Media and elections in Sudan:
Monitoring the coverage of Sudan 2010 elections

Sudan Media and Elections Consortium
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SMEC
Sudan Media and Elections Consortium

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Foreword

This report presents a comprehensive analysis on media freedom, access, transparency, and the level of diversity in voices within the public domain during the recently concluded Sudan National Elections (April 2010) and leading up to the South Sudan Referendum (January 2011)

The media play a critical role in disseminating information and thereby serve as a catalyst for dialogue between the State and citizens. During election periods, the media also serve as a platform for political and civil society voices by providing space to articulate policy priorities of competing parties, whilst also generating debate.

UNDP Sudan supported media monitoring during the *Support to Elections and Democratic Processes (SEDP)* project covering three distinct phases, which included the campaign and voting period (15 February – 15 April 2010), the post-election period (16 April – 6 June 2010) and the following months which include the postponed elections and the build-up towards the referenda which touches upon broader democratic processes (7 June – 31 October 2010).

The purpose of this support was to document the quantity and quality of election and thereafter referenda media coverage; and in so doing highlight the level of freedom within the national frameworks for media regulation and, more broadly, under *Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
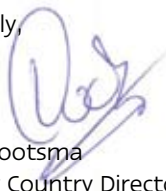
The *Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC)* provided information on media's performance during and after the elections period; and contributed to the overall assessment of the electoral process in Sudan. Additionally, media monitoring served as feedback to the media outlets themselves on their work, which may enhance their reporting skills for present and future elections.

Using both qualitative and quantitative analysis, SMEC also provided key insights to the political priorities; level of access for those contesting for political positions, the tone of the electoral process and press freedom in Sudan. Monitoring activities were also complemented by capacity development support for journalists engaged in election related reporting.

UNDP Sudan is pleased to share the *"Monitoring the Coverage of the Sudan 2010 Elections: Final Report"* by the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC). We thank the Elections Support Basket Fund Donors for their funding assistance and strategic partnership.

UNDP Sudan trusts that the report will serve as a rich source of information and knowledge; encourage deeper engagement; and inform our continuing work in democratic governance of which media engagement is an integral part.

Sincerely,

Auke Lootsma
Deputy Country Director For Programme
UNDP Sudan

Introduction

Following the signing of Sudan's National Elections Act in July 2008, the elections stipulated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), were organised in April 2010. The elections covered the position of: the President of Sudan, the President of the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), the National Assembly, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, the State Assemblies and the State governors. In addition, the CPA also stipulates that a referendum would be conducted to determine the status of Abyei[1] and the subject of self-governance for Southern Sudan in 2011. In light of the elections held and the forthcoming referenda, The UNDP (upon request by the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) and the Electoral Donors Group (EDG)) – established an elections support project.

Part of UNDP's support was focused on monitoring the media's coverage before, during and after the elections as well as capacity-building of media in electoral reporting. Under the umbrella of the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC), a group of national and international organisations monitored the election coverage of a broad range of Sudanese media.

Team leader in Khartoum, Sami Salah takes stock of the press coverage of the election campaign in Northern Sudan. Photo: IMS

1 *Abyei is an central oil-rich area placed within the still disputed border between North and South Sudan.*

Launch of media campaign for elections at press conference in Khartoum organised by the National Election Commission. Photo: IMS

The Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC) has been monitoring the Sudanese media in connection with the country's April 2010 elections between 13 February and 31 October 2010. SMEC is a consortium that was created to conduct media monitoring and training activities with Sudanese media under the Media and Elections Project funded by the United National Development Programme Support to Elections and Democratic Processes Project (UNDP SEDPP). The consortium consists of Sudanese and international organisations with expertise in media support, elections, monitoring and training.

The media monitoring activities took place all over Sudan, with two main media monitoring units, one in Khartoum and one in Juba, employing a total of 36 Sudanese media monitors. Seven media monitoring units at the state levels were established: in North Kordofan, North Darfur, Red Sea, Lakes, Eastern Equatoria, Upper Nile and Central Equatoria. The media monitoring units commenced their activities at the beginning of the electoral campaign. Monitoring continued at a lesser scale until the end of October in order to assess post-election coverage and media coverage before the referendum campaign. The SMEC carried out media monitoring of four TV stations, seventeen radio channels and thirteen newspapers on a daily basis[2]. The media included in the sample were selected according to a number of criteria including territorial reach, estimated audience/circulation and Sudanese ownership and/or registration in Sudan.

The monitoring of elections and political coverage was based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis and it aimed to observe and assess the extent to which media provided fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders. During the election and post-election periods, the project also monitored hate speech or inflammatory language – either reported on or originating from the media themselves – to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increase any potential tensions related to the elections. In order to understand and interpret the performance of the media, the monitors also observed the context and

2   *Press: Al Sahafa, 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*

conditions in which the media worked, looking at the developments within the media sector in the country. From 27 July 2010 and forthwith the SMEC also produced an analysis of the main democracy related topics covered in the news headlines of the main Sudanese media both in the North and in the South with particular .

This final report spans over three timeframes: the campaign and polling period (15 February – 15 April 2010), the post-election period (16 April – 6 June 2010) and the following months which include the postponed elections and the preparation towards the future referenda which touches upon broader democratic processes (7 June – 31 October 2010).

The Media and Elections Project, funded by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is implemented by the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC), 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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Executive summary

The first Sudanese multi-party elections in 24 years were extensively covered by the mass media in Sudan. The coverage of electoral candidates and parties increased substantially towards the end of the campaign period (13 February – 15 April 2010). This was partly due to stories related to the withdrawal of a number of presidential candidates and the boycott or threats to boycott the elections by various parties.

Voter education programmes and articles in the media also increased as the elections neared. During the 'Election Moratorium Period' from 10 to 15 April[3], where political candidates were not allowed to campaign, Sudanese mass media carried on publishing and broadcasting political campaigns by political parties.

The mass media drastically decreased the April elections news coverage, and the attention given to the June postponed elections was moderate. In the South, the media hardly paid any attention to the postponed elections.

The elections were the major and sometimes only news item in the media during the election campaign. The race for the National Presidency, the National Assembly and the GoSS Presidency dominated the news and coverage concentrated on the two main parties; the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The NCP received most of the national media attention during the first period of the campaign, while the SPLM received more attention in the Sudanese media in the final weeks of the campaign period.

Radio, TV as well as printed press were monitored throughout the election period. Photo: IMS

3   *The National Election Act 2008 states: "Campaign activities shall not be held within the last twenty four hours before polling date, or during polling day or days according to the Rules." (article 64.1 (3).*

The tone of election coverage was in general neutral or positive. However, during the final month of the campaign the tone sometimes turned harsh or aggressive. The media were inclined to mix news pieces with the personal opinions of journalists, especially in newspapers. After the elections the general tone of post-election news became more neutral.

The editorial line of each media outlet displayed a clear polarisation of coverage based on their geographical targets and audiences: TV and radio stations targeting Northern Sudan tended to give the NCP and its members the largest visibility; similarly, the media addressing the South generally gave the SPLM more airtime and space.

In both geographical regions, other political parties received little attention compared to the two main ruling parties. In addition, some of these parties were not able to make use of the free airtime in state media.

Transparency regarding the use and payments of advertisements and propaganda was not sufficiently ensured and many paid–for articles and programmes were not labelled as such. Similarly, the borderline between the propaganda of politicians and editorial news coverage was sometimes unclear due to the media's inclination to repeat certain statements without any commentary, feedback or analysis.

Within this context, media coverage did not allow a real diversity of opinion and views to emerge. In the course of the monitoring period, the NCP and the SPLM consolidated their dominance of the public sphere while alternative voices of other parties or candidates were granted marginal visibility and access to public media platforms.

The central role played by the two main parties in the public sphere by way of the media, with NCP coverage addressed mainly to a Northern audience and SPLM coverage directed at a Southern audience, was mainly the result of an editorial line by media to appease their respective target audiences.

Print media were more diverse in their coverage of parties and candidates, although the two main parties still dominated the overall coverage.

Teamleader in Juba, Akello Teddy gives an interview about the monitoring process. Photo: IMS

The number of hate speech cases and use of inflammatory language in the media increased significantly as Election Day approached, and continued after the election date, albeit with less intensity. While defamation of political actors was the main type of hate speech prior to the elections, calls for violence and accusations of electoral rigging were the main types of hate speech after Election Day. Both the political actors and the media were responsible for conjuring up hate speech.

Immediately after the elections the media changed their agenda. Most media in Sudan started focusing on the referendum, where the Northern media prioritised coverage of the political actors in favour of the unity option, giving them ample space and airtime. From October the emphasis of Northern media was placed on matters of internal affairs which could influence or be affected by the outcome of the referendum. Southern media focused even more on the Southern referendum- related news. In their coverage of the referendum, Southern media prioritised communicating the for-or-against unity messages of political actors, where actors favouring the secession option were given a lot of time and space in the mainstream media. The news and issues around the Abyei referendum were also covered by all media in Sudan.

Recommendations

A) Legal framework for elections and referendum

– *Equal opportunities*
A comprehensive regulatory system should be put in place to ensure fair, balanced and comprehensive coverage of elections and referenda, through a system of either self-regulation or statutory regulation.

– *Use of state and private media*
All candidates, political parties as well as any other organisations supporting one of the referendum options should be ensured that the use of public media is based on the principle of equal opportunity and no discrimination.
Private media should also cover election candidates and alternative platforms in a comprehensive, impartial and professional manner.

– *Supervision of media coverage*
A control mechanism should be in place to ensure that the rights of voters to access exhaustive and balanced information are in place. In the case of the Referendum, a supervisory body should be established to oversee the implementation of the South Sudan Referendum Acts and related regulations.

– *Complaints, verification and enforcement*
The Referendum Commission should ensure that a proper complaint, verification, adjudication and enforcement mechanism is in place to respond to complaints filed by any aggrieved party.

– *Hidden and unlabelled political and election advertising*
Provisions against hidden or unlabelled advertising should be in place. Paid advertising should be clearly identified and regulated. Financial transparency for both the financing of political parties and their campaigns must be ensured to allow for fairness between candidates.

– *Free access*
A system of "free of charge" access – at least in state media – should be established to ensure that all parties as well as different views on the referendum are heard.

– *Hate speech and inflammatory language*
Provisions against this type of speech should be in place and a supervisory body should make sure that all media are fully aware of their responsibilities and duties in promoting peace.

– *The advantage of the incumbents*
A regulatory system in place for elections and referenda should limit the benefits enjoyed by the ruling parties in terms of visibility. The privileged access of the incumbent parties to the media should be counterbalanced by equal access to media by the opposition and small parties.

B) Media development

– *Journalism training*
Tailored training initiatives for media professionals should be established prior to election periods and other national or public events which are interesting from a journalist's perspective. Training should be adapted to the needs of the two main media markets of Sudan, the North and the South. These two regions present different kinds of professional priorities and challenges and training programmes should adapt their agendas accordingly. Apart from training in reporting skills on a specific event, training should include a focus on impartiality and international standards related to the role of the media in general and during elections/referendum in particular.

– *Media training*
Media professionals should be supported in their daily work by a system of trainers and advisors where attention is not given to the individual journalist, but also on the overall development of a media house, its economic challenges, the media climate and the political environment in which it operates.

– *Development of the media sector*
The media sector as a whole should be supported, assessing and supporting the development of diverse aspects of the media sector: legal environment, protection of journalists, self-regulatory guidelines and system, the creation of a viable organisational and market structure and a permanent independent media monitoring system.
The government should encourage the media sector to develop initiatives for private/ community-based television and radio stations to provide a range of independent programmes; licenses should also be granted with greater transparency.

– *Media production/ content*
The production of targeted programmes – debates, talk shows, etc. – should be encouraged and supported as these programmes have proven to provide relevant information during the elections. Unlike in news pieces lasting only a few minutes on air, political parties are better able to articulate their political priorities in programmes specifically devoted to covering elections (debates, talk shows, etc). For the upcoming South Sudan referendum it is crucial to include a wider range of media programme formats to inform the public and audiences of key messages.

The monitors have built a media archive containing hard copies of newspaper articles and radio and TV news broadcasts. Photo: IMS

1 An overview of the Media Regulatory Framework

A. Legal background

Sudan is a State Party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by more than 160 States. The ICCPR imposes binding obligations on signatories and elaborates on several of the rights included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 19 of the ICCPR guarantees the right to freedom of expression. Article 25 of the ICCPR – based on Article 21 of UDHR – guarantees the right to political participation; finally, Article 2 of the ICCPR prohibits discrimination on the grounds of political ideas, thus providing a legal basis for the right of political parties and candidates to have equitable access to the public media.

Sudan has also signed the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Article 9 of this charter protects "the right to receive information (and) the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law." In addition to its international commitments under these human rights treaties and declarations, Sudan has agreed to respect and ensure freedom of expression and access to information under the provisions of a number of thematic human rights treaties that touch on issues of freedom of expression, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

At the national level, the 2005 CPA expressly states that violations of human rights shall be considered as violations of the CPA itself. The 2005 Interim National Constitution of Sudan provides for a Bill of Rights. Article 39 of the Constitution protects the right to freedom of expression and of the media under Article 28. The Interim Constitution also establishes a division of competence between the central Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan, and State Governments, which includes issues of media regulation.

Despite the fact that the CPA allows freedom of expression, the normative framework for the media profession is governed by many laws and regulations presenting serious limits. The most important are the Press and Publications Law of 2008, the Criminal Law and the National Security Law; all of them have specific terms of reference that hamper press freedom. The Journalist Code of Honour is considered the most important piece of regulation placing many caveats to press freedom.

The national Press and Publications Law stipulates the rules and regulations for media and journalists in Sudan, but in practice this only refers to media operating in North Sudan. It guarantees access to information for journalists. Supervision of the profession of journalism is the responsibility of the National Council for Press and Publications (NCP). The Press and Publications law states that the Council is an independent entity possessing a legal personality under the auspices of the President of the Republic. According to the law, its composition is 21 members, including the President of the Council and its Secretary General and is as follows: Six members appointed by the President of the Republic, five members elected by the National Council from amongst its membership, eight members representing journalists elected by the General Assembly of the General Union of Sudanese Journalists and two members representing publishers, printing press owners, and distribution houses.

While some consider the council to be a professional and independent entity whose role is the regulation of the profession according to the law, and is placed under the auspices of the Presidency of the Republic, others see the council as partial due to its structure and system of nomination and appointment of members. Critics say that the council is politicised and not concerned with the development of the profession.

The Sudanese Journalist Union in Khartoum (SJU), is charged with the protection of journalists, however some journalists working in the North claim that SJU works for the repression of the media. This perception has led to the creation of a parallel body – the Journalists' Solidarity Network (JSN). The effectiveness of the new network seems limited as there are internal problems including the weak organisational structure and the lack of a clear chain of responsibility. It is also believed that anyone who is a member of the JSN is tracked by the authorities. Furthermore, members of the JSN have been threatened to withdraw their membership from the SJU with the likely consequence of preventing them from exercising their profession.

In the South the new Southern Sudan Media Bills are still pending. The bills were developed to meet the implementation principles enshrined in the CPA and to reform the existing national legislation. The reform is based on a three tiered regulatory frame: the Right to Information Bill, the Southern Sudan Broadcasting Corporation Bill, and the Independent Media Authority Bill.

The proposed media bills aim to promote a free and independent media sector able to ensure pluralism and diversity and also seeking to ensure the right to participate freely at community, national and global levels in the expression and exchange of knowledge and information. The bills are based on the principles expressed in international human rights instruments, such as – *inter alia*: media protection from censorship or government interference, no undue restrictions on freedom of expression, the right of journalists to protect their sources of information, no government license requirement to practice journalism, allocation of broadcast frequencies in an equitable way by independent broadcasting regulators and the transformation of government broadcasters into a genuine public broadcasting service.

The Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan (UJOSS) finds itself at the stage of structuring the organisation. It conducted a General Assembly in November 2010 where a new executive committee was formed with the objective of strengthening the management of the union to fulfill its goals. In a report by UJOSS it stated that 'one of the programs of UJOSS was to work with other media houses, institutions and associations particularly the Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan (AMDISS) to have media laws for free, independent, plural and diverse media in Southern Sudan formulated and submitted to parliament to be enacted as media laws of Southern Sudan'. One of the mandates of the new executive committee of UJOSS is to ensure that the parliament convert the media bills into laws.

Apart from UJOSS there are other media organisations that operate in Southern Sudan. These include: Southern Sudan Union of Journalists (SSOUJ), Association/Agency of Independent Media (AIM), AMDISS and the Association for Media Women in Southern Sudan (AMWISS). To many media practitioners in Southern Sudan it is unclear what the mandate and value is of some of the media organisations. In an interview with Annet Yobu, the acting editor-in-chief of Juba Post news paper, she said: "we don't have effective media organisations in Southern Sudan, the media organisations that exist only come out when there is financial support".

B. Legal framework of April 2010 election coverage

The regulatory framework for election coverage is established in the National Election Act. The Act states that candidates and political parties "shall be afforded access to and use of all means of communication media" and this provision applies to all media. During the election campaign rules specifying the necessary measures to guarantee the rights of all candidates and political parties to access public media on the basis of equality and equal opportunities were defined by the National Election Commission (NEC). The NEC in conjunction with the state media prepared an inclusive schedule to guarantee the equal use of public media by all contestants. The NEC Joint Media Mechanism (JMM) was created to verse the provision of equal air time to presidential and gubernatorial candidates. The 72 parties registered for elections were also granted 30 minutes each. Candidates and parties were responsible for producing their own video and or audio clips.

After the elections, no regulatory mechanism – neither statutory nor self-regulatory – was in place to ensure balanced and diverse coverage of parties and issues of public interest.

C. Legal framework of 2011 referendum coverage

The framework that will regulate the referendum coverage during the campaign period is not entirely in place as rules and regulations implementing the provisions set forth in the South Sudan Referendum Act (SSRA) have not been issued yet.

The SSRA includes a number of articles providing broad instructions for the media during the referendum period. The SSRA guarantees freedom of expression during the campaign in the media under article 45.3. However, the weak legal framework for freedom of the media in Sudan may hamper a proper implementation of this right. According to the report issued by Democracy Reporting International (DRI), the "*controversial Journalism and Press Publication Act may be used to curtail the freedom of expression as it criminalises infringement of the Act.*"[4] As a matter of fact many of the provisions contained in the Act are over restrictive and "*they are not clearly worded – thereby providing scope for arbitrary prosecution*"[5].

Article 45.4 of the SSRA Act provides for a Referendum media programme to inform voters on referendum procedures. This will be enacted by an independent and impartial media committee. According to Article 45.2 and 47.1, the Commission and the Government shall provide and guarantee equal opportunities and just treatment in the State-owned media of both the options available to voters, related to the referendum. The Commission will then establish rules and guidelines to ensure use of all sorts of media to carry out the media programme. According to DRI, "*Although article 47 mentions all sorts of media, the other provisions of the Act only refer to state-owned or public media. The Referendum Act does not include any provision allowing for filing complaints on the media coverage (whether public or private). Commission regulations on campaigning in the media should clarify private media's obligations during the campaign, and provide a clear entitlement to file media-related complaints and procedures for their resolution. Ideally, a body should be empowered to review complaints and at the same time to independently monitor coverage of the referendum options in public and private media*".[6]

4   *DRI, Country report Sudan, July 2010, Assessment of the Southern Sudan Referendum Act, available at http://www.democracy-reporting.org/publications/country-reports/sudan/country-report-sudan-july-2010.html*
5   *Ibidem*
6   *Ibidem*

2 Media structure and developments in Sudan

Structure of the media sector

For its size, Sudan has a modest number of media outlets with the result that some media have great power and with state-controlled media having a *de facto* monopoly on providing news and information about the government. Under the SMEC media monitoring project, about 34 media were observed. These 34 media outlets are the main media players in Sudan. Apart from these, there are some more regional state television and radio broadcasters (in the North under strict government control, in the South there is only state radio at the state level, there isn't state television at state level). Furthermore, there are some newspapers produced and printed in Khartoum targeting Northern audiences and some shortwave radio stations operating from abroad. During the campaign period, a few new media houses were established or re-established (such as the Democrat newspaper and Sudan Tribune newspaper). After the elections, when the media started to focus on the referendum, more media, especially in the South, were established, such as Ebony TV, Voice of the People Radio and the Pioneer Weekly newspaper to mention a few. The mass media – both in the North and the South- are regarded as the main information providers to the people of Sudan. In particular, the radio is an important media as it is accessible for most people. The radio in the North is under strict state control, the radio sector in the South experiences more freedom. Apart from the mass media, the church and the mosque have been the main information providers to the people during the election period and the pre-referendum period.

Photo: IMS

Radio is the media with the biggest reach in Sudan. Omdurman (State) Radio and State TV were amalgamated in 2002 to become Sudan Radio and Television Corporation (SRTC). Regional stations began to appear at the beginning of the 1980s. Nowadays there are regional radio stations in various states. The GoSS has inherited three medium wave radio stations from the Khartoum government, the GOSS radio stations broadcast in Juba, Malakal and Wau. Since 2006 new FM radio stations have been launched in Southern

Sudan, particularly in the town of Juba. They operate under difficult conditions and have very little of their own production due to lack of equipment, knowledge, capacity and funds. There is an increase in local (community) radio stations in Equatoria states and other Southern states. The UN Radio FM Miraya has been operational in Juba since June 2006 and is well-equipped, including internet facilities.

Television, because of its cost, trails behind radio. The government in Khartoum sends television programmes from Omdurman to various parts of Sudan via South Sudan TV (SSTV). There is no other prominent South Sudanese TV broadcaster beyond SSTV. The newly established Ebony TV (broadcasting via satellite) is still in its start up phase.

The print media sector in Northern Sudan is well developed; many titles are available in Khartoum and they are technically professional. However, despite channeling these pluralistic voices, the Arabic media operates in a political context which limits the freedom of expression. Newspapers available in the South (English) are still printed in Khartoum or abroad. The quality is moderate due to lack of capacity and training. There is a willingness and aim to play the role of communicator for the people of Southern Sudan, but due to lack of knowledge of the media law and cases in which journalists were arrested, the media are inclined to work within a restricted framework of press freedom. Media in the North are politicised and often regarded as an extended arm of the ruling parties. Journalists are aware of this and are careful in their reporting. They are familiar with basic international journalistic standards, but cannot practice these in general. They have to be creative and diplomatic. Where the state media in the North are seen as a wing of NCP's agenda, South Sudan TV (SSTV), the state television in the South, is seen as representing the SPLM. Some other independent media do not make use of their independent status and have chosen to represent the SPLM agenda as well (Liberty, Southern Eye). This shows a political and economic interest/dependency, Southern nationalism or a lack of understanding of the role of media. South Sudan Radio (SSR) aims, despite being the state radio broadcaster in the South, to be a public radio broadcaster. It includes other political views and neutral awareness programmes to educate the people. It is financed by the GOSS, but aims to develop a more public organisational structure.

The media sector in the South is young, and only started to develop as a sector after the signing of the CPA in 2005. Many media houses grew quickly and strongly, but died again after a short period of time. This was eminent due to lack of proper managerial skills and inadequate financing of the smooth running of media outlets. Among the news papers, six (6) outlets were established and died in 2009 and these include: The Advocate Newspaper, The Star Newspaper, Daily Liberation newspaper, The Southern Times, Active nation, and South Sudan Today. Due to its young existence and the heritage of the media culture in the North, the Southern media are a mix of political media (supporting the ruling party in the South), *yellow* press (information provision based on rumors or unconfirmed news) and the business press (representing the interests or agendas of economic powers). The quality of journalism in the South is low, compared to other Sub Saharan African countries. Journalists lack a basic knowledge of their country, politics, rights, legal structures and a basic understanding of the code of conduct in journalism. Finally, the media sector in the South is underdeveloped. The legal framework is unclear to the media practitioners, the Union of Journalists for Southern Sudan does not yet function optimally (to defend the rights of journalists and act as an mediator for journalists), there is a lack of a self regulatory body to uphold certain standards, the media are not aware of its social role as watchdog for society and most media outlets only have a very basic infrastructure (lack of

internet, computers etc). Most of the journalists in the local media houses are either inexperienced or unqualified. Some are poorly motivated; freelancers earn an average of 20 SDG per article. An anonymous local journalist says: "sometimes I write an article and send it to two or three media houses because I just need the money. I know it is wrong, but how else can I get money since we get little money?"

Sudan lacks data on the reach of the media. The media themselves often do not know who their audiences are, and where they are (this is a consequence of the fact that the media are regarded as a one-way/top down communication channel). No audience surveys are done in the country. Despite the lack of data, the mass media are believed to be the main information providers to the Sudanese people and, in particular, the radio stations.

Media developments in 2010[7]

Despite the fact that the national Press Law guarantees access to information for journalists, this freedom is restricted in practice by the government. Limitations often include actions aimed at controlling or hampering the workings of opposition parties, as well as controlling the custom of sharing information which would serve the political priorities of the ruling parties.
In Northern Sudan journalists are reported to be subject to personal attacks such as expulsions, detention, beatings and the confiscation of work equipment, especially during field work. Legal actions against journalists and the media include law suits, fines and imprisonment. Some newspapers are exposed to pressure because of their political stance. The most common type of harassment reported by national interlocutors is the so-called "*stop-press order*". This is an order issued to block the publication of articles concerning particular subjects. Another type of harassment concerns public officials' refusal to meet journalists. Moreover, media professionals are subject to lengthy investigation and to complicated procedures before being allowed to meet civil servants. This leads to delays in obtaining information, with a consequent loss of news value of the issue at stake. In other cases journalists are deliberately ignored by institutional security officers and – on occasions – they may even be labelled as spies.

Before and during elections

Pre-publication (PP) censorship which was originally lifted ahead of the April 2010 elections was reintroduced again in July only to be lifted again in on 6 August. The system of pre-publication censorship, under which National Intelligence and Security Services agents (NISS) visit offices of newspapers at night to screen copies prior to publications and expunge content deemed to be controversial, has been practiced on and off since February 2008. In lifting the PP Censorship the head of the NISS media department stated that the NISS reserves its constitutional right to 're-impose partial or complete censorship whenever the necessity to do so arises'[8].

Although PP censorship was officially lifted ahead of the elections, some newspapers experienced the pre-censorship in another way. Interviews conducted with journalists from leading newspapers in the North indicate that pre-publication censorship is practiced, but somewhat less conspicuously and more discreetly. Instead of NISS agents visiting the newspapers at night to determine what may and may not be published, the NISS issues an official bulletin which lists topics or issues which are not to be published. This is also communicated orally by NISS agents to specific newspaper editors. Other forms of controlling the media also were used, including court cases. One example is the Ajras Al Huriah newspaper. More than ten court cases have been filed against the newspaper and the editor in person. "These complaints were all filed during the time I was the editor-in-chief and the period that the

7   *Some of the media outlets mentioned in this chapter are not included in the quantitative and qualitative monitoring (due to foreign ownership or new establishment). This chapter provides an overview of media developments in the country*

8   *Sudan Tribune – Monday 9 August (http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article35893)*

PP censorship was lifted'', according to Alsilaik who used to be longer editor-in-chief until the National Press Council rejected his continuation in the position as editor-in-chief. "The complaints come from security, army, police or ministries and refer to 'humiliating the dignity of state' or 'corrupting the relation of Sudan towards other countries' to which the punishment can be 6 months in prison and/or a fine''. Alsilaik expects that the verdict will come after the referendum has taken place. The threat of court cases has lead to self-censorship for many journalists and editors, according to Alsilaik.

The media based in Southern Sudan do not experience the PP censorship in the same way as in the North. Still, the media do not feel free to publish any article or broadcast information due to fear of intervention from security. There are regular reports from media 'harassed' by security. During the campaign period some media houses were questioned by security about their 'political' reporting (Radio Bakhita and Radio Liberty), but the ruling party in the South condemned this action.

The lack of a clear legal framework has increased the uncertainty amongst journalists in the South as they do not know when authorities can or will intervene. Nhial Bhol, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Citizen newspaper with offices in Khartoum and Juba, stated that he had been arrested several times without any arrest warrant (in 2008 and 2009). The newspaper now has closed the department of photography due to risks.

Post-election period
From July onwards the attitude of authorities towards the media changed. Especially in Northern Sudan, the media again felt the pressure. In July, journalists from a number of newspapers in Northern Sudan were asked by NPC to complete a form which would provide personal data and information on each of them. The forms/questionnaires contained questions on personal information such as a detailed map of their place of residence, school levels of any children, telephone numbers etc. Journalists who did not cooperate in completing these questionnaires were summoned by security officials and made to comply with this requirement.

In a press announcement on 31st July 2010, the President of the SJU -without naming any specific entity or institution- stressed that the Union will defend its right to be the sole entity that represents journalists in Sudan and speaks on behalf of them, and that they consider the recent activities of some entities with names that resemble the SJU and who claim to represent Sudanese Journalists as a threat to them. Although not completely confirmed, it is believed that the President of the SJU was making reference to an entity known as the Sudanese Journalists Network (SJN), which in the wake of a recent spike in violations against the media during this post-elections period, has been very active in taking up the case of the journalists and openly advocating on behalf of the sector.

Journalists working in Southern Sudan did not report widespread episodes of harassment during the post-election period. However, they are cautious and, in some cases, they experienced limited access to information, a serious problem in a context where reliable information sources are scarce. Governmental sources are not always available and when it is possible to conduct interviews, journalists are cautious and practice self censorship by not posing all the questions they would like to ask. There was a case in September 2010, when the staff and the journalists of Southern Sudan Radio were arrested by the security and put in jail for about 2 weeks. However, this seemed to be an issue related to an internal work conflict and not directly related to a conflict of broadcasting sensitive content. The journalists and the staff staged a

strike demanding their house allowances which had not been paid for some months. According to Suzan Alphonse Dumo, the director of Southern Sudan Radio: "All the journalists were released and resumed their duties as normal although the case is still pending with security and left in the hands of the GOSS Ministry of Interior.

In Northern Sudan, the Arabic media and especially the print media experienced severe restrictions and faced intimidation during the post-election period. Journalists have been arrested and media have been closed down, showing a stricter control on the media in the North. Critical media and journalists fear that the media climate will get worse as the referendum approaches. They wait in fear of what the national policy towards the media will be after the referendum takes place and in the case Southern Sudanese decides for secession. "I receive emails and my family receives phone threats,' says Faiz Alsilaik, editor at Ajras Al Huriah newspaper. "My newspaper is regarded as being related to SPLM. After the referendum the government has nothing to fear anymore from SPLM. Then they will close us down as I receive messages like 'you will see what we will do with you'. According to Alsilaik, Ajras al Huriah is the only newspaper that receives this kind of clear threats. "Others experience problems as well, but more economical as advertisements are only published in pro-government newspapers", he explains. "I am not optimistic about freedom of the press in Sudan. After the referendum takes place, the situation will get worse''.

A recent example of stricter control of the media is the arrest of a reporter of the newspaper Al Sahafa and reporters and journalists of Radio Dabanga early November. The list of recently-closed radio channels in Sudan includes the BBC and Monte Carlo Radio as well. Dabanga continued its broadcasting after the arrests.

