MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN SUDAN

MONITORING THE COVERAGE OF SUDAN 2010 ELECTIONS

PRELIMINARY REPORT

Period 13 February – 10 April 2010

Issued on 18 April 2010

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I. Executive summary

The campaign period (13 February – 9 April) for the multi-party elections in Sudan was extensively covered by mass media in Sudan. The coverage of electoral candidates and parties increased substantially as the campaign period neared its end. This was partly due to developments related to the elections: the withdrawal of a number of presidential candidates and the boycott or threats to boycott the elections by various parties. But also voter education programs and articles increased as the elections neared.

The elections were the major and sometimes only news item in the media over the last two months. The extensive coverage of the electoral campaign by the media consisted mainly of (free) advertisements[1] of political actors, news and opinion pieces and analyses. The race for the National Presidency, the National Assembly and the GOSS presidency dominated the news. The editorial coverage of the print media of the elections was concentrated on the two main parties, the NCP and SPLM who received respectively 41% and 24% of the overall election space in the newspapers. On the radio NCP and SPLM both received 38.1 % of the overall airtime. On television, NCP and SPLM received respectively 37.9 % and 47.9% throughout the whole campaigning period. In the last weeks of the campaign period, SPLM received more attention in the media, while NCP led the race for media attention during the first period of the campaign. This trend is linked to the election events and news items which were covered over the last few weeks of the campaign.

The tone of the coverage over the campaign period was in general neutral or positive signifying that political actors campaigned for their own candidates, programmes and parties and that the media channelled this information in a neutral way. This trend changed during the last month of the campaign when the tone sometimes became harsh or even aggressive. Both the media (journalists) and political actors were targets of and sources behind this development. The media were inclined to mix news pieces with the opinions of journalists, especially in the print media.

The number of hate speech cases increased during the last month of campaigning. Compared to the first three weeks of the campaign period, the number of hate speech cases in the period leading up to 21 March showed an increase from 101 cases (recorded between 13 February – 7 March) to 168 cases (recorded between 13 February – 21 March). In the last three weeks of the campaign period the number of hate speech cases recorded increased dramatically by 30 % to 259 cases.

The campaign period ended on 9 April and was followed by a day of silence on 10 April, where campaigning activities were not allowed. Political actors and parties violated this day of silence as the media continued to report campaign activities and publish and broadcast statements mainly from the ruling parties.

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

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[1] (Free) advertisements include time and space bought by political actors and parties which does not fall under the direct editorial responsibility.

II.   Foreword

During 11-15 April 2010 Sudanese citizens have cast their votes for the first multi- party elections held in 24 years. The role of the media in this process has been crucial, as journalists and media houses were called to support and facilitate a process representing a historical moment for Sudan. Their responsibility and contribution has been essential in ensuring that voters received accurate and complete information, enabling them to make an informed choice on Election Day.

This report shows the findings of the Sudan Media and Elections Consortium (SMEC) on how the media covered the elections; in the period prior to these dates and in the silence period, starting from 13 February, the kick-off date of the campaign, until 10 April 2010. The findings are the result of both a quantitative and qualitative analysis which aims to observe and assess the extent to which media provide fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders, including women's issues and the use of hate speech.

The purpose of the media monitoring is two-fold. Firstly, monitoring the coverage of the elections by media will provide valuable information on the media's performance during the campaign period, the election period and the post election period, thereby offering an additional contribution to the overall assessment of the electoral process in Sudan. Secondly, the monitoring serves as feed back to the media outlets themselves on their work and it may enhance their reporting skills in present and future elections or for other events of national interest. The media monitoring is being implemented parallel to an intensive training and mentoring programme for journalists and media outlets. The monitoring and training components are separate activities, but are inter-linked within the same project.

Media monitoring will continue until the end of May 2010. A final report will be published in June, with interim reports published in May.

III. Media monitoring of election coverage in Sudan: Findings and conclusions

A. Quantitative analysis of Radio and Television: coverage of the election campaign

The cumulative data from previous reports show that news has been the main format throughout the campaigning period by which radio and TV stations have conveyed information on the elections and politics (respectively 53% and 51%).

The genre 'free and paid airtime', airtime that is not under the editorial control of the media, has been central to the media campaigns of parties. It represented almost 22% of all broadcasting devoted to politics, while a format like 'current affairs' represented 2.6% and the genre 'political debate' represented even less of all broadcasting devoted to politics, namely 0.1%.

