continue to receive extremely limited exposure in all the media monitored, with an average of 4% of the total editorial time for television and 6% for radio. The women represented are either party leaders, Governors or other local Government representatives as well as members of the National Government. Radio Khartoum, Peace Service, Omdurman Radio, Sudan TV, SSTV and Khartoum State TV are the outlets showing higher than average levels of coverage on women’s issues.

Allocation of time to male and female politicians – TV and Radio



In the print press women politicians are allocated an average of the 3% of the overall editorial space devoted to politics and elections, while their male counterparts received 97%. The Citizen, Al Sahfa, Juba Post, Khartoum Monitor, Ajras Al Huriah, Akhir Lahza and Southern Eye are the newspapers devoting more space than the overall average to women. Women's visibility is often related to prominent roles and positions in the political sphere such as in the National Government or at party cadres' level.

Allocation of space to male and female politicians



Basis: 938713 cm2

VI. Voters' Information on the Election Process

With regard to voter education, its coverage is rather weak in the newspapers as there is not much space on voter education compared to the total space dedicated to politics and the electoral process. The limited attention dedicated to voter education is mainly published in a format of a paid-advertisement published by the NEC, covering an explanation of the electoral process and how to vote. Similarly, TV stations broadcast many (paid) advertisements, as well as drama programmes addressing voter education issues and educational clips on how to vote and why.

On the radio there are programmes encouraging people to vote and interviews with members of the NEC. During such programmes the NEC officials answer questions from the audience. Television stations broadcast paid advertisements, as well as drama programmes tackling voter education issues and educational clips on how to vote and why. On radio there are programmes encouraging people to vote and interviews with members of the NEC. During such programmes the NEC officials answer questions from the audience. Radio stations also broadcast some education programmes and various forms of drama and songs encouraging participation in the electoral process.

In some media the main target for voter education are women, urging them to exercise their rights and participate in the political process via voting. At the same time, the coverage of gender topics is weak with the exception of some female candidates, as well as candidates who choose to address women's issues. Quantitative data regarding the coverage of politicians and candidates show that women receive limited coverage in all the media monitored. Within audiovisual media, female politicians receive an average of 5% of the total editorial⁹ airtime on television and 6% on radio. There are some programmes on the role of women in society and women as part of the decision-making process.

Amount of airtime and space allocated to the NEC has increased in the media after it was confirmed that the technical preparations ahead of the elections were completed. Some of the space and airtime in the media throughout this reporting period was devoted to the reaction of NEC after the Carter Centre released a report calling for a postponement of the elections. Some media outlets reflect this news item by voicing their doubt as to the neutrality and independence of the NEC. Other radio stations cover most activities of the NEC by broadcasting close to every step of the pre-electoral process, concentrating on the Elections State High Committees.

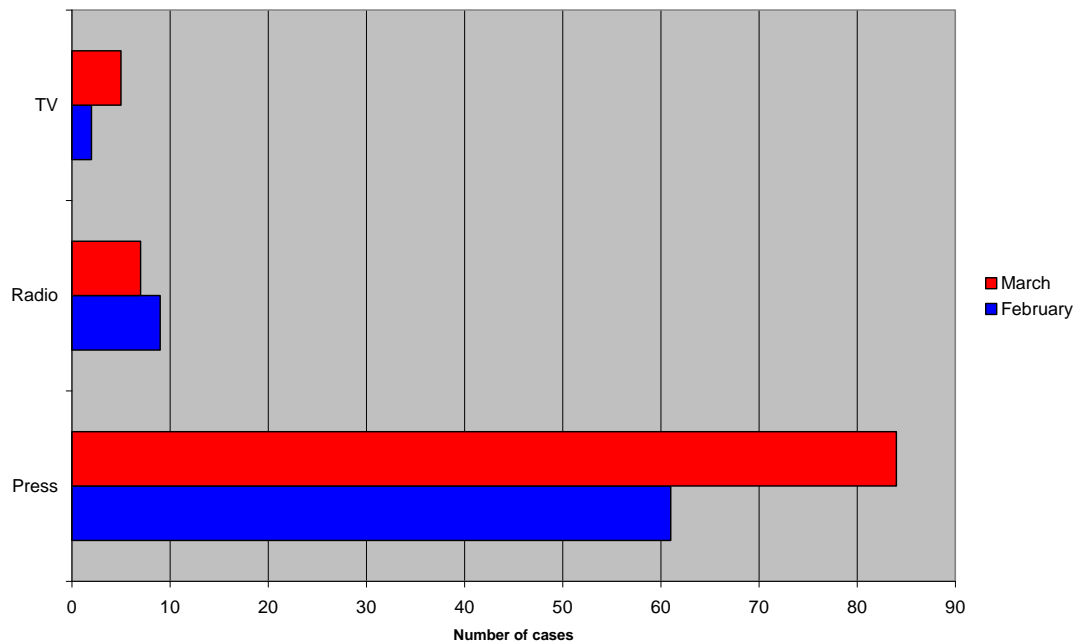
⁹ This category includes any kind of coverage under the direct editorial responsibility of the media outlet: news articles, editorial, analysis and opinions, interviews, photos, cartoons as well as polls. It does not include: paid political and election advertisement, free airtime established by the NEC mechanism, mails from readers.