Journalist Annet Yobu from the Juba Post takes notes covering the elections.
Photo: IMS

3 Political coverage: an overview of media monitoring findings

The media coverage of politics and political actors during the complete monitoring period (13 February – 31 October 2010) shared a number of recurring features in the course of the three periods where the media were monitored:

1. The media monitored ensured regular and intensive coverage of political issues, candidates and politicians and issues of public interest through a variety of formats and programmes.

2. The two main political parties, the NCP and the SPLM, dominated the public discourse and media coverage. This feature was common in both audiovisual and print media although the press presented a slightly more diverse range of actors and views.

3. Editorial lines of each media outlet showed a clear polarisation based on their geographical targets and audiences: TV and radio stations targeting Northern Sudan tended to give the NCP and its members the largest visibility; similarly, the media addressing the South generally gave the SPLM the most airtime and space.

4. The post-election phase (16 April to 6 June 2010) confirmed this polarisation not only in terms of political parties, but also with regards to the news agenda of the observed media: Northern Sudanese media devoted airtime and space to report on the postponed elections taking place in a number of constituencies, while Southern Sudanese outlets immediately shifted their coverage to the Referendum.

5. In both geographical areas, other political parties received very limited attention compared to the two main ruling parties. In addition to this, the limited visibility given to smaller parties decreased even further after the campaign period, making it more difficult for them to reach citizens and voters. Although a system of free airtime on state media was put in place for candidates and parties during the campaign period, a number of smaller parties did not have the financial or organisational capacity to produce the necessary promotion material to utilise the free airtime.

6. Transparency regarding the use and payments of advertisements and propaganda was not ensured throughout the media monitoring period. Many sponsored articles and programmes were not labelled as such, the originators of the message thus being unclear to the audiences. Furthermore, the borderline between the propaganda of politicians and editorial news coverage was sometimes blurred, as the media were inclined to repeat certain statements without any commentary, feedback or analysis.

7. The tone of coverage used by journalists when reporting on politicians was mainly neutral in the audiovisual media while print media employed a more antagonistic tone of coverage.

8. All media outlets breached relevant provisions regarding the prohibition to cover candidates and campaign activities by reporting about the elections on the day before the actual voting began.

In this context, media coverage did not allow a real diversity of opinions and views to emerge. Over the monitoring period, the NCP and the SPLM consolidated their dominance of the public sphere while alternative voices were granted marginal visibility and access to getting their voices heard in media.

This "political hegemony" of the two main parties was observed in audiovisual media as well, with no substantial quantitative differences in the trends displayed by radio and television sectors.

The central role played by the two main parties in the public sphere through the media, with NCP coverage appealing to the North and SPLM coverage directed at a Southern audience, was mainly the result of an editorial line by media to appease their respective target audiences. As a matter of fact, the polarisation between the NCP and the SPLM did not develop at individual media house's level; rather it ran in parallel along two electoral markets, one for Northern voters and the other for Southern constituents.

Although the two main parties still dominated the overall coverage, more diversity in terms of the voices reported was observed in the print media. Again the geographical targets of each media outlet influenced the allocation of space although the polarisation was slightly less pronounced than in audiovisual media.

CHART 1 Allocation of airtime to parties[9] in news programmes by monitoring period – Northern audiovisual media

Base in seconds: 1043353
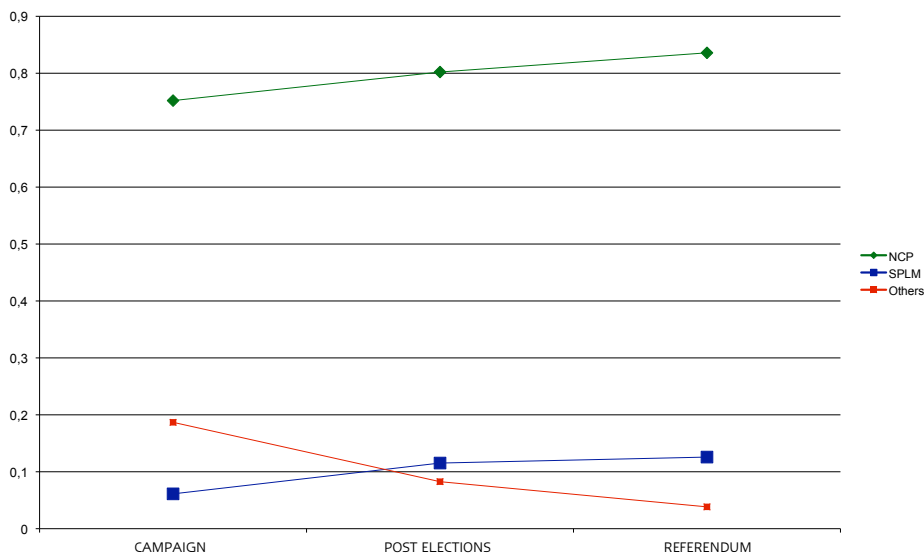
'Campaign' covers the election campaign between 13 February – 15 April.
Post Elections covers 16 April – 6 June.
'Referendum' covers pre-referendum period between 7 June – 31 October 2010.

9   The category Others includes all parties other than the NCP and the SPLM.

CHART 2 Allocation of airtime among parties[10] in news programmes by period – Southern audiovisual media
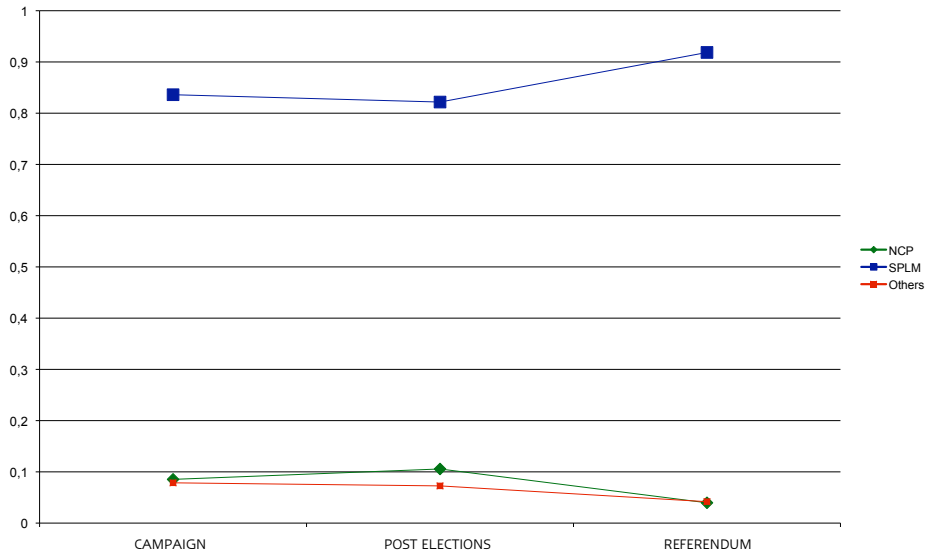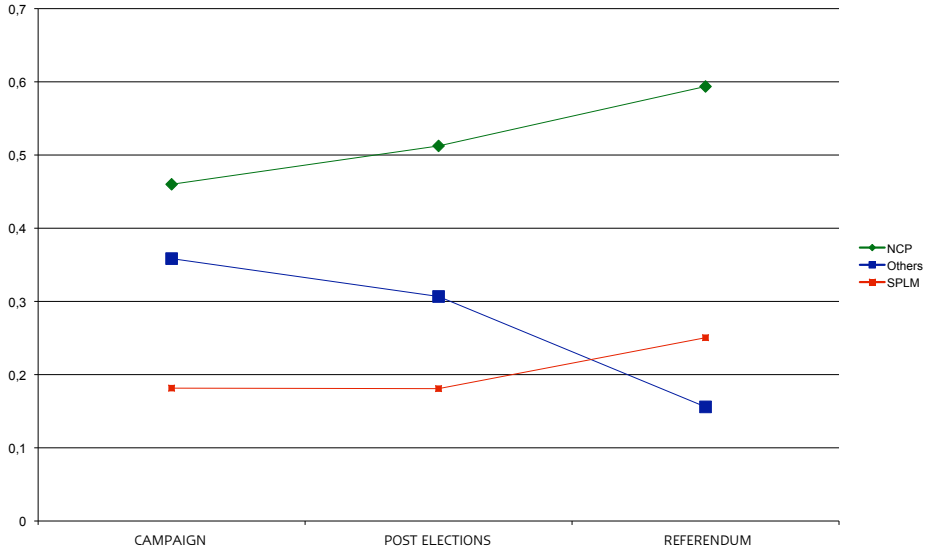
Base in seconds: 725001

CHART 3 Allocation of space to parties[11] in editorial coverage by monitoring period – Northern print media
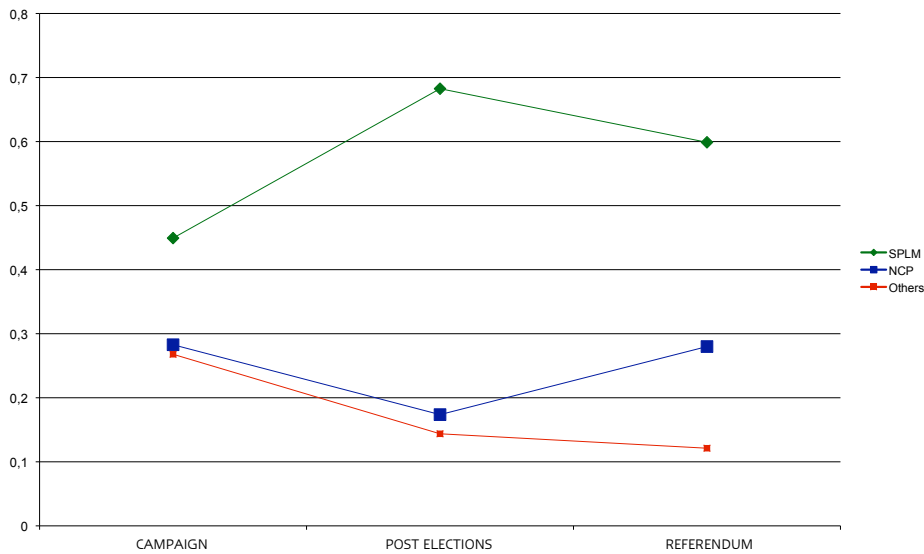
Base in cm^2: 2281137

10 The category Others includes all parties other than the NCP and the SPLM.

11 The category Others includes all parties other than the NCP and the SPLM.

CHART 4 Allocation of space to parties[12] in editorial coverage by monitoring period – Southern print media

Base in cm^2: 588876

3.1 The campaign and voting period (13 February – 15 April 2010): data and findings

During the campaign period television and radios stations as well as the print media regularly and intensively covered the election process and candidates in a variety of formats and programmes. News was the main format through which radio and TV stations conveyed information regarding the elections and politics. Other genres, such as current affairs and talk shows featured less in the schedules of the audiovisual media. The main formats used in print media were news articles, editorials and analysis. Paid advertising and free airtime – both electoral and in general politically related – were other formats through which candidates and parties conveyed their messages in media.

In spite of the considerable volume of media coverage of the elections, Sudanese media failed to provide comprehensive and balanced coverage of alternative candidates and platforms. Most media only reported on the NCP and the SPLM that received 41 per cent and 45 per cent respectively of the overall news coverage in audiovisual media. The print media displayed more diversity in their political coverage although the ruling parties received the largest amount of print space: the NCP received 42% of the overall editorial coverage in the print media, while the SPLM was allotted 25per cent.

In addition to this, the allocation of coverage showed a clear polarisation created by the geographical targets of each media outlet: TV and radio stations in the North tended to give the NCP and its members most visibility; similarly, the media targeting the South generally gave the SPLM most coverage. In both geographical areas, other political parties received limited attention compared to the two main ruling parties.

12 *The category Others includes all parties other than the NCP and the SPLM.*

CHART 5 Allocation of airtime to parties in news programmes by geographical area (all TV channels)[13]

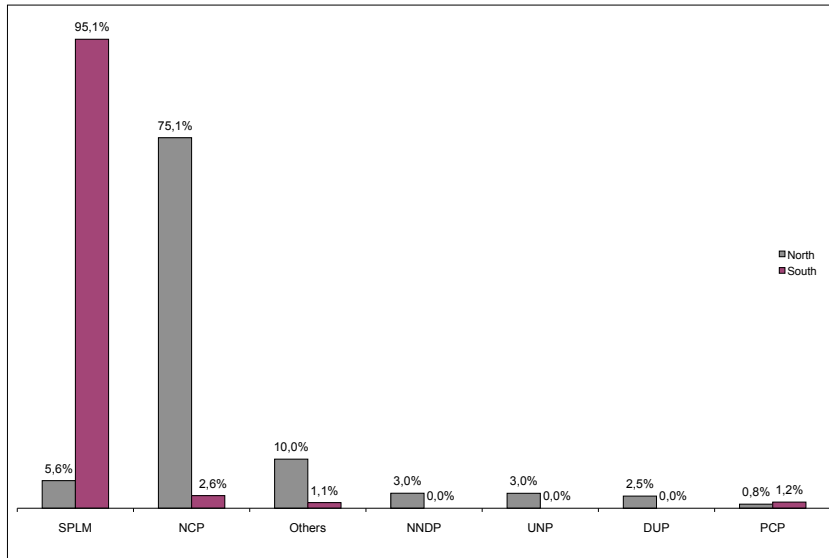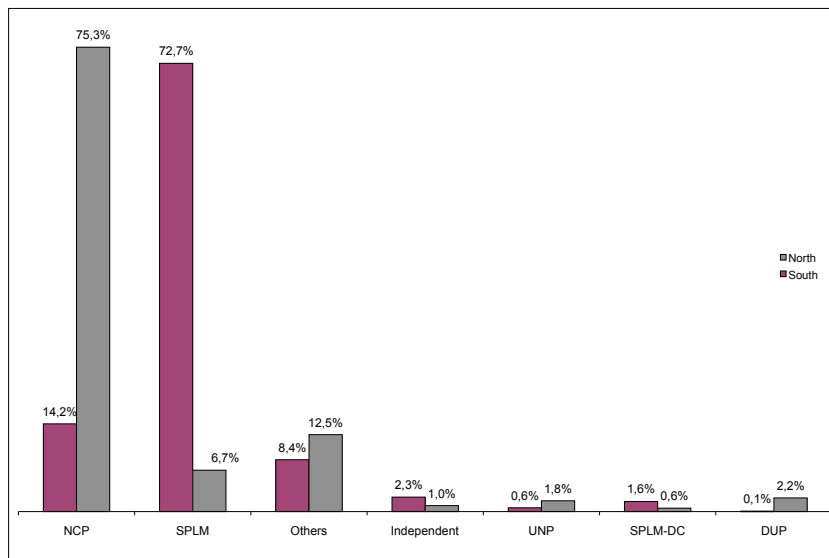*Base in seconds: 283126*

CHART 6 Allocation of airtime among parties in news programmes by geographical area (all radio stations)[14]

Base in seconds: 274464

13 *The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1per cent: SPLM-DC, DUPO, Independent, UP-C, SCP, No, NJP, USAP, SN-FGUP, UPRD, MBO, NLP, SSDF, NUP, SSDP, URRP, NDA, SSUDF, SAP, UDUP, EPJD, USDF, UDSF, LDP, JNA, BC, UFP, NSP, NPAP, FWP, SConP, HDP, SBP, SNFO, EDP.*