Allocation of time among genres of coverage

Basis: 17.750 minutes
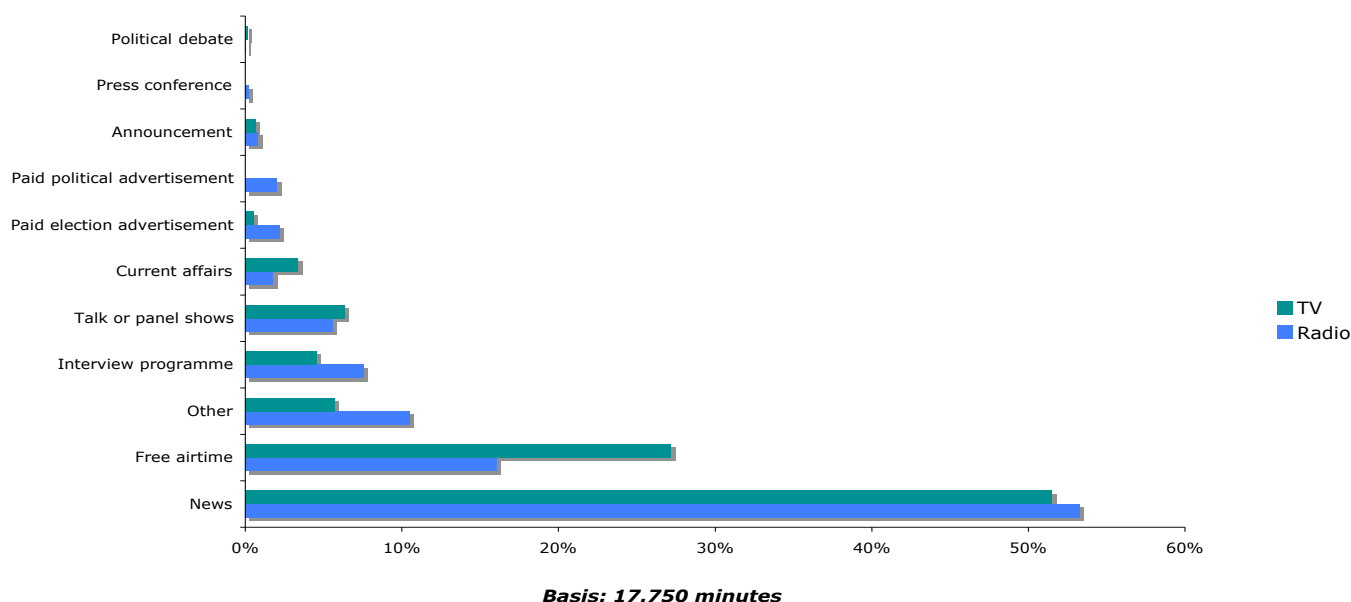
The allocation of airtime on editorial coverage[2] shows that the two main parties received most of the coverage in both radio and television in the whole country. The NCP received 37.9% of the total airtime within editorial election coverage on television and 38.1% on radio. The SPLM was given 47.9% of the airtime on television and 38.1% on radio on a national basis.
As observed in Media Monitoring Report 3, the editorial choices of the channels in terms of what to cover reflect their geographical audiences: the media targeting a Northern public devoted most of their airtime to the NCP, while the media broadcasting in the South focused most of their coverage on the SPLM. Other contesting parties received limited coverage in both areas.

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

Editorial coverage of main parties (TV and Radio) in total campaign period on national basis: 13 February – 9 April

TV		RADIO	
PARTY	Total	PARTY	Total
SPLM	47.9%	SPLM	38.1%
NCP	37.9%	NCP	38.1%
UNP	1.8%	DUP	2.3%
Independent	1.6%	MBO	2.2%
SPLM-DC	1.6%	UNP	2.1%
DUP	1.4%	URRP	1.6%
SSDP	1.4%	DUPO	1.5%
NNDP	1.2%	PCP	1.3%
PCP	1.0%	Independent	1.3%
Others[3]	4.2%	SPLM-DC	1.2%
Total	100.0%	Others[4]	9.16%
Total absolute values - 6621 *minutes*		Total	100.0%
		Total absolute values - *6859 minutes*	

Compared to the previous monitoring period (13 February – 21 March), there is a remarkable difference. NCP received substantially less coverage in the media over the last two weeks compared to the last media monitoring report (3) where NCP received 46% of television and 53% of radio coverage). SPLM received substantially more attention in the media in the current monitoring period compared to that of the last monitoring period which was 32 % of coverage on television and 21 % on radio. There has been a shift throughout the campaigning period where SPLM has received gradually more coverage as the elections neared while the NCP received less.

National editorial coverage of main parties on TV and Radio from 13 February – 21 March (report 3)

TV		Radio	
NCP	46%	NCP	53 %
SPLM	32%	SPLM	21%
PCP	4%	Others	7%
Others	3%	UNP	3%

National editorial coverage of main parties on TV and Radio from 13 February – 7 March (report 2)

TV		Radio	
NCP	54%	NCP	49 %
SPLM	28%	SPLM	21%
PCP	4%	Others	8%
Independent	4%	UNP	3%

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[3] This category includes all parties that received less than 1% coverage: NJP,USAP,SNFGUP,UPRD, MBO, NLP, SSDF, NUP, SAP,NDA, SANU,SSUDF, UDUP,EPJD, USDF, UDSF,JNA, LDP, BC, UFP,UDF, NSP, NPAP, FWP, SConP, HDP, SBP, SNFO,EDP.
[4] This category includes all parties that received less than 1% coverage:
SSDP,SAP,SSDF,SCP,UDF,ANCP,USAP,NDA,JNA,SNFGUP,UDSF,PFDR,SANU,EPJD,UDUP,NDUF,PSJP,NDFP,NLP,LDP,MSUP,BCP,USDF,UP-C,SA,NJP,SBP,EDP,UPRD,RCP,NUP,SConP,SNLP,FWP,BC,NUDP,SDPCES,NRP,AA,UDPO,ADP,SLFOP,NSP,WBP,MP,NIF,SFLP,SUNP,UFP,UDP,SUF P,NPAP,HDP,MSOP,NASP,NRenP,SFNP,SANP,IMP,SNFO,USNP

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The tone of the reporting during electoral campaign has been generally either positive or neutral. Negative coverage has been very infrequent. The NCP and the SPLM mostly enjoy positive visibility, thus reinforcing the quantitative advantage they already enjoy in terms of exposure. The tendency to cover the two main parties in a favourable manner is also observed for radio channels, although they use a less positive tone than TV stations. Political parties other than NCP and SPLM are generally covered either neutrally or positively except for PCP, SPLM-DC and UNP which are covered with a slightly negative tone.