VII. Hate Speech in Election Coverage¹⁰

There is an evident increase of episodes of hate speech from February to March, mirroring the escalation of campaigning. The inflammatory language generally involves political parties and candidates that are both the main sources¹¹ and the main targets¹². Defamation is the main type of hate speech, with accusations and mutual blaming on behalf of the main contestants. A slight increase in calls for violence has been observed. In line with the previous period, the press is the main channel through which messages are conveyed.

A total of 168 cases are recorded during the period 13 February – 21 March, mostly published in the print media. The volume of episodes of hate speech escalated from February to March and it reflects the growing tension characterising the campaigning styles and rhetoric. In the media observed, the number of episodes in March increased in the print press and on television stations, while a slight decrease could be noted on radio.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by month and by media sector



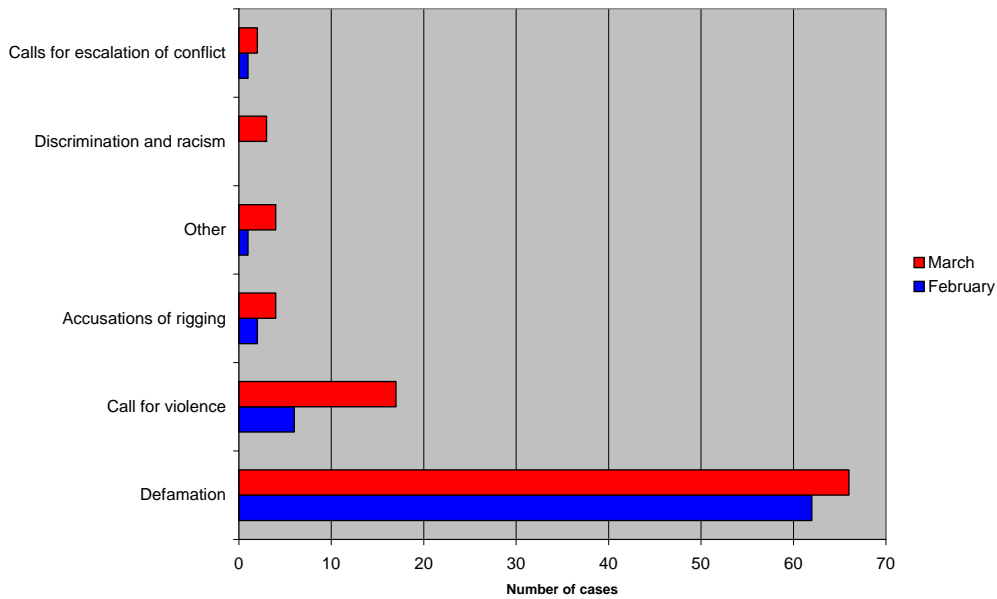
Defamation is still the main category of hate speech observed (a total of 128 episodes). However, a plain increase of episodes related to calls for violence is evident in March (from 6 episodes in February to 17 in March). A rise in all other categories is also observed over this period, but to a more limited extent.

¹⁰ The data on Hate Speech in Election Coverage refer to the period 13 February – 21 March 2010.

¹¹ The target is the individual or group against whom hate speech is directed, as reported by the media.