14 *The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1per cent: PCP, UDF, DUPO, SSDF, SAP, SCP, ANCP, NDA, URRP, USAP, JNA, UDSF, NNDP, SANU, EPJD, NDFP, LDP, SNFGUP, SSDP, BCP, No, NJP, EDP, UPRD, UP-C, SA, NUP, MBO, USDF, UDUP, RCP, BC, PFDR, NUDP, FWP, SNLP, SConP, SDPCES, NRP, AA, NDUF, PSJP, UDPO, ADP, SLFOP, NLP, SBP, WBP, NSP, NIF, MP, MSUP, SFLP, SUNP, UFP, UDP, SUFP, NPAP, HDP, SFNP, MSOP, NASP, NRenP, SANP, SNFO, IMP, USNP.*

CHART 7 Allocation of space to parties in editorial coverage[15] by geographical area (all newspapers)[16]

Base in cm^2: 1228561

TABLE 1 Allocation of airtime to political parties in news programmes by media outlet – Northern Audiovisual Media

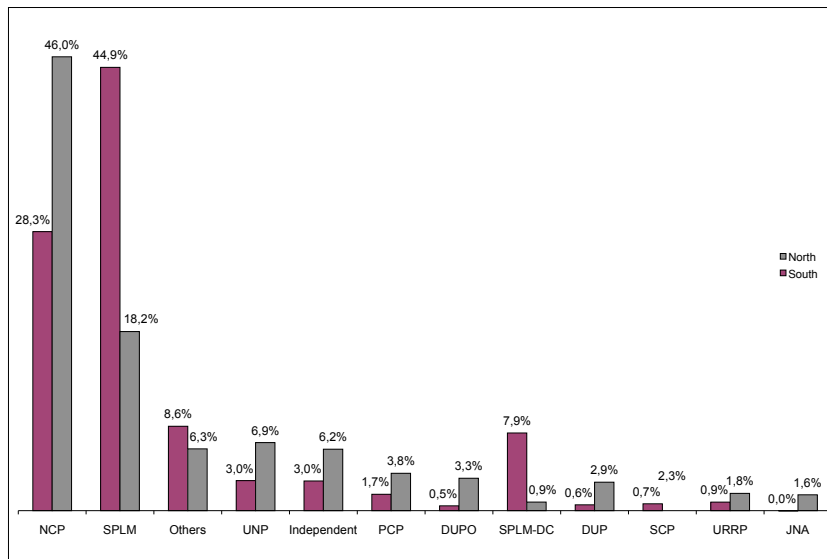| CHANNEL											
PARTY	**Al Qwat Al Mussalaha**	**Blue Nile**	**Khartoum State Radio**	**Khartoum State TV**	**North Darfur**	**North Kurdufan**	**Omdurman Radio**	**Peace Service**	**Red Sea**	**Saheroon**	**Sudan TV**	**Total**
NCP	89,8%	86,6%	91,4%	80,3%	92,3%	98,6%	60,1%	54,7%	92,0%	82,6%	54,1%	75,2%
Others*	2,8%	1,9%	2,9%	6,3%	5,4%	0,1%	17,9%	7,6%	6,0%	5,6%	21,5%	9,6%
SPLM	6,4%	5,7%	4,5%	4,1%	0,0%	0,8%	7,6%	34,9%	0,2%	7,7%	6,0%	6,1%
UNP	0,7%	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,5%	0,5%	0,0%	1,1%	8,7%	2,4%
DUP	0,2%	0,3%	1,2%	8,2%	0,0%	0,4%	3,3%	1,7%	1,9%	2,5%	4,3%	2,3%
NNDP	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,6%	1,8%
DUPO	0,2%	0,2%	0,0%	0,4%	0,0%	0,0%	3,2%	0,4%	0,0%	0,0%	2,7%	1,3%
PCP	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,7%	2,3%	0,0%	3,3%	0,1%	0,0%	0,5%	2,1%	1,2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in seconds	7605	81924	25580	15057	6207	2738	58518	4853	12973	11445	48418	275318

*The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SPLM-DC, Independent, SCP, SAP, NDA, URRP, SNFGUP, UP-C, Other, NJP, JNA, UPRD, No, SSDP, EPJD, MBO, NUP, NLP, LDP, NDFP, SSDF, BCP, UDSF, UDUP, SSUDF, EDP, BC, SA, FWP, UFP, NSP, RCP, SConP, NPAP, PFDR, NUDP, SNLP, ANCP, SDPCES, SBP, NRP, UDF, HDP, AA, NDUF, USAP, UDPO, PSJP, ADP, SLFOP, SANU, WBP, MSUP, MP, NIF, SUNP, SFLP, SNFO, UDP, SUFP, MSOP, SFNP, NRenP, NASP, SANP, IMP, USNP.

TABLE 2 Allocation of airtime to political parties in news programmes by media outlet – Southern Audiovisual Media

	CHANNEL										
PARTY	**97.5 FM**	**Junubna FM**	**Liberty FM**	**Radio Bakhita**	**Radio Miraya**	**Rumbek FM**	**Radio Malakal**	**Spirit FM**	**SSR**	**SSTV**	**Total**
SPLM	98,7%	55,7%	83,8%	67,4%	59,7%	77,9%	46,7%	21,1%	78,7%	95,1%	83,6%
NCP	1,3%	15,5%	4,4%	11,4%	20,1%	8,9%	21,6%	68,4%	14,4%	2,6%	8,5%
Others*	0,0%	28,3%	11,5%	20,2%	18,0%	13,2%	10,8%	10,2%	6,4%	2,3%	6,6%
Independent	0,0%	0,4%	0,2%	1,0%	2,3%	0,0%	20,9%	0,3%	0,5%	0,1%	1,3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in seconds	8940	2237	12945	13710	8278	30368	13145	5337,6	49584	137727	282272

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SPLM-DC, SSDF, UDF, PCP, USAP, ANCP, UNP, SANU, UDSF, No, USDF, URRP, SSDP, DUP, NNDP,
NDA, DUPO, SConP, SCP, SAP.

TABLE 3 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Northern Print media

	NEWSPAPER								
PARTY	**Ajras Al huriah**	**Akhbar Alyoum**	**Akhir Lahza**	**Al Ayam**	**Al Intibaha**	**Al Ray Al Aam**	**Al Sahfa**	**Al Sudani**	**Total**
NCP	27,7%	48,0%	56,2%	34,5%	59,0%	57,3%	43,5%	32,5%	46,0%
SPLM	40,2%	14,3%	13,1%	25,4%	10,3%	14,8%	13,9%	14,0%	18,2%
Others*	3,4%	8,1%	4,9%	7,0%	12,0%	5,5%	7,4%	6,6%	7,1%
UNP	6,1%	9,0%	6,2%	15,1%	3,7%	4,0%	7,4%	8,1%	6,9%
Independent	2,2%	2,5%	4,2%	1,7%	7,9%	3,9%	10,9%	20,6%	6,2%
PCP	7,1%	5,4%	2,4%	2,3%	1,7%	3,2%	3,5%	2,8%	3,8%
DUPO	1,7%	4,7%	2,1%	3,5%	0,8%	4,8%	3,6%	6,9%	3,3%
DUP	1,8%	2,6%	4,9%	2,4%	1,1%	2,6%	4,6%	4,9%	2,9%
SCP	6,3%	2,7%	0,5%	2,6%	0,7%	1,1%	1,5%	1,6%	2,3%
URRP	1,4%	2,1%	3,5%	1,3%	1,5%	1,4%	1,4%	1,2%	1,8%
JNA	2,0%	0,6%	2,0%	4,2%	1,3%	1,3%	2,3%	0,8%	1,6%
PSJP	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in cm^2	142340	172173	103483	61934	160022	103974	104222	81842	929990

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
 SPLM-DC, SSDP, SAP, NNDP, NJP, IMP, SA, UDUP, UPRD, MAA, SConP, BC, BCP, JP, SNFGUP, NUDP,
WANUP, UFP, HDP, DUSP, NDA, UP-C, SANU, SSDF, SBP, NRP, MBO, SNLP, UP, UDP, EDP, UDF,
UDSF, NRenP, SFLP, AA, SSoliDP, USNP, USAP, MSOP, SDCMP, NLP, NASP, NUP, USDF, LDP, EPJD,
MSUP, FWP, NDUF, ANCP, JAP, NPAP, ADP, RCP, SFNP, PSJP.

TABLE 4 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Southern Print Media

PARTY	Juba Post	Khartoum Monitor	Southern Eye	Sudan Vision	The Citizen	Total
			NEWSPAPER			
SPLM	64,3%	45,1%	81,8%	24,4%	45,5%	44,9%
NCP	11,5%	20,8%	11,0%	62,0%	23,0%	28,3%
Others*	5,2%	12,3%	1,9%	5,2%	13,2%	9,8%
SPLM-DC	6,6%	11,6%	2,6%	4,9%	7,6%	7,9%
UNP	1,4%	3,9%	0,1%	2,3%	3,8%	3,0%
Independent	4,2%	3,3%	0,6%	0,5%	4,0%	3,0%
PCP	2,0%	2,7%	0,0%	0,6%	1,4%	1,7%
UDF	4,9%	0,3%	2,0%	0,0%	1,6%	1,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in cm²	42142	85907	9746	60813	99963	298571

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SANU, URRP, SCP, NUP, DUP, DUPO, SSDF, SSDP, UP-C, UDSF, USSP, NDFP, USDF, BCP, UDP, JAP,
SAP, NJP, NDP, UPopF, SDPCES, UDSPF, NIF, USAP, ANCP, NNDP, NDA, ILP, SNLP, PCongP, UPRD,
SBP, NFDM, SUNP, UDUP, MBO, JNA, NPAP, FotS, NRP, PSJP, SUFP, NUDP, SANP, WBP, SFNP,
WANUP, SNFGUP, SNFO, NDUF, ADP, NPP, MSUP, SFLP, SSoliDP, MSOP, SDCMP, HDP, EPJD, NSP,
NASP, NLP, RCP, DUSP, LDP, EDP, IMP, FWP, PFDR, SLFOP, SA, SUDPC.

Candidates and parties were granted the same amount of free airtime on state media, but a number of smaller parties were not able to take advantage of this opportunity due to a lack of funds for the production of promotion clips.

Transparency regarding the use of advertisements and propaganda was not ensured by the media monitored as a number of paid-for articles and programmes were not labelled as such, the originators of the message thus being unclear to the audiences. Furthermore, the borderline between the propaganda of politicians and editorial news coverage was sometimes blurred, as the media were inclined to repeat certain statements without any commentary, feedback or analysis.

In addition, officials of both the National Government of Sudan (GOS) and the GoSS took advantage of their institutional role to gain additional visibility through staged events such as the launch of development projects, receptions, inauguration events or inspection visits. A similar strategy was observed with regard to the CPA implementation which was often used by the ruling parties' manifestos to win popularity.

The tone of the coverage was generally neutral or positive while negative reporting was sporadic. The NCP and the SPLM were the main targets of non-neutral reporting in all the observed media. Usually, the media outlets which aligned with the NCP employed a negative tone in their coverage of the SPLM. The outlets which aligned themselves with the SPLM used a negative tone when covering the NCP.

During the election silence period beginning on 10 April and continuing until 15 April, most of the media did not respect the provisions regarding the prohibition to cover campaign activities and candidates. A number of violations were observed across the media sector, with the print media showing the

highest number of breaches. The Northern media committed a greater number of violations than Southern outlets. Consistent with the trend identified during the campaign period, the two main political parties covered during the election silence days were the NCP and the SPLM.

Although these were breaches, it has to be noted that the media mostly reported campaign activities that were taking place during the silence period. In this regard, the different outlets mainly passed on existing stories rather than actively promoting events involving candidates and parties. A number of reasons may lie behind the breach, amongst others that the media were not familiar with the concept of the Election Moratorium Period, or that they found the events they reported on to be very newsworthy.

CHART 8 Number of violations of the Election Moratorium Period by media sector
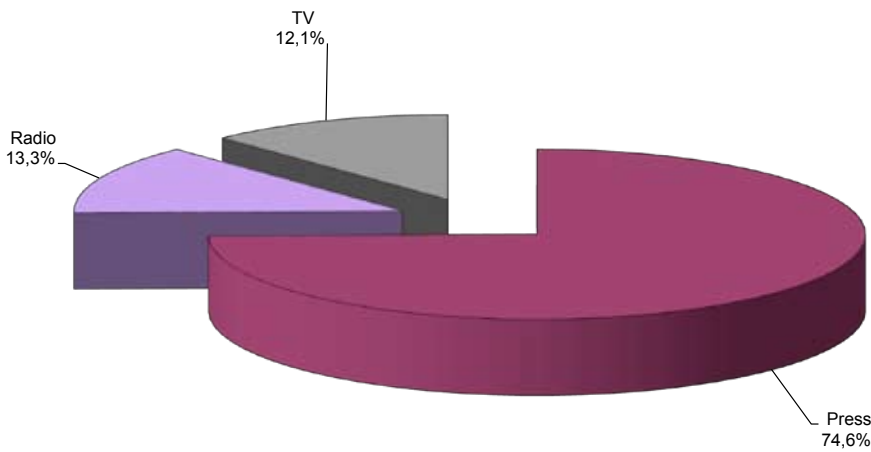
Number of cases: 3465

TV
12,1%

Radio
13,3%

Press
74,6%

CHART 9 Role of the media in covering parties during the Election Moratorium Period

Number of cases: 3465

Unclear
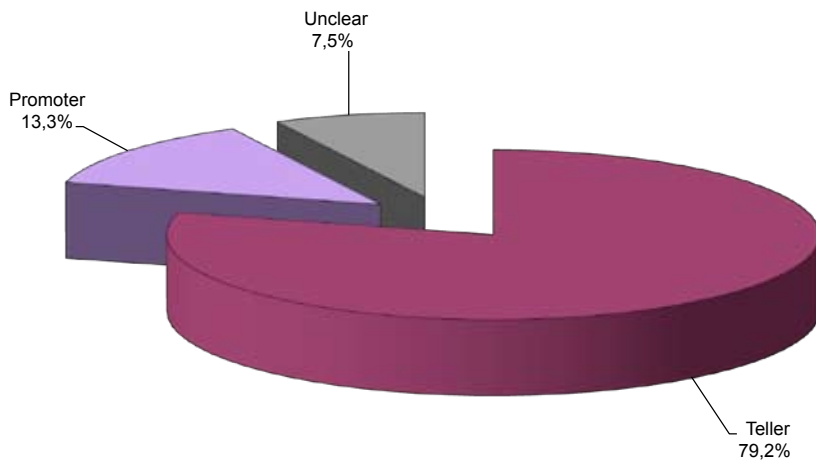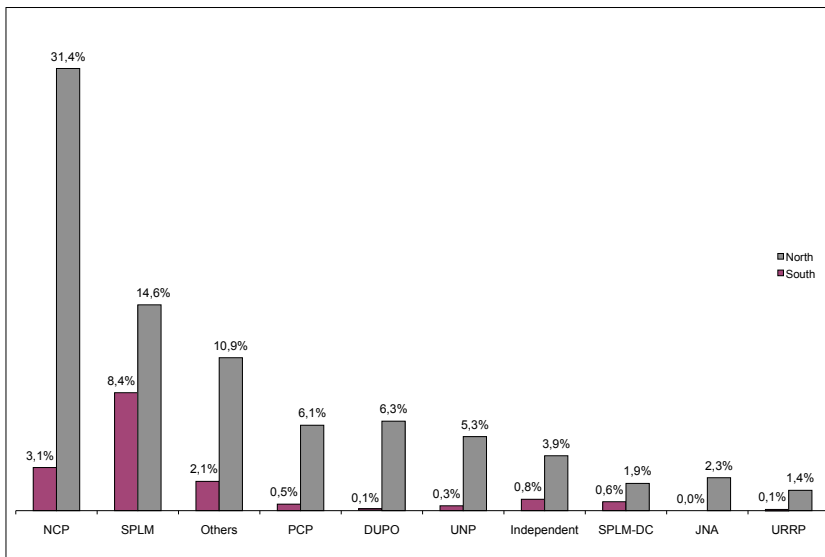7,5%

Promoter
13,3%

Teller
79,2%

CHART 10 Number of violations by party and geographical area during the Election Moratorium Period (all media)

Number of cases: 3465

3.2 The post-election period (16 April – 6 June 2010): data and findings

The post-election phase was characterised by a marked difference between the news agendas of the Northern and Southern media: the former devoted airtime and space to report on the postponed elections taking place in a number of constituencies, while the latter immediately shifted their coverage to the Referendum. Political events and issues related to general elections were mainly covered through news reporting and congratulatory messages to the successful candidates.