**Tone of the coverage for political actors on TV - aggregation by party**
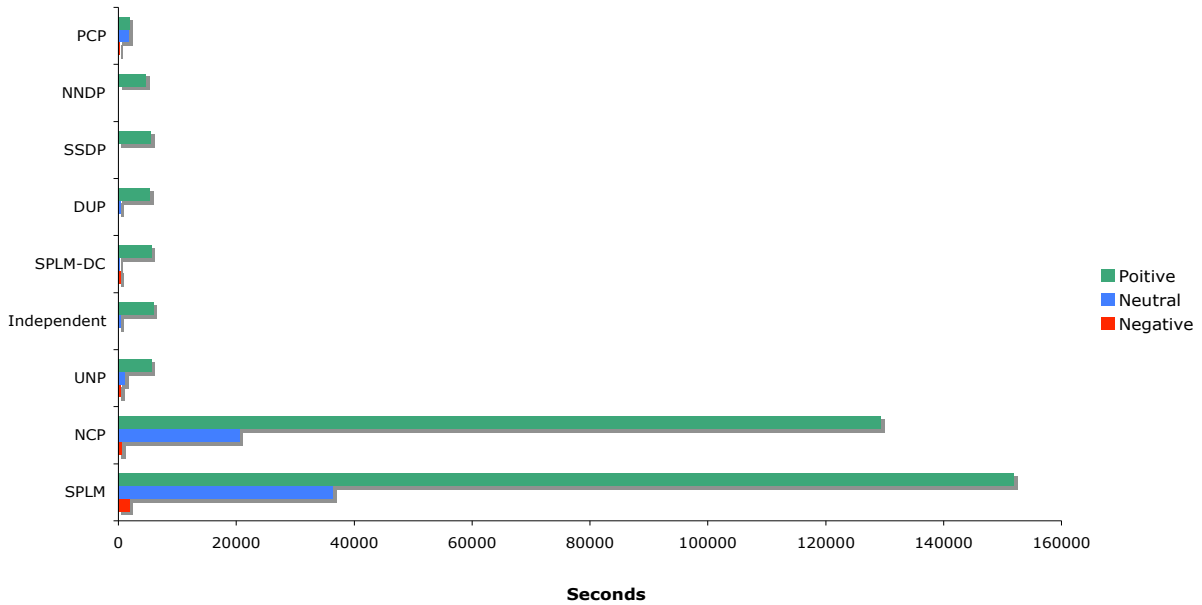
Tone of the coverage for political actors on Radio - aggregation by party
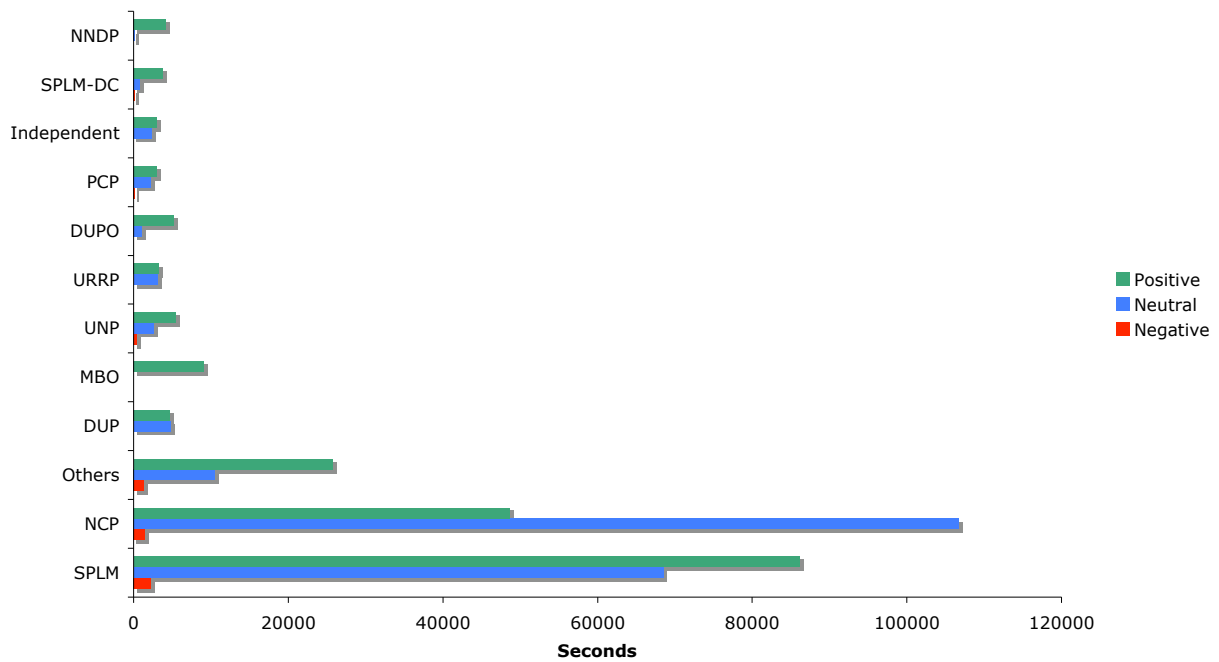
The journalistic focus on television and radio broadcasting throughout North Sudan has been mainly focused on the elections for the Presidencies and the National Assembly as widely shown in report 3, receiving respectively an average of 30.1% and 24.4% of the overall airtime on television and radio. In the media in Southern Sudan the GoSS Presidential candidates account for 23.9% of the coverage and the GoSS Assembly scores only 8.9%.