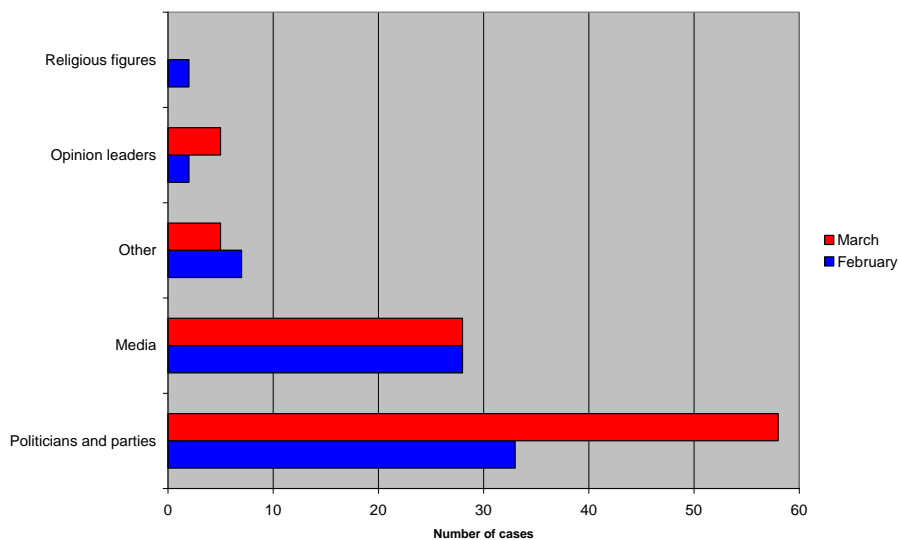
¹² The source is the person or group from which the hate speech originates, as reported by the media.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by category and by month



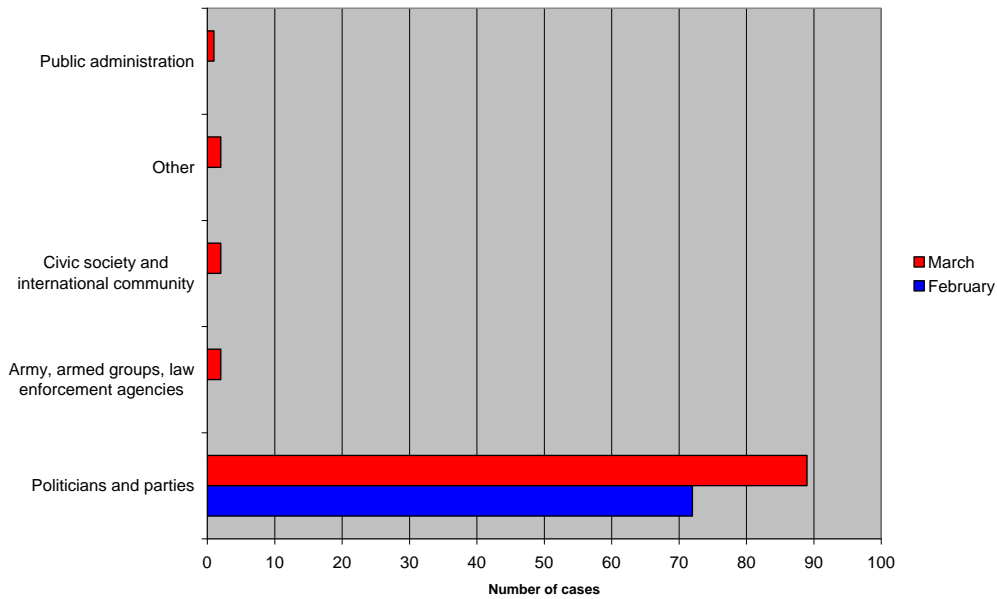
The distribution of hate speech episodes among the different types of speakers shows that politicians continue to be the main source of inflammatory language. Politicians and parties are the actors with the highest number of observed cases over the whole period and a clear increase is evident from February to March (from 33 to 58 cases). Within the different media, it is the press that contributes to inflate the tones of the campaign: the print media are the source of hate speech in 56 cases between February and March. In some cases (a total of 12) viewers and readers voice calls for violence or they harshly attack some of the candidates in talk shows and mails published in the press; nonetheless, these cases are very still very limited and cannot be directly linked to an editorial decision of the media.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by source



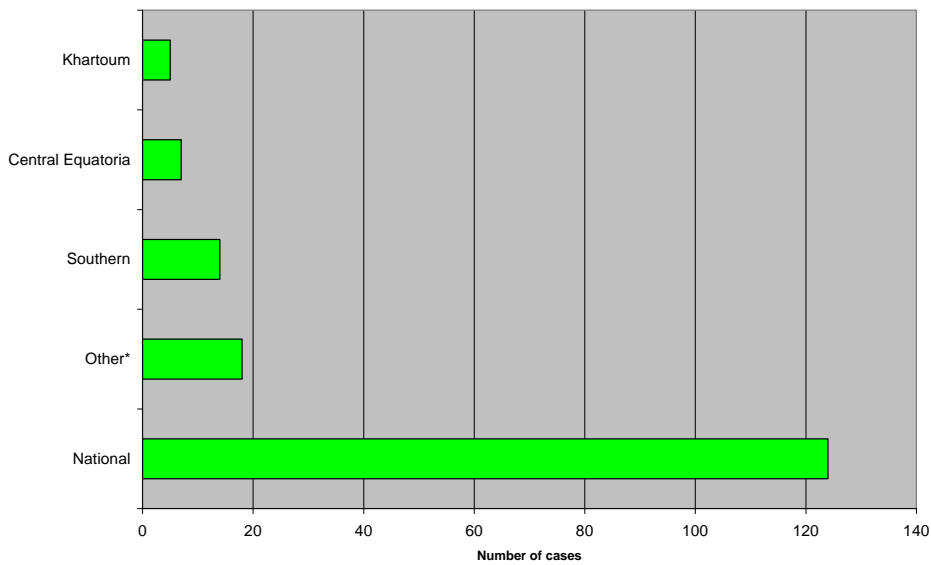
Politicians are the main target against which hate speech is directed (161 cases) while the presence of other categories is limited (7 cases).