In line with what was observed during the election period, the two main parties – the NCP and the SPLM – continued to be the main focus of media with a polarisation of coverage between Northern and Southern media. Outlets targeting Northern audiences tended to allocate the largest amount of coverage to the NCP, while media addressing the Southern public devoted the largest amount of coverage to the SPLM. In addition to this, the coverage of the two main parties increased again, thus reducing the visibility of other political parties from 13 per cent to 8 per cent in audiovisual media and from 33 per cent to 27 per cent in the print media.

The tone of the coverage was generally neutral or positive while negative toned coverage was very sporadic, particularly on radio and television.

CHART 11 Allocation of airtime to parties in news programmes by geographical area (all TV channels)[17]

Base in seconds: 108831
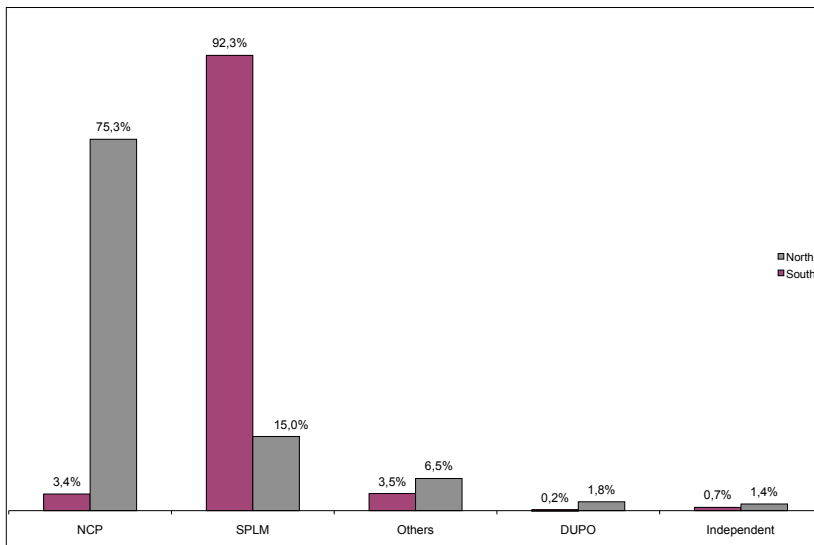
CHART 12 Allocation of airtime to parties in news programmes by geographical area (all radio stations)[18]

Base in seconds: 244092
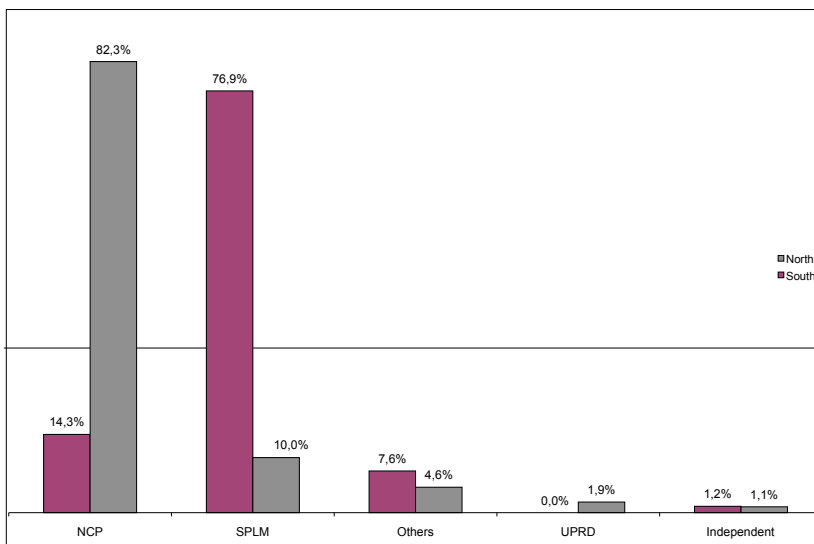
17 *The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent: UNP, UPRD, PCP, MBO, UDF, DUP, SPLM-DC, SCP, URRP, NNDP, SSDP, SAP, SSDF, NDA, BC, No, UFP, FNDF, BCP, JNA, ILP, SANU, NJP, SDPCES, EDP, ANCP, NUP, NRP, UDSF, USAP, PSJP.*

18 *The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent: DUP, DUPO, SSDF, PCP, UDSF, SPLM-DC, BCP, UNP, UDF, SANU, FWP, URRP, JNA, NDA, EDP, SCP, USDF, SSDP, UDP, SConP, UFP, SA, SAP, NNDP, MBO, NUP, NJP, SSUDF, USAP, BC, PFDR, IMP, NRP, SLFOP, ANCP, UP-C, DUSP, SBP, FNDF, NDFP.*

CHART 13 Allocation of space to parties in editorial coverage by geographical area (all newspapers)[19]

Base in cm^2: 526472
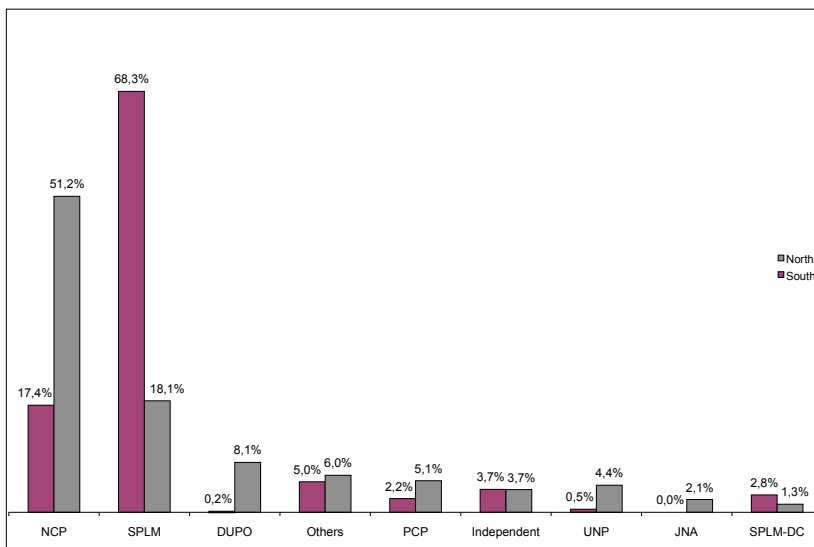
19 The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent: SAP, DUP, SCP, URRP, UDF, SConP, SANU, SSDF, AA, BCP, SSDP, UP-C, NJP, BC, UDUP, EPJD, ILP, SFLP, UDSF, UPRD, NNDP, NDA, SNLP, UFP, NIF, NASP, USAP, UDP, FWP, IMP, MBO, JP, USDF, SBP, NUP, SSUDF, PCongP, ANCP, SA, NDP, EDP, NRP, SANP, SAF, NDUF, PSJP, MP, ADP, SDPCES, USNP, JAP, RCP, NSP, LDP, HDP, SUNP, NDFP, NLP.

TABLE 5 Allocation of airtime to political parties in news pro-grammes by media outlet – Northern Audiovisual Media

PARTY	Al Qwat Al Mussalaha	Blue Nile	Khartoum State Radio	Khartoum State TV	North Kurdufan	Omdurman Radio	Peace Service	Red Sea	Red Sea	Saheroon	Sudan TV	Total
NCP	81,6%	75,0%	86,6%	87,6%	99,9%	77,9%	71,9%	99,4%	92,0%	87,3%	72,4%	80,2%
SPLM	10,8%	15,7%	6,2%	4,4%	0,1%	12,9%	23,5%	0,0%	0,7%	8,0%	17,3%	11,5%
Others*	4,3%	4,6%	2,7%	3,3%	0,0%	4,5%	3,1%	0,6%	6,1%	2,5%	6,5%	4,4%
UPRD	2,9%	0,9%	2,8%	2,3%	0,0%	2,1%	1,1%	0,0%	0,0%	1,7%	0,9%	1,7%
Independent	0,0%	1,6%	0,4%	1,2%	0,0%	1,7%	0,3%	0,0%	1,3%	0,3%	1,2%	1,2%
DUPO	0,3%	2,2%	1,3%	1,4%	0,0%	0,9%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,3%	1,7%	1,1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in seconds	10765	25581	37624	10143	3572	91282	8563	3178	16152	11358	41271	259489

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
DUP, UNP, PCP, Other, BCP, MBO, SPLM-DC, URRP, NDA, JNA, FWP, SSDF, SSDP, SCP, EDP, NNDP, UDF, UFP, SAP, BC, UDP, SConP, No, SA, NJP, FNDF, SANU, NUP, SSUDF, USDF, ILP, NRP, PFDR, SDPCES, USAP, SLFOP, ANCP, UP-C, PSJP, DUSP, NDFP.

TABLE 6 Allocation of airtime to political parties in news programmes by media outlet – Southern Audiovisual Media

PARTY	Junubna FM	Liberty FM	Radio Bakhita	Radio Miraya	Rumbek FM	South Sudan Radio Malakal	Spirit FM	SSR	SSTV	Total
SPLM	70,7%	80,4%	80,5%	67,6%	63,3%	55,5%	59,3%	85,1%	92,3%	82,2%
NCP	24,3%	9,5%	11,5%	22,4%	11,0%	21,9%	19,9%	10,6%	3,4%	10,6%
Others*	3,5%	7,0%	4,6%	6,9%	0,0%	8,7%	1,3%	3,6%	3,1%	4,0%
SSDF	1,2%	3,1%	2,4%	2,3%	0,0%	0,0%	6,5%	0,6%	0,5%	1,2%
UDSF	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,3%	25,7%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in seconds	3065	2332	13682	11310	3729	2174	1584	23722	31836	93434

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1per cent:
SPLM-DC, UDF, PCP, UNP, SANU, SCP, USDF, DUP, URRP, BCP, SAP, NNDP, DUPO, SSDP, USAP, NDA, IMP, ANCP, SBP.

TABLE 7 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Northern Print media

PARTY	NEWSPAPER								
	Ajras Al huriah	Akhbar Alyoum	Akhir Lahza	Al Ayam	Al Intibaha	Al Ray Al Aam	Al Sahfa	Al Sudani	Total
NCP	18,4%	49,1%	54,2%	48,3%	52,7%	71,2%	49,8%	51,8%	51,2%
SPLM	41,0%	17,3%	10,7%	23,7%	21,0%	14,8%	14,2%	17,2%	18,1%
DUPO	10,9%	8,2%	7,1%	7,6%	6,4%	2,7%	11,8%	11,3%	8,1%
PCP	6,2%	5,0%	8,3%	4,6%	2,7%	3,4%	6,4%	3,5%	5,1%
Others*	9,9%	4,4%	6,9%	2,4%	6,1%	1,6%	4,2%	4,0%	4,9%
UNP	3,4%	6,7%	3,0%	5,8%	2,8%	2,1%	6,9%	3,3%	4,4%
Independent	6,0%	3,9%	3,8%	3,6%	4,0%	1,9%	2,7%	4,3%	3,7%
JNA	2,5%	1,2%	1,9%	2,9%	2,6%	1,8%	2,8%	2,3%	2,1%
SPLM-DC	1,0%	2,9%	0,6%	0,9%	1,6%	0,4%	0,5%	1,2%	1,3%
SAP	0,8%	1,2%	3,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,9%	1,1%	1,1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in cm²	31557	93472	66042	21709	50529	54244	56039	48195	421787

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SCP, DUP, URRP, SConP, AA, BCP, UP-C, NJP, BC, UDUP, SSDP, EPJD, ILP, SFLP, UDF, UPRD, NDA,
UDSF, SSDF, NNDP, NASP, UFP, UDP, FWP, IMP, USAP, JP, SANU, SBP, MBO, SA, USDF, EDP, NRP,
NUP, SANP, NDP, NDUF, PSJP, MP, ANCP, SDPCES, ADP, USNP, RCP, NSP, HDP, LDP, SUNP, SSUDF,
NDFP, NIF.

TABLE 8 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Southern Print media

PARTY	NEWSPAPER					
	Juba Post	Khartoum Monitor	Southern Eye	Sudan Vision	The Citizen	Total
SPLM	69,4%	70,4%	84,1%	35,2%	73,8%	68,3%
NCP	15,6%	14,9%	11,8%	44,9%	12,1%	17,4%
Independent	3,9%	4,1%	1,0%	4,1%	3,7%	3,7%
Others*	3,3%	3,5%	0,0%	3,4%	4,8%	3,7%
SPLM-DC	0,5%	3,3%	3,1%	10,0%	0,8%	2,8%
PCP	2,4%	3,0%	0,0%	0,1%	2,6%	2,2%
UDF	4,9%	0,0%	0,0%	1,9%	0,0%	1,0%
DUP	0,0%	0,6%	0,0%	0,4%	2,2%	1,0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Absolute values in cm²	16670	33913	7548	12186	34368	104685

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SANU, SSDF, UNP, SSDP, SCP, SNLP, NIF, DUPO, UDSF, URRP, USAP, NNDP, SSUDF, SAP, PCongP,
ANCP, NUP, SAF, UFP, USDF, NDP, MBO, NASP, JAP, NLP.

3.3 Political coverage, towards referendum (7 June – 31 October): data and findings

During this period, the coverage devoted to political issues was slightly less compared to the election phase. However, the overall level of journalistic attention remained relatively high in relation to parties and referendum-related issues, thus guaranteeing a constant flow of information about politics and actors.

An analysis of trends in political coverage showed that in the immediate aftermath of elections, media attention decreased. It then increased again after July when the referendum emerged as the key issue on the agenda of politicians and the media, particularly in Southern Sudan. The level of coverage reached in July decreased in the following months, even though it was still higher than in June.