President Al Bashir is the political competitor who has received most coverage on North Sudan Televisions with an average of 62.6% of the overall airtime devoted to Presidential candidates. Yassir Arman receives an average of 21.3% of the overall airtime.

Allocation of time among presidential candidates on TV - National
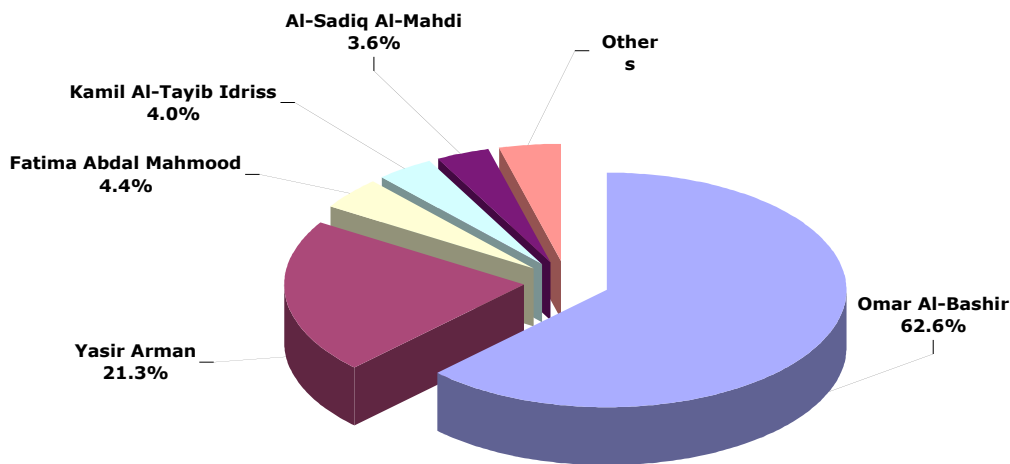
Basis: 1741 minutes

Allocation of time among presidential candidates on Radio - National

Basis: 1107 minutes

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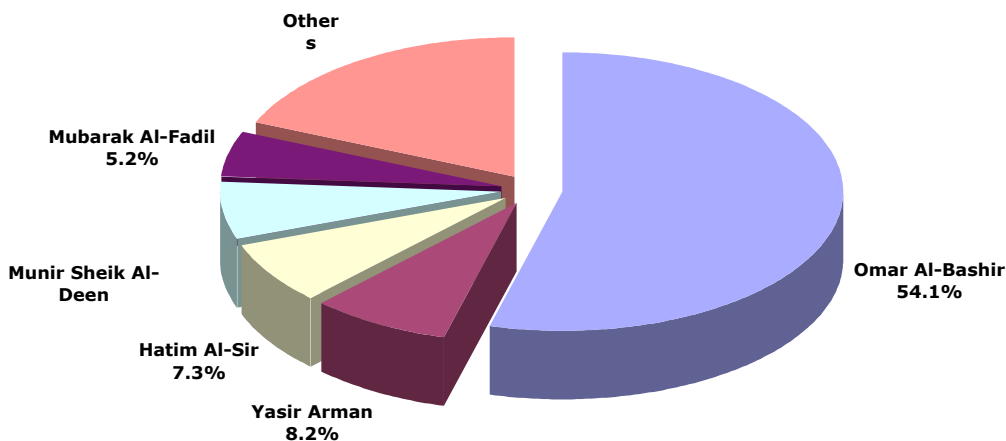
On radio the president has received the bulk of election coverage amongst the presidential candidates with 54.1% while the airtime devoted to the other competitors is more even: Yasir Arman 8.2%, Hatim Al-Sir 7.3%, Munir Sheik Al-Deen 6.5%, and Mubarak Al-Fadil 5.2%.

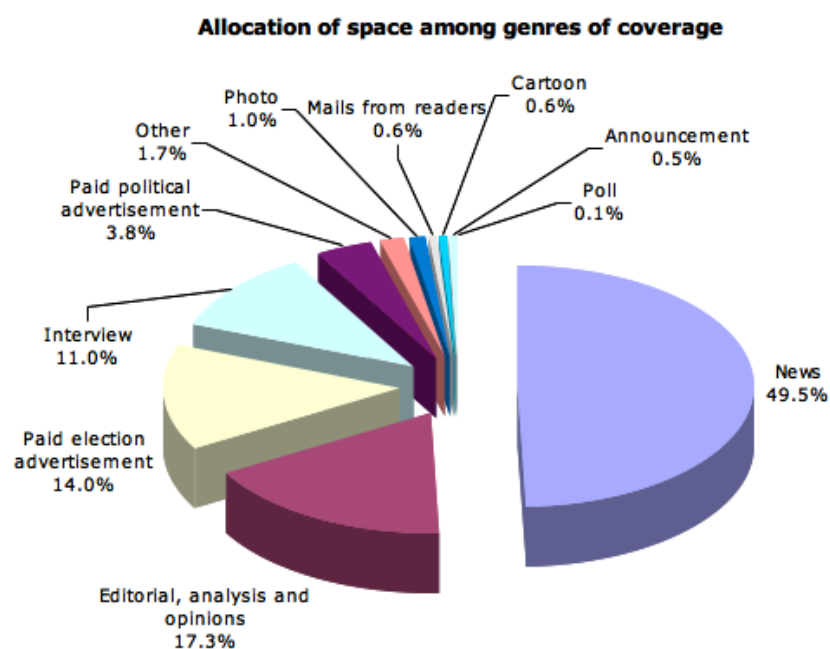The audiovisual media in the South gave a more uneven presentation of presidential candidates within the airtime allocated to the presidency campaign, in this case the GOSS presidency. President Salva Kiir was the most covered candidate receiving an average of more than 90% of TV airtime and 88 % on radio in all the audiovisual media monitored.