Distribution of cases of hate speech by target



The analysis of the geographical scope of the episodes reveals that most of the hate speech touches upon national issues –issues of concern to all the Sudan Republic and not a certain geographical area (124 episodes). The other three main areas in which hate speech has been concentrated are South Sudan, Central Equatoria and Khartoum.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by geographical area



* This category includes: West Equatoria, Other, White Nile, Gezira, Northern, Jongoli, East Equatoria, Unity, Warap, Darfur, Lakes

Annex 1 – List of abbreviations for political parties

Party	Name
AA	Ansar Alsona
ADP	Awareness Democratic Party
ANCP	African National Congress Party
BCP	Beja Congress Party
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party - Al Digair
DUPO	Democratic Unionist Party - Original
DUSP	Democratic United Salvation Party
EDP	Eastern Democratic Party
EPJD	Eastern Party - Justice and Development
FotS	Front of the South
FWP	Free Will Party
HDP	Hagiga Democratic Party
ILP	Islamic Liberation Party
IMP	Islamic Moderate Party
JAP	Juba Alliance Party
JNA	Juba National Alliance
LDP	Liberal Democrats Party
MBO	Muslim Brothers Organisation
MP	Movement Party
MSOP	Modern Sudan Organisation Party
MSUP	Maoyst Socialist Unionist Party
NASP	Nassiri Arab Socialists Party
NCP	National Congress Party
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDFP	National Democratic Front Party
NDP	National Democratic Party
NDUF	National Democratic United Front
NFDM	New Forces Democratic Movement
NIF	National Islamic Front
NJP	National Justice Party
NLP	National Liberation Party
NNDP	New National Democratic Party
NPAP	National People's Alliance Party
NPP	National Popular Party
NRenP	National Renaissance Party
NRP	National Reform Party
NSP	New Sudan Party
NUDP	Nassiri Unionist Democratic Party
NUP	National Unionist Party
Other	Other
PCongP	People's Congress Party
PCP	Popular Congress Party
PFDR	Peoples' Forces and Democratic Rights
PSJP	Progress and Social Justice Party
RCP	Revolutionist Committees Party
SA	Sudan Ana
SANP	Sudan African National Party
SANU	Sudan African National Union
SAP	Sudan Alliance Party
SBP	Sudanese Baath Party

SConP	Sudanese Congress Party
SCP	Sudanese Communist Party
SDCMP	Sudanese Democratic Change Movement Party
SDPCES	Social Democratic Party Congress Eastern Sudan
SFLP	Sudanese Free Lions Party
SFNP	Sudanese Free National Party
SLFOP	Sudan Labour Forces Organisation Party
SNFGUP	South and North Funj General Union Party
SNFO	Sudanese National Front Organisation
SNLP	Sudanese National Labour Party
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLM-DC	DC - Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SSDF	South Sudan Democratic Forum
SSDP	Sudanese Socialist Democratic Party
SSoliDP	Sudanese Solidarity Democratic Party
SSUDF	South Sudan United Democratic Front
SUDPC	Sudanese United Democratic Party Congress
SUFP	Sudanese United Forces Party
SUNP	Sudanese United National Party
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDP	United Democratic Party
UDSPF	Union of Democratic Socialist Party Fatma
UDUP	United Democratic Unionist Party
UFP	Umma Federal Party
UNP	Umma National Party
UP-C	Umma Party - Collective
UPopF	United Popular Front
UPRD	Umma Party - Reform and Development
URRP	Umma Renewal and Reform Party
USAP	Union of the Sudanese African Parties
USDF	United Salvation Democratic Front
USNP	United Sudan National Party
USSP	United South Sudan Party
WANUP	Wadi Al-Neel Unionist Party
WBP	White Brigade Party