CHART 14 Trends in news and editorial coverage of political actors by media sector

Base in seconds: 850794
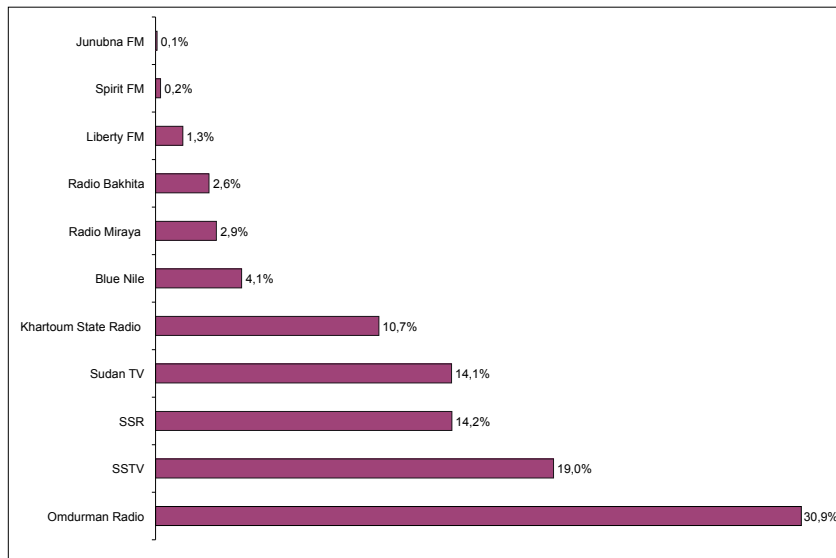*Base in cm^2: 1036027*
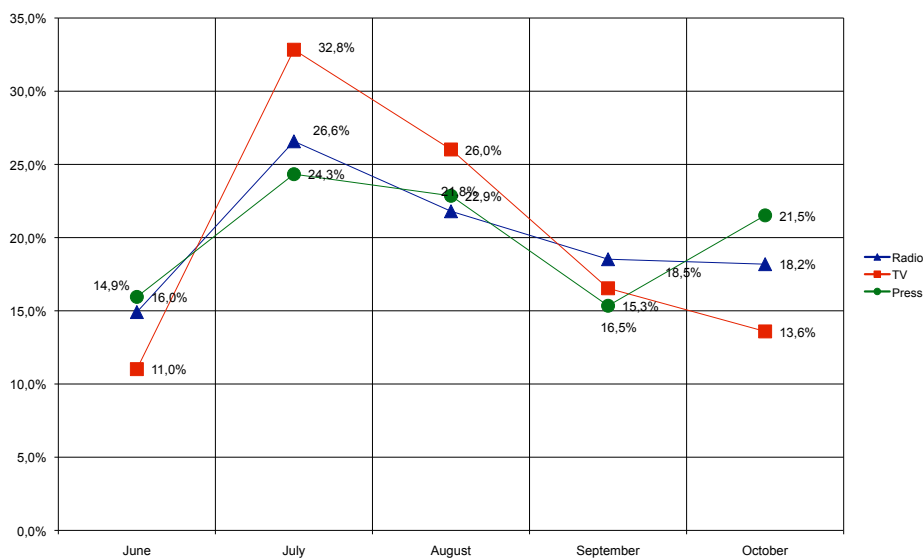
Media outlets displayed a variety of editorial lines both in terms of volume of attention and in terms of allocation of airtime and space for the different political parties who are active in Sudan.

The audiovisual media which devoted the greatest amount of coverage to politics and parties were Omdurman Radio, South Sudan Radio and Television (SSR and SSTV), Sudan TV and Khartoum State Radio. Compared to the election period, some differences were observed in this regard: Blue Nile TV decreased the amount of airtime devoted to political communication while Khartoum State Radio increased their coverage.

CHART 15 Volume of news coverage of political actors by media outlet – Radio and television
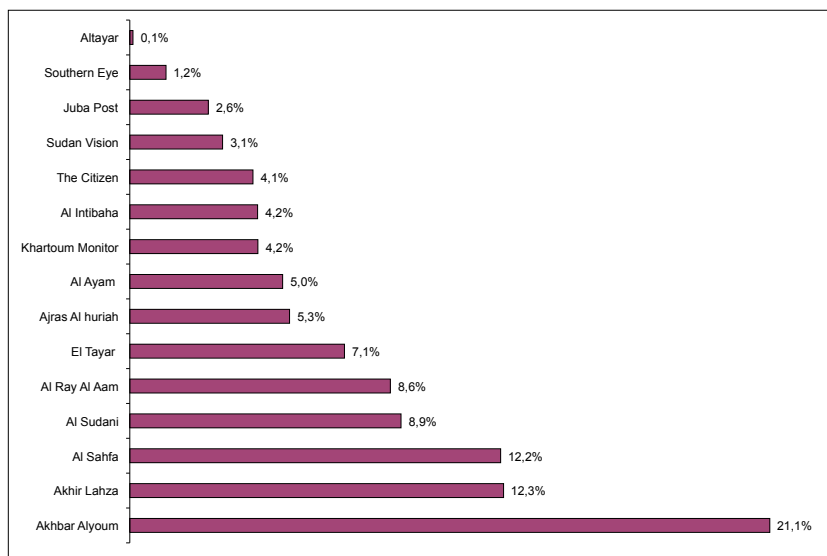
Base in seconds: 850794

Junubna FM	0,1%
Spirit FM	0,2%
Liberty FM	1,3%
Radio Bakhita	2,6%
Radio Miraya	2,9%
Blue Nile	4,1%
Khartoum State Radio	10,7%
Sudan TV	14,1%
SSR	14,2%
SSTV	19,0%
Omdurman Radio	30,9%

Akhbar Alyoum, Akhir Lahza and Al Sahafa were the print media with the greatest volume of political coverage consistent with the trend observed during the campaign period while some newspapers reduced their political coverage after the elections, including *Al Ray Al Aam, Al Intibaha and Al Sudani.*

**CHART 16 Volume of editorial coverage of political actors by media outlet – Press**

Base in cm^2: 1036027

Altayar	0,1%
Southern Eye	1,2%
Juba Post	2,6%
Sudan Vision	3,1%
The Citizen	4,1%
Al Intibaha	4,2%
Khartoum Monitor	4,2%
Al Ayam	5,0%
Ajras Al huriah	5,3%
El Tayar	7,1%
Al Ray Al Aam	8,6%
Al Sudani	8,9%
Al Sahfa	12,2%
Akhir Lahza	12,3%
Akhbar Alyoum	21,1%

News coverage was the main format used to report on political issues, even though some editorial differences were noted between media targeting the North and those addressing Southern audiences. The latter resorted to a wider variety of formats such as editorials and interviews, genres which normally leave more room for expressing of personal or partisan opinions.

CHART 17 Formats of the coverage of political actors by media outlet – Press[20]

Base in cm^2: 1137497
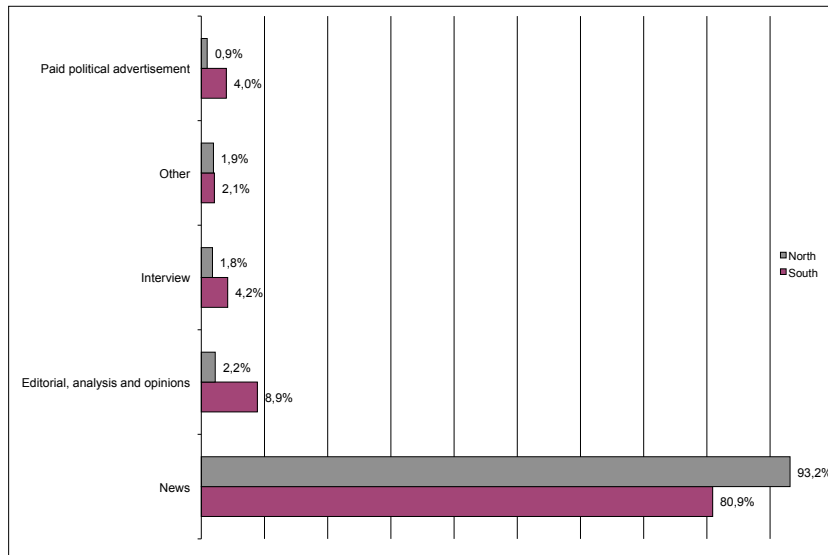
Coverage of political parties by radio and television stations did not allow for a real diversity of opinions and views to emerge in the post-election phase. Consistent with data emerging during the campaign period, the two main parties – the NCP and the SPLM increased their dominance of the overall coverage while the polarisation of the editorial choices based on targeted audiences in North and South in the individual media houses continued.

Other political parties had very little possibility of being heard. In general, smaller parties saw their coverage in the media reduced further in comparison with the election period both in audiovisual and print media.

The two main parties, the NCP and the SPLM, monopolised coverage by receiving 96 per cent of the overall airtime in audiovisual media. This "public hegemony" of the two main political actors was observed in both radio and television programmes with no substantial quantitative differences in the trends detected in the two media sectors.

The central role played by the two main parties in the public sphere as defined by the media as well as their relative weight in terms of coverage was mainly the result of editorial lines based on the target audiences of each media outlet. Political communication and the prominence given to political parties was clearly determined by the geographical reach of television and radio stations: the media targeting Northern audiences allotted the most airtime to the NCP, while those addressing the public in the South devoted most of their airtime to the SPLM In this context, other parties received either none or only limited exposure, as did for instance the SPLM-DC in the South and DUP in the North.

20 *The category Other includes the following formats: Photos, Announcements, Cartoons and Mails from readers.*

A greater diversity and plurality of voices could be observed in the print media, although the two main parties still dominated the overall coverage, covered in more than85 per cent of the space allocated to electoral coverage. Geographical audience targets of each media outlet influenced the allocation of space in this case as well, although the polarisation was slightly less pronounced than in audiovisual media. However, newspapers based in or addressing Northern Sudan devoted the greatest amount of space to the NCP while the SPLM was the party most covered in the Southern print media.

CHART 18 Allocation of coverage to political actors[21] in news and editorial coverage by media sector – All media

Base in seconds: 850794
Base in cm²: 1036027
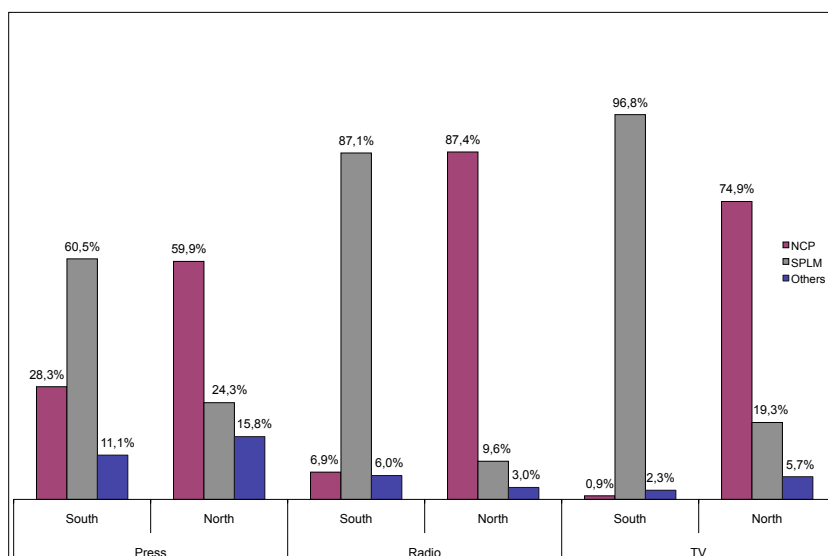
The allocation of coverage within each individual outlet showed that the polarisation between the two main political parties and the way in which they dominated the media coverage in the North and South was consistent although with some minor differences. In the North, Blue Nile TV was the audiovisual media displaying some diversity – although limited – in the access to media provided to parties. In the South, independent actors received some coverage by almost all radio stations observed, while South Sudan TV and South Sudan Radio focused most of its reporting on the SPLM. Radio Bakhita and Radio Liberty also gave some attention to smaller political actors in addition to the two ruling parties. A similar dichotomy in terms of geographical markets was evident in the print media even if a wider degree of diversity in terms of representing various voices was present: the NCP and the SPLM were dominant in news reports, but a number of other different parties received some space, although in a limited manner.

21 *The category Other includes all parties other than the NCP and the SPLM.*

TABLE 9 Allocation of airtime to political parties in news programmes by media outlet – Northern Audiovisual Media

	CHANNEL				
PARTY	Omdurman Radio	Sudan TV	Khartoum State Radio	Blue Nile	Total
NCP	84,6%	76,5%	95,4%	69,5%	83,6%
SPLM	11,9%	18,6%	2,9%	21,9%	12,6%
Others*	3,5%	4,9%	1,7%	8,5%	3,8%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Absolute values in seconds	262484	120310	90776	34976	508546

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1per cent:
DUP, DUPO, BC, SPLM-DC, UNP, JNA, SCP, MBO, ILP, FWP, PCP, SANU, UFP, AA, SSUDF, SFLP, UP-C, DUP , UPRD, Independent, USDF, SSDF, JP, NDUF, BCP, URRP, NJP, SBP, UDF, UDSF, NLP, NASP, EDP, SSDP, USAP.

TABLE 10 Allocation of airtime among political parties in news programmes by media outlet – Southern Audiovisual Media

	CHANNEL							
PARTY	SSTV	SSR	Radio Miraya	Radio Bakhita	Liberty FM	Spirit FM	Junubna FM	Total
SPLM	96,8%	91,3%	84,1%	78,1%	72,5%	61,3%	54,3%	91,7%
NCP	0,9%	5,5%	8,2%	9,1%	11,3%	22,4%	0,0%	4,0%
Independent	0,7%	1,8%	6,2%	4,3%	7,1%	12,0%	45,7%	2,0%
Others	1,0%	1,0%	1,3%	2,1%	5,7%	4,3%	0,0%	1,3%
SPLM-DC	0,7%	0,3%	0,2%	6,4%	3,4%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Absolute values in seconds	161763	120448	24723	21718	11085	2023	488	342248

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
SSDF, USDF, UDF, USAP, PCP, UNP, SCP, SANU, UDSF, DUPO, SConP, Other, ANCP.

TABLE 11 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Northern Print media

	NEWSPAPER										
PARTY	Akhbar Alyoum	Akhir Lahza	Al Sahfa	Al Sudani	Al Ray Al Aam	El Tayar	Ajras Al huriah	Al Ayam	Al Intibaha	Altayar	Total
NCP	58,1%	63,6%	64,8%	57,4%	71,0%	66,6%	30,3%	61,4%	49,8%	60,7%	59,9%
SPLM	24,1%	18,8%	20,8%	25,9%	17,9%	18,6%	51,0%	30,2%	31,1%	19,3%	24,3%
Others	3,8%	4,2%	3,5%	3,5%	3,2%	3,9%	4,5%	2,1%	8,3%	7,0%	3,9%
DUPO	3,6%	3,7%	3,5%	4,8%	2,3%	3,0%	5,5%	1,1%	3,8%	6,6%	3,5%
UNP	5,6%	2,3%	3,6%	3,0%	2,6%	2,4%	3,5%	1,6%	2,4%	5,5%	3,5%
JNA	1,3%	4,4%	2,2%	1,8%	1,4%	2,8%	3,0%	1,4%	1,9%	0,0%	2,2%
PCP	1,7%	1,9%	1,1%	2,9%	0,8%	1,2%	1,5%	0,9%	0,6%	0,8%	1,5%
SPLM-DC	1,8%	1,0%	0,4%	0,8%	0,9%	1,5%	0,6%	1,2%	2,1%	0,0%	1,2%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Absolute values in cm^2	218584	127658	126656	92633	88986	73314	54564	52202	43649	1083	879329

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1per cent:
SCP, DUP, URRP, BC, NUP, Independent, MBO, UP-C, BCP, UDF, AA, EDP, UPRD, ILP, UFP, SANU, USDF, SSDF, UDUP, JP, NFDM, NJP, NASP, SConP, SA, UDSF, FWP, SDPCES, WANUP, SAP, SBP, USAP, SSDP, UDP, SUNP, SSUDF, SNLP, NLP, SFLP, SNFGUP, IMP, FotS, SSoliDP, NUDP, NRP, ANCP, USNP, NSP, SNFO, SFNP, UPSF, PFDR, EPJD, FLP, HMfD, NDA.