TV		Radio	
Actor	Total	Actor	Total
Lam Akol Ajawin	9.4%	Lam Akol Ajawin	11.4%
Salva Kiir	90.6%	Salva Kiir	88.6%
Total	100.0%	Total	100.0%
Total absolute values - 1043 minutes		Total absolute values - 600 minutes	

B. Quantitative analysis of the Print Press: coverage of the election campaign

The main format used by newspapers to convey information about the elections in the campaign period was the news format accounting for 49.5% of the total space used for election coverage in the newspapers.
The formats interviews, editorials, analysis, paid election advertising and paid political advertising have also been used significantly to convey information on the electoral campaign, as shown in previous reports.

Allocation of space among genres of coverage

Photo 1.0%
Mails from readers 0.6%
Cartoon 0.6%
Other 1.7%
Announcement 0.5%
Paid political advertisement 3.8%
Poll 0.1%
Interview 11.0%
News 49.5%
Paid election advertisement 14.0%
Editorial, analysis and opinions 17.3%

Basis: 1515308 cm2

The editorial coverage [5] of print media is concentrated on the two main parties, the NCP and SPLM who respectively received 41% and 24% of the overall space. The distribution of space confirms a polarisation of the coverage based on the geographical reach of each media outlet. The newspapers targeting Northern readers focus in their reports largely on the NCP with 45% of the total space, while print media targeting the Southern public allocated the largest amount of space to the SPLM with 44%.

Allocation of space amongst political actors – aggregation by party

PARTY	Space
NCP	41.66%
SPLM	24.55%
UNP	5.98%
Independent	5.42%
PCP	3.25%
DUPO	2.63%
SPLM-DC	2.56%
DUP	2.32%
SCP	1.87%
URRP	1.55%
JNA	1.34%
Other	6.88%
Total in absolute values – cm2	*1236483*

The neutral or positive tones are dominant for all political competitors, particularly in relation to the NCP and the SPLM. However, the data analysis shows a slight increase in the negative tone in the coverage about all the actors.

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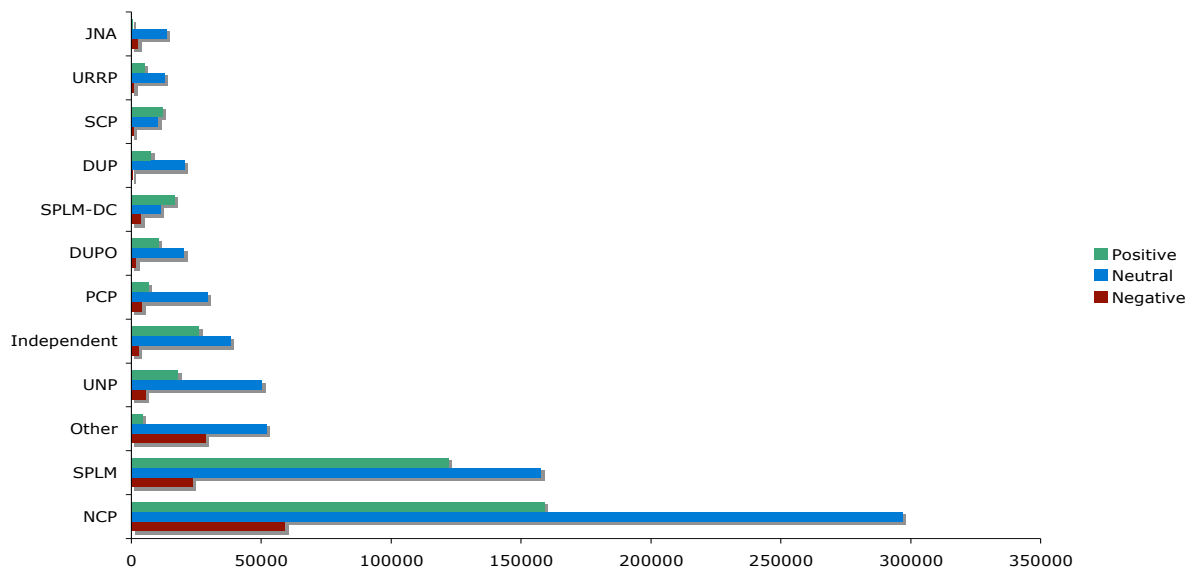
[5] This category includes any kind of coverage under the direct editorial responsibility of the media outlet: news articles, editorials, analysis and opinions, interviews, photos, cartoons as well as polls. It does not include: paid political and election advertisement, free airtime established by the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

The candidate for the national presidency being allocated the most space is President Al Bashir with 46% followed by Yasir Arman with 21% and by Al Sadiq Al Mahdi with 13%. The other candidates[6] for the national presidency were given very little space.

Allocation of space among Presidential candidates*

Others
18.7%

Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi
13.6%

Omar Al-Bashir
46.1%

Yasir Arman
21.6%

Basis: 398555 cm2
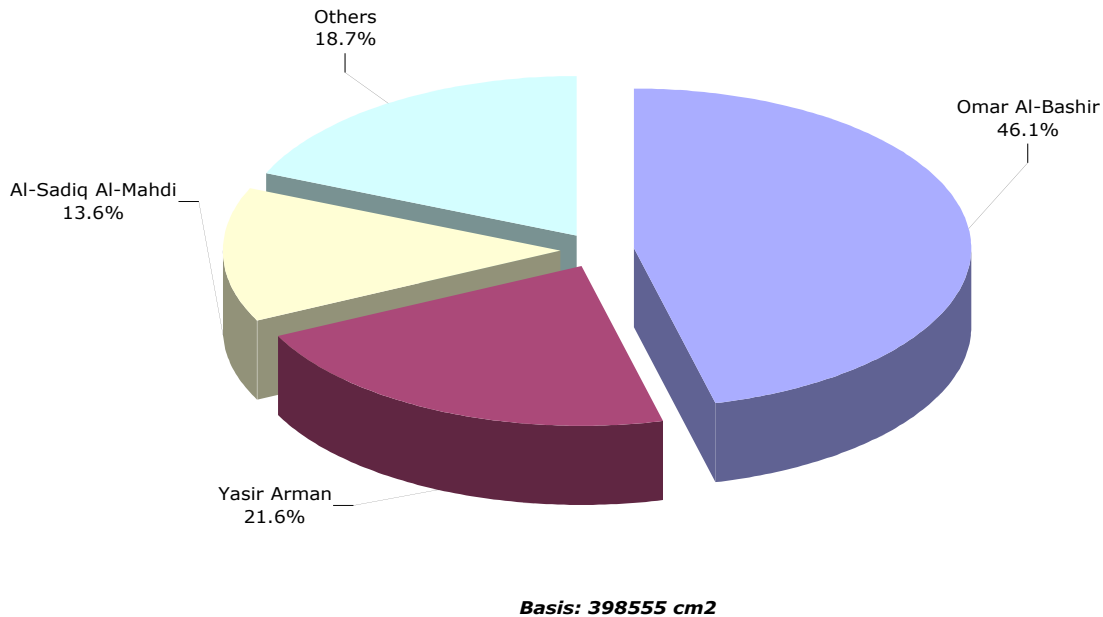
Between the two contestants for the GoSS Presidency, President Kiir has been most prominent in the print media during the campaign period with 68% of the overall space while his competitor, Lam Akol, received 34%. This trend was also apparent in previous monitoring reports as well.

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[6] The category "other" includes the candidates that received less than 4% of the coverage: Abdel-Aziz Khalid, Abdullah Deng Nhial, Fatima Abdal Mahmood, Hatim Al-Sir, Kamil Al-Tayib Idriss, Mahmoud Ahmed Jiha, Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud, Mubarak Al-Fadil, Munir Sheik Al-Deen.

C. Coverage of Female Candidates and Women's Issues

The editorial coverage of audiovisual media shows that women (female candidates or candidates on women's issues) continue to receive extremely limited exposure with an average of 6% for both TV and radio with a minor increase of 2% on television in comparison to the last monitoring period.

The women represented are party leaders, governors or other local government representatives, as well as members of the National Government.
SSTV, Blue Nile, Khartoum State Radio, Omdurman Radio, Rumbek FM, SSR and Sudan TV are the outlets showing higher than average levels of coverage on women's issues.

Allocation of time to male and female politicians – TV and Radio
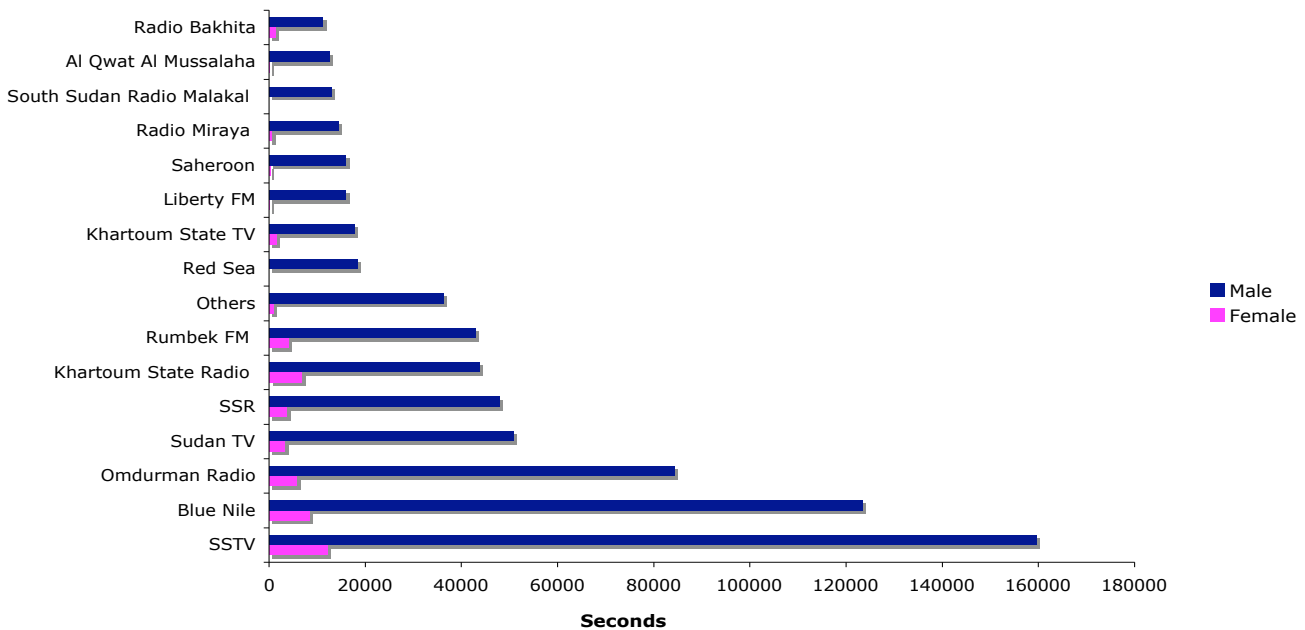
In the print press, women are allocated an average of 3.5% of the overall editorial space devoted to politics and elections, while their male counterparts received 96.5%.