TABLE 12 Allocation of space to political parties in editorial coverage by media outlet – Southern Print Media

PARTY	NEWSPAPER					
	Khartoum Monitor	The Citizen	Sudan Vision	Juba Post	Southern Eye	Total
SPLM	61,3%	61,3%	31,8%	78,4%	89,8%	60,5%
NCP	25,7%	25,9%	64,1%	6,5%	1,6%	28,3%
Independent	7,2%	2,7%	0,3%	7,9%	3,8%	4,5%
SPLM-DC	2,7%	4,9%	2,2%	4,0%	3,4%	3,5%
Others	3,1%	5,1%	1,6%	3,2%	1,4%	3,2%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Absolute values in cm²	43749	42067	31689	26820	12373	156698

* The category Others includes all parties with levels of coverage less than 1 per cent:
*UNP, SANU, DUP, UDF, PCP, SCP, SSDF, NPAP, USDF, UP-C, NUP, DUPO, NLP, USAP, UDSF, SSUDF.*

The tone of the coverage was mainly neutral or positive while a negative tone of coverage was limited, particularly on radio and television. On Southern TV and radio stations, the SPLM was largely presented in a positive manner, although some negative coverage, although a very limited amount, was observed in a few news reports. Northern channels adopted a rather more neutral style of coverage. The print media displayed higher levels of negative and critical tones mainly directed at the two major parties – the NCP and the SPLM – and the SPLM-DC.

The professional conduct of reporters and journalists varied within the different media outlets; the Northern media style of reporting was generally neutral although some violations of professional standards of coverage were observed in some cases. In a number of episodes, Southern media presented the opinion of the reporters mixed in with the facts of a story.

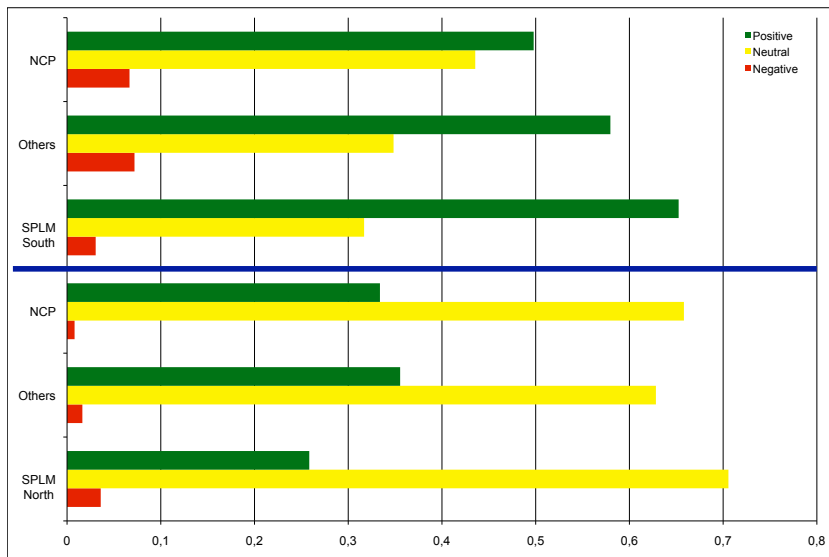**CHART 19 Tone of news coverage in all audiovisual media by geographical target[22]**

Base in seconds: 850794
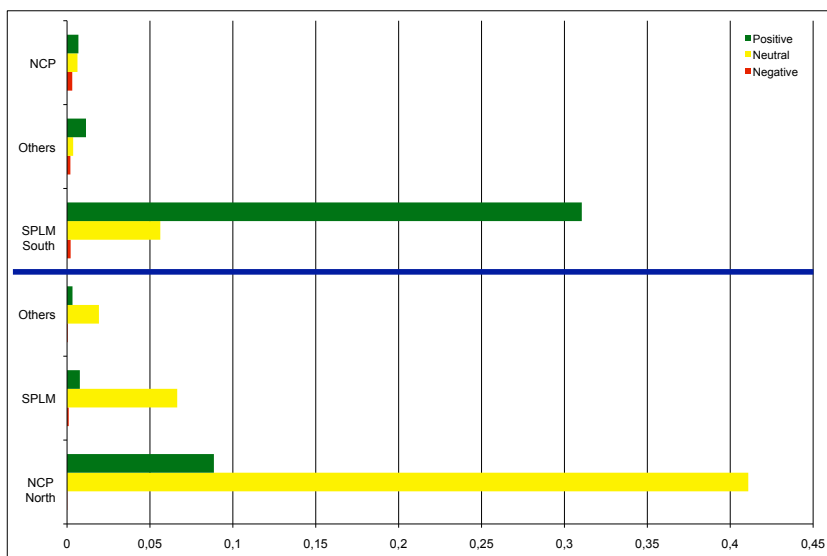
22 The category Others includes parties other than NCP and SPLM..

CHART 20 Tone of editorial coverage in editorial coverage of all print media[23]

Base in cm2: 1036027

23 The category Others includes parties other than NCP and SPLM..

4 Hate speech: an overview of media monitoring findings

The monitoring of offensive language and hate speech resulted into a number of episodes, mainly in print media in the period 13 February – 6 June 2010:

1. Over the campaign period, the cases of hate speech constantly grew, mirroring the escalation of an intensifying campaign climate. The inflammatory language generally involved political parties and candidates that were both the primary sources[24] and the primary targets[25].

2. Defamation was the main category of hate speech, with accusations and mutual blaming on behalf of the main contestants. As a matter of fact, several of the cases observed were related to heated campaigning styles and confrontation between the main contestants. However during the course of the campaign the calls for violence and mutual accusations of rigging increased in number even though they involved topics regarding elections and did not touch upon broader sectarian and ethnic issues and target groups.

3. The geographical scope of the speech principally referred to the national context during the campaign period with the reciprocal exchange of accusations between the NCP and the SPLM.

4. The episodes of inflammatory language during the post-election phase were comparatively limited although the tones of the political debate seemed to become more harsh and hostile. The main categories observed during the post-election period were related to the accusation of rigging and calls for escalation of violence, while other types of offensive speech directly related to the election campaign dynamics – namely defamation – dramatically reduced their presence.

5. Most of the cases concerning accusation of election frauds and calls for violence were recorded in the media targeting Southern audiences. During the post-election phase, the weight of the national reach of the attacks decreased, while specific regions – the South, Jonglei and Upper Nile – became more relevant, often in virtue of the clashes taking place on those areas.

Hate speech during the campaign and post election periods: data and findings

A number of episodes of inflammatory speech and offensive language were observed during the election and post election periods from 13 February – 6 June 2010, mainly in print media. Over the 56 day campaign period, the episodes of hate speech constantly grew, mirroring the escalation of an intensifying campaign climate. The episodes of inflammatory language during the post-election phase were comparatively limited although the tones of the political debate seemed to become more harsh and hostile.

The inflammatory language generally involved political parties and candidates that were both the main sources and the main targets. Defamation was the

24 The target is the individual or group against who hate speech is directed, as reported by the media.
25 The source is the person or group originating the hate speech, as reported by the media.

main category of hate speech, with accusations and mutual blaming on behalf of the main contestants. However, other monitoring categories, such as 'Call for violence' and 'Accusations of rigging' increased during the campaign period.

The number of explicit episodes of hate speech and inflammatory language during the election campaign amounted to 260 cases while 86 cases were recorded during the post-election period. Most of the episodes during the campaign period were observed in the print media (232 cases), while audio-visual media had a relatively lower presence of hate speech and inflammatory language (18 cases on radio and 10 cases on television). Similarly, during the post-election phase, the print media were responsible for the highest number of episodes (69). Radio and television provided more limited coverage of this kind of speech (12 and 5 cases respectively), although more violent tones were present in the public discourse as conveyed by the media.

CHART 21 Distribution of cases of hate speech in media sector during the campaign and post-election period
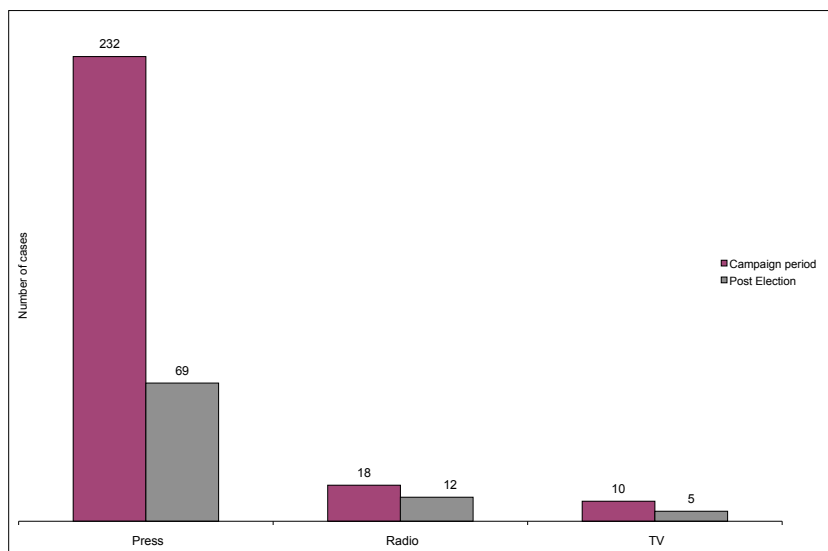

During the campaign, several of the cases observed were related to very heated campaigning styles and confrontation between the main contestants, rather than targeted calls for violence and discrimination. The most common type of inflammatory language concerned episodes of defamation among candidates, while more serious cases – such as a call for violence or calls for conflict escalation – were initially limited. However during the course of the campaign the calls for violence and mutual accusations of rigging increased in number even though they involved topics regarding elections and did not touch upon broader sectarian and ethnic issues and target groups.

The main categories observed during the post-election period were related to the accusation of rigging and calls for escalation of violence, while other types of offensive speech directly related to the election campaign dynamics – namely defamation – dramatically reduced their presence. Most of the cases concerning accusation of election fraud and calls for violence were recorded in the media targeting Southern audiences. Another relevant type of speech recorded in the post-election period was presented in the category "Other" which included cases that cannot be properly classified as offensive speech, but that still contain derogatory terms and accusations between candidates.

CHART 22 Trend of cases of hate speech by media sector during the campaign and the post-election period

Base: 346 cases
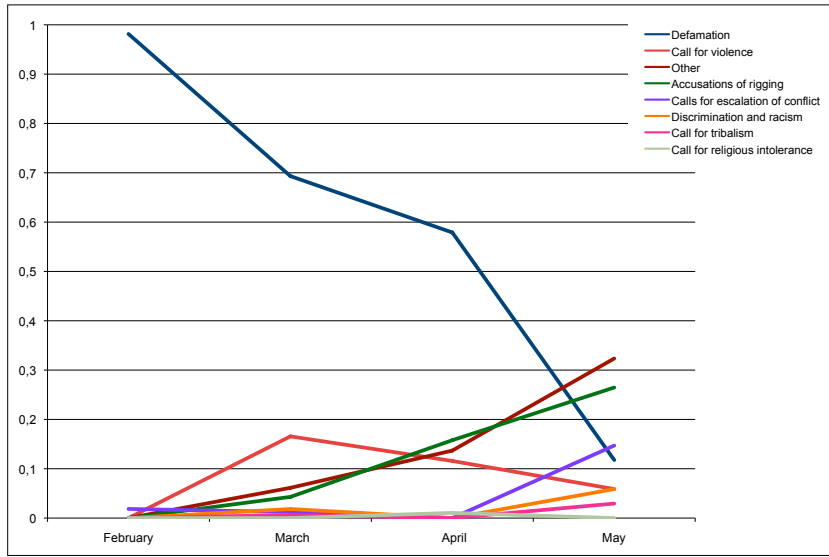
The analysis of the sources[26] of hate speech showed that politicians and parties or the media themselves were the main culprits. The majority of episodes regarding media as a source of hate speech concerned the print media rather than radio or television. Similarly, the main targets[27] of inflammatory speech were politicians and election competitors, while the presence of other categories appeared extremely limited.

CHART 23 Source of hate speech and inflammatory language during the campaign and the post-election period
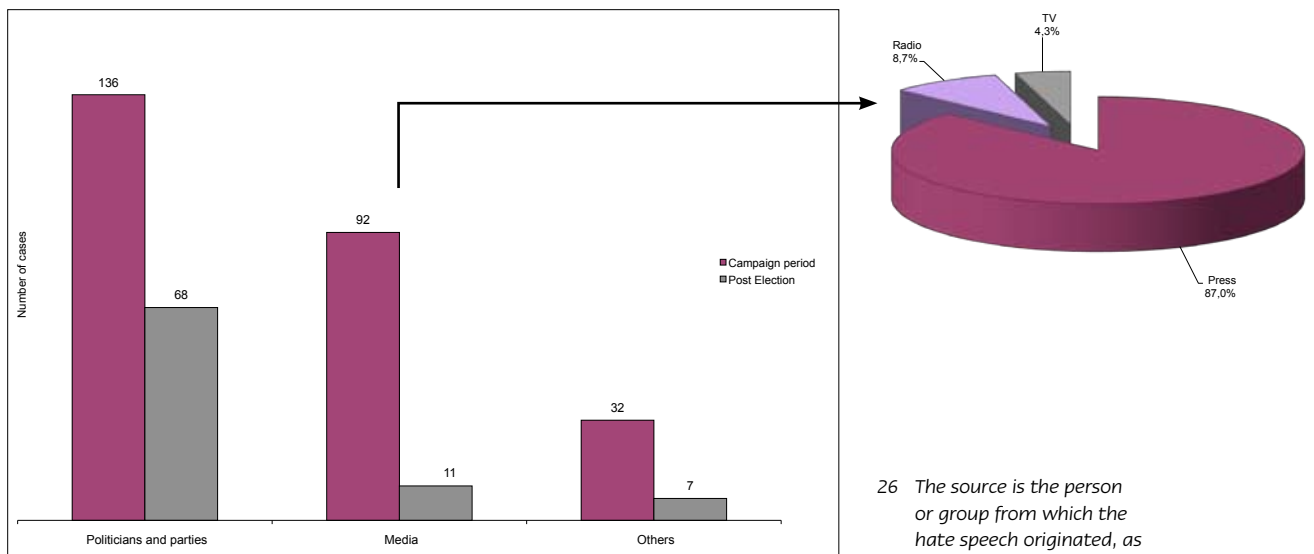
26 The source is the person or group from which the hate speech originated, as reported by the media.

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

CHART 24 Target of hate speech and inflammatory language during the campaign and the post-election period
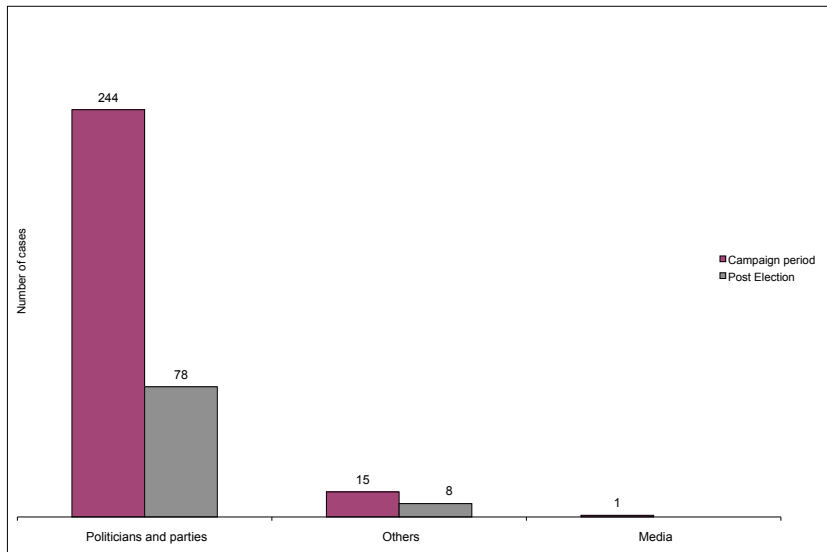
The geographical scope of the speech principally referred to the national context during the campaign period with the reciprocal exchange of accusations between the NCP and the SPLM. This decreased during the post-election phase, while other zones – the South, Jonglei and Upper Nile – became more relevant, often in virtue of the clashes taking place on those areas.