Ajras Al huriah, Al Sahfa, Citizen, Akhbar Alyoum and Akhir Lahza are the newspapers devoting more space than the overall average to women. Women's visibility is often related to prominent roles and positions in the political sphere such as in the National Government or at party cadres' level.

Allocation of space to male and female politicians

Basis: *1070679 cm2*

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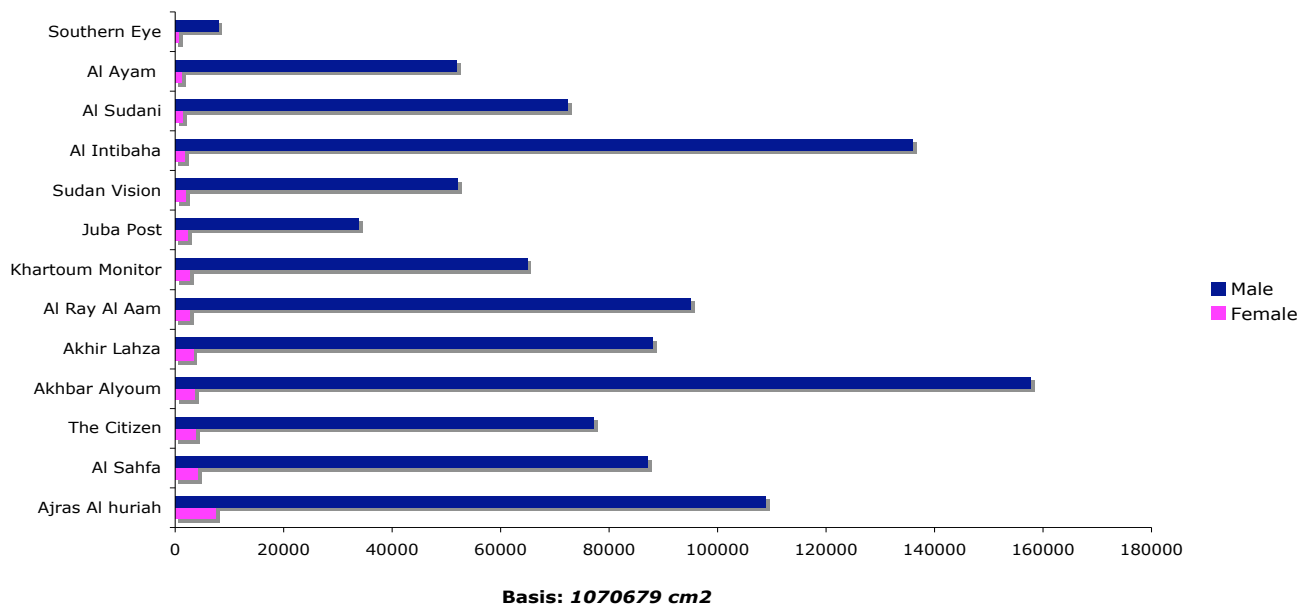
D. Qualitative analysis of the media's coverage of the electoral campaign

The media have provided ample information about the contestants and parties over the electoral campaign period from 13 February – 9 April using a variety of formats and programmes for the coverage. The electoral campaign coverage was mainly presented in news, opinion and analysis formats in the newspapers. Similar to the print media, audiovisual media devoted a huge amount of information to the contestants and parties over the electoral campaign period using a variety of formats and programmes for the coverage. For broadcast media, news and free airtime were the main formats used to target audiences.

The quantitative data shows that 76% of the total paid advertisement space was devoted to only three candidates: Omar Al-Bashir (48%), Salva Kiir (14%) and Lam Akol (14%). Sometimes newspapers gave these candidates a full page of advertisement space.

This confirms a polarisation of the coverage based on the geographical reach of the print media. The newspapers targeting Northern readers largely focus their coverage on the NCP, while print media targeting the Southern public allocate most space to the SPLM. In both geographical areas, other political parties received limited attention compared to the two main parties. The print media monitoring results also show that both National and GoSS government officials take advantage of their institutional roles to gain additional visibility through staged events.

Election-related news intensified at the end of the campaign period following the withdrawal of the national presidential candidate Yassir Arman (SPLM), the boycott of the elections by a number of parties and the withdrawal of other national presidential candidates from Northern parties[7]. This news became the main item of the day in all media outlets in both Northern and Southern Sudan. Other topics included: achievements and targets reached, the problems and challenges facing a fair election process, the return of some parties to the electoral race; (the boycott of) elections in Darfur; the threats to withdraw from the elections put forward by some of the political parties and candidates; the threat of President Al-Bashir to postpone the referendum if the election was postponed; postponement statement by the Carter Center and follow up news items linked to this and finally; the arrangements of the electoral process in Sudan states and the deployment of international observers in the states.

South Sudan TV dedicated most of its airtime to the SPLM candidates. The campaigns of opposition parties as well as independent candidates hardly featured in the coverage. A mix of biased reporting and a lack of professionalism was shown by South Sudan TV in its news bulletins, where news readers read out the news headlines followed by a non-stop campaign transmission mainly for SPLM candidates.

At television stations broadcasting from Khartoum, but also in other types of media, members of the government running as candidates in the elections benefited from their positions by receiving a large amount of airtime. Government members and candidates used the launches of various projects carried out in their capacity as government officials to promote their own candidacies and achievements. Examples of this took place at the opening of medical centers and at the opening of the Meroe dam.

Other cases of lack of professionalism displayed in the coverage of the electoral campaign were found in print media. A number of newspapers covered candidates' rallies without mentioning their names. In other cases spelling mistakes and incorrectly labelled photos of candidates were observed. Lack of professionalism was also identified in articles presented as news articles, but which in fact were opinion pieces by journalists, a recurring occurrence in media all over Sudan. In Southern Sudan, the distribution system of newspapers also showed its failures. On 4 April, main newspapers such as

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[7] Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi, Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud, Mubarak Al-Fadil, Yasir Arman.

Citizen, Khartoum Monitor and Sudan Vision were not available on the street.

Music and drama played an important role in the campaign and for voter education via the media. Some of the candidates used drama or music to attract the attention of voters. For instance, a song about SPLM was played as an interlude on South Sudan Television. A song citing the words 'the elections have come and people should go out and vote' was played at radio stations as part of voter education. Drama episodes or series showed the importance of voting, including topics such as the process of voting for blind people and the guarantee that casting a vote is private.

The coverage of voter education has been limited in the media during most of the electoral campaign and only increased significantly in the weeks leading up to the elections. The space devoted to voter education is mainly in the format of paid advertisements published by the National Elections Commission (NEC). Training in election procedures conducted by the NEC has been covered and broadcast by SSTV. Print media gave space to NEC to elaborate on voting procedures. Radio stations used different formats for voter education such as talk shows, debates, music and drama. Some programmes were sponsored by NEC. Media monitoring results showed that some news items portrayed the NEC negatively, as Juba National Alliance (JNA) continued to attack NEC thoughout the campaign period and accused NEC of being a body of the NCP and labelled it corrupt.

One of the main target audiences for voter education was women, urging them to exercise their rights and participate in the political process by voting. Women featured in media coverage as opinion makers in relation to the election. They were also invited onto talk show programmes on the radio and some wrote editorials in print media. Women's issues have been mainly covered vis-a-vis the campaigning of female candidates looking at the challenges they face.

While the quantitative data on the coverage of female politicians and the gender programmes of candidates shows limited exposure, the qualitative data on the coverage of issues linked to women such as reproductive health, the role of women in a democratic system, the need to increase women's role in politics and empowerment issues is more positive. Media have not been patronising in their coverage of women's issues. Via the media the United Nations Development Fund for Women advocated for the support of female candidates in the elections within the theme 'support her, vote for her, elect her'. Some media stressed the strengths of female candidates: Voters were encouraged to vote for women because 'they are not law makers, but peace makers in society'.(Bakhita FM, 6 April)

Like the previous media monitoring report showed, there has been an evident increase in the number of hate speech episodes as the elections neared and the campaign language and tone intensified. The inflammatory language generally involved political parties and candidates that were both the main sources and the main targets[8] of the hate speech. In many cases, statements do not as such fall under the category of hate speech, but the tone of politicians and candidates was aggressive. This was for instance the case when candidates in the Lakes States threatened to shoot citizens and dismiss their chiefs if they did not vote for them (Bakhita FM, news).

Examples that fall under the category of hate speech included opinion pieces or analyses directed towards parties or political actors, accusing them of 'killing Southern tribes', of being 'traitors' and 'dirty minded politicians'. The category "calls for violence or tension" included statements by political actors or journalists such as 'we will cut their [observers] fingers off, put them under our shoes and throw them out', 'tear down the national flag of Sudan' and general calls for or against an Islamic State.

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

E. Day of Silence during elections - 10 April 2010

It is stipulated in the National Elections Act that political parties should respect a period of silence regarding electoral campaigning[9]. This period of silence is 24 hours prior to the opening of the polls.

This rule was violated on a large scale by political parties and actors, especially in the print media and television stations. During the silence day both audiovisual and print media reported the campaigning of many political actors and parties. They mainly concentrated on reporting the statements of members of political parties such as NCP, SPLM DUP and DUPO.

The monitoring results showed that newspapers continued to cover the election campaign of many candidates. There were paid electoral advertisements and some political parties and candidates received ample space in the coverage. Monitoring results also showed that media broadcast heavy criticisms against the opposition parties who boycotted the elections on the day of silence itself.

As Khartoum State TV was committed to the day of silence during the elections and continued to educate voters, other television stations violated the silence period by running items on the presidency campaigns and advertisements of some of the parties.

Most radio stations in Northern Sudan respected the silence day rules, as very few violations