5 Agenda setting: an overview of media monitoring findings

During the monitored period of 27 July – 31 October 2010, the agenda of the media focused on three main interrelated topics: the referenda, internal politics and foreign affairs:

1. News related to the referendum process touched upon a number of interrelated issues including: the process of border demarcation, the discussion on the tight timeframe for the organisation of the ballot, the technical arrangements for the consultation, the talks both at national level and in Addis Ababa to resolve the dispute on the status of Abyei, as well as the international debate and concerns for the upcoming election. In addition, the media reported extensively on the disputes between the two main parties, and their reciprocal accusations in relation to the fairness of the referendum.

2. The referendum dominated the coverage of all the monitored media houses in the North and in the South, with a constant growth from July to October. However, a clear-cut difference was present in the two types of media: Northern outlets based their coverage on the "unity option", while Southern media tended to promote the "separation option". In this regard, the public discourse on the referendum seemed to be tainted by patent political positions and leanings, while the presence of more balanced approach to the issue appeared very limited.

3. The postponed elections in Gazira and South Kordofan states received minimal coverage and only by media targeting the North; this coverage concentrated on the withdrawal of a number of parties from the electoral process in Gazira and the consequent victory of the NCP there. Media reports on South Kordofan State elections focused on the preparatory process and procedures for the consultation.

4. The relevance given to other topics appeared correlated to the geographical target of each media outlet: foreign policy dominated the agenda of Northern media while Southern-based outlets focused on human rights and development, education, and matters related to public administration. Other relevant subjects in both types of media were issues concerning business, economy and security.

News during the pre referendum period: data and findings

During the period 27 July – 31 October 2010, the agenda of the media focused on three main interrelated topics: the referenda – both in the South and in relation to Abyei consultation – internal political issues and foreign affairs, often associated to the talks regarding the status of Abyei, the meeting in Addis Ababa to resolve the Abyei dispute, as well as the international debate and concerns for the upcoming referendum. In the South religious leaders called to the stakeholders to hold a peaceful and timely consultation on a referendum. Security, economy, human rights and development were the other main subjects of the news coverage monitored, even though they featured less prominently than political affairs.

News related to the referendum process, included the process of border demarcation, the Election Commission talks on the tight timeframe for the referendum, as well as their complaints about the lack of funds, the launch of a media campaign for the referendum on 7 November and the obstacles faced by the Commission of the Referendum for Southern Sudan.
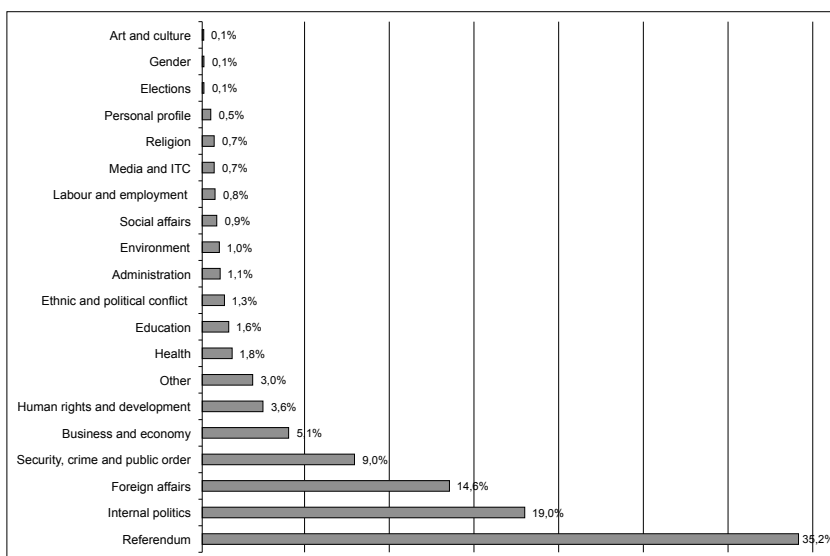
The media also covered the SPLM's accusations of bias against the Election Commission. The NCP's statement concerning the possibility of a postponement of the referendum, and the consequent rejection of this option by the SPLM also received substantial media attention. In addition to this, the media reported extensively on the disputes between the two main parties, and their reciprocal accusations in relation to the referendum.

The postponed elections in Gazira and South Kordofan states received minimal coverage and only by media targeting the North; this coverage concentrated on the withdrawal of a number of parties from the electoral process in Gazira and the consequent victory of the NCP there. Media reports on South Kordofan State elections focused on the preparatory process and procedures for the consultation.

CHART 25 Main issues of news coverage (all media)

Base: 1980 cases
The issues related to the referendum dominated or were widely covered by

| Issue	Percentage
Art and culture	0,1%
Gender	0,1%
Elections	0,1%
Personal profile	0,5%
Religion	0,7%
Media and ITC	0,7%
Labour and employment	0,8%
Social affairs	0,9%
Environment	1,0%
Administration	1,1%
Ethnic and political conflict	1,3%
Education	1,6%
Health	1,8%
Other	3,0%
Human rights and development	3,6%
Business and economy	5,1%
Security, crime and public order	9,0%
Foreign affairs	14,6%
Internal politics	19,0%
Referendum	35,2%

all media houses monitored throughout the period, even though this coverage varied in the course of the monitoring period. Media attention on the referendum increased constantly from July to October, while – with the partial exception of internal politics – other kinds of topics decreased in their presence and visibility in the media coverage.

This trend was observed both in the media targeting the North and in those addressing Southern audiences: in both cases, the referendum progressively became the main focus of the coverage. However, a clear-cut difference was present in the two types of media: Northern media based their coverage on the "unity option", while Southern media tended to promote the "separation option". In this regard, the public discourse on the referendum seemed to be tainted by patent political positions and leanings, while the presence of more balanced approach to the issue appeared very limited.

CHART 26 Trends in the agenda of news coverage (all media) [28]
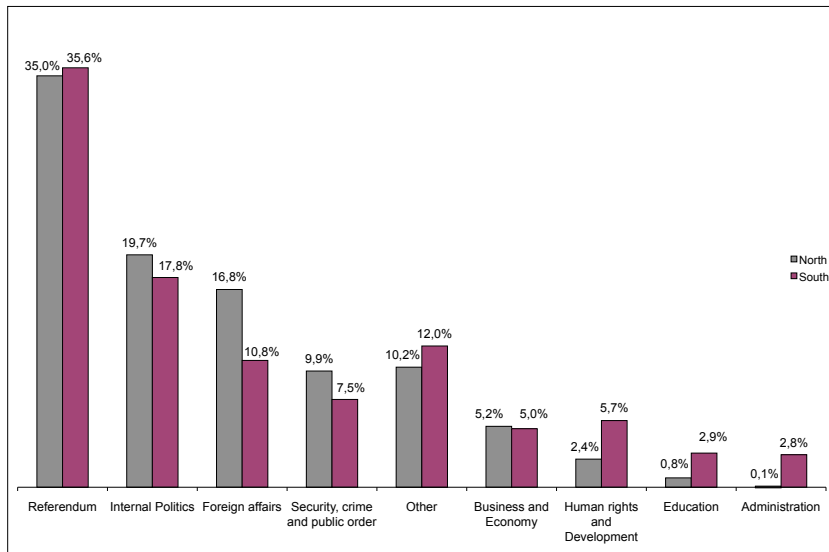
Base: 1980 cases
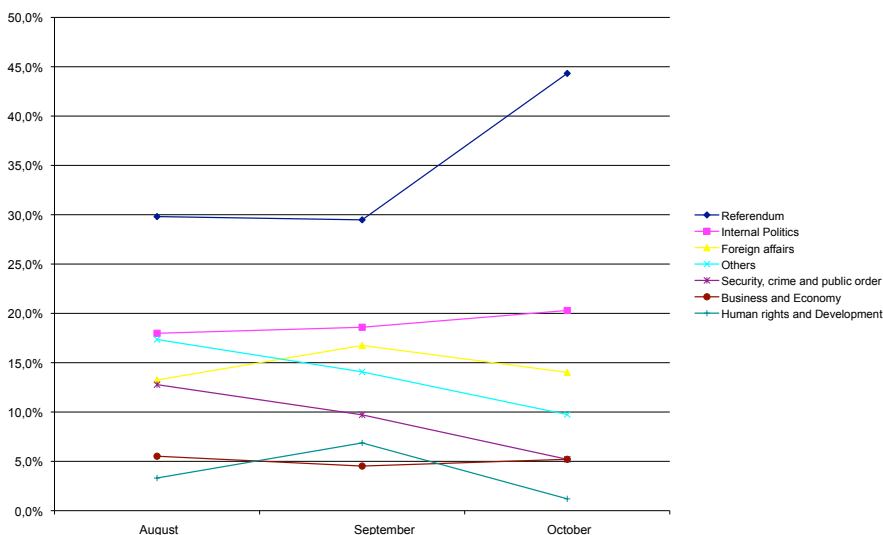
Although two main topics – namely the referendum and internal political affairs – were common to both Northern and Southern media, the weight given to other topics appeared somehow correlated to the geographical target of each media outlet: foreign policy dominated the agenda of Northern media while Southern-based outlets focused on human rights and development, education, and matters related to public administration. Other relevant subjects in both types of media were issues concerning business, economy and security.

28 *The category Other includes issues which received less than 3 per cent of the coverage: Health, Education, Ethnic and Political Conflict , Administration, Environment, Social affairs, Labour and employment , Religion, Media and ITC, Personal profile, Gender, Elections, Art and culture.*

CHART 27 Main topics of news coverage by geographical reach[29]

Base: 1980 cases

Annexes

Annex 1: List of acronyms

Acronym	Full name
AA	Ansar Alsona Party
ABC	Abyei Borders Commission
ADP	Awareness Democratic Party
AIM	Association/Agency of Independent Media
AMDISS	Association for Media and Development in South Sudan
AMWISS	Association for Media Women in Southern Sudan
ANCP	African National Congress Party
AWG-MM	Arab Working Group for Media Monitoring
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCP	Beja Congress Party
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DRI	Democracy Reporting International
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party – Al Digair
DUPO	Democratic Unionist Party – Original
DUSP	Democratic United Salvation Party
EDG	Electoral Donors Group
EDP	Eastern Democratic Party
EPJD	Eastern Party – Justice and Development
FotS	Front of the South Party
FWP	Free Will Party
GOS	National Government of Sudan
GOSS	Government of Southern Sudan
HDP	Hagiga Democratic Party
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ILP	Islamic Liberation Party
IMP	Islamic Moderate Party
IMS	International Media Support
JAP	Juba Alliance Party
JMM	Joint Media Mechanism
JNA	Juba National Alliance
JSN	Journalists' Solidarity Network
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 Council for Press and Publications
NCP	National Congress Party
NPC	National Press Council
NDA	National Democratic Alliance Party
NDFP	National Democratic Front Party
NDP	National Democratic Party
NDUF	National Democratic United Front
NEC	National Election Commission
NFDM	New Forces Democratic Movement
NIF	National Islamic Front
NISS	National Intelligence and Security Services

NJP	National Justice Party
NLP	National Liberation Party
NNDP	New National Democratic Party
NPA	Norwegian Peoples Aid
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
PCA	Permanent Court of Arbitration
PCongP	People's Congress Party
PCP	Popular Congress Party
PFDR	Peoples' Forces and Democratic Rights Party
PP	Pre Publication censorship
PSJP	Progress and Social Justice Party
RCP	Revolutionist Committees Party
SA	Sudan Ana Party
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
SJN	Sudanese Journalists Network
SJU	Sudanese Journalist Union in Khartoum
SLFOP	Sudan Labour Forces Organisation Party
SMEC	Sudan Media and Elections Consortium
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
SRTC	Sudan Radio and Television Corporation
SSDF	South Sudan Democratic Forum
SSDP	Sudanese Socialist Democratic Party
SSoliDP	Sudanese Solidarity Democratic Party
SSOUJ	Southern Sudan Union of Journalists
SSR	South Sudan Radio
SSRA	South Sudan Referendum Act
SSTV	South Sudan Television
SSUDF	South Sudan United Democratic Front
SUDIA	Sudanese Development Initiative
SUDPC	Sudanese United Democratic Party Congress
SUFP	Sudanese United Forces Party
SUNP	Sudanese United National Party
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDP	United Democratic Party
UDSPF	Union of Democratic Socialist Party – Fatma
UDUP	United Democratic Unionist Party
UFP	Umma Federal Party
UJOSS	Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
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

Annex 2:
Methodological outline for media monitoring

The SMEC was established to implement a Media and Election project in Sudan. One of the main activities was media monitoring of election and political coverage, agenda setting and hate speech. The media monitoring took place all over Sudan, with two main joint media monitoring units, one in Khartoum and one in Juba, employing a total of 36 Sudanese media monitors. Seven media monitoring units at state level have been established in North Kordufan, North Darfur, Red Sea, Lakes, Eastern Equatoria, Upper Nile and Central Equatoria. All units were run by national management and monitors with the support of international experts. Within the Sudanese media and elections Consortium, the Osservatorio di Pavia and the AWG were responsible for advising on the implementation of media monitoring operations, methodology and reporting.

The purpose of the present media monitoring exercise was two-fold. Firstly, monitoring the coverage of the electoral campaign provided information on media's performance during the campaign period, thereby contributing to the overall assessment of the electoral process in Sudan. Secondly, the media monitoring served as feedback to the media outlets themselves on their work which may enhance their reporting skills for present and future elections.

Media Monitoring Units commenced their activities on 13 February at the beginning of the campaign. Observation continued on a more reduced scale[30] till the end of October to assess post election coverage and media coverage before the referendum campaign. The SMEC carried out media monitoring of four TV stations, seventeen radio channels and thirteen newspapers on a daily basis[31]. The media included in the sample were selected according to a number of criteria, including territorial reach, estimated audience/circulation and Sudanese ownership and/or registration in Sudan.

All selected media were monitored according to a methodological approach created in 1995 and based on content analysis. It was tested and adopted in a number of elections by international organisations and civic society groups all over the world, including Algeria, Bahrain, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lebanon, Madagascar, Morocco, Nigeria, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, Yemen, Uganda and Zambia.

The monitoring of election and political coverage was based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis and it aimed to observe and assess the extent to which media provided fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders. During the election and post-election periods, the project also monitored hate speech or inflammatory language – either reported on or originating from the media themselves – to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increase any potential tensions related to elections. From 27 July the SMEC also produced an analysis of the main topics covered in news headlines of the main Sudanese media, both in the North and in the South.

Quantitative analysis implied the selection of elements of the media output content that could be counted and focused on in the time and space allocated to different parties or candidates. Each mention of the subject was logged separately and the amount of time and space allocated was then

30   *Units in the States suspended operations after 6 June. In addition to this, only the main news on TV and radio stations was monitored.*

31   *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*

recorded. Each mention was also classified in terms of tone in which a political actor was described according to a three value scale of positive, neutral and negative.

The qualitative analysis was based on the systematic observation of specific themes and issues: voter education, women and gender balance, coverage of election authorities and the election process, the context and standards of media work in Sudan.

The monitoring hate speech or inflammatory language – either reported on or originating from the media themselves – aimed to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increase any potential tensions related to elections. This exercise was able to observe: whether the media published or broadcast hate speech through and by any political speakers, whether the media themselves promoted violence, who were the main sources of hate speech and who were the target groups affected by it.

Analysis of the agenda-setting aimed to identify a weekly news agenda of the media, composed of a brief summary and a classification of the topics. This overview of the media headlines sketched the priorities in the public discourse as well as representing a complementary element to assess the quality of media coverage of issues of public interest. The main headlines of the major media outlets were collected on a daily basis; specific information regarding the output and/or the headlines was reported in a specifically tailored format and then commented on on a weekly basis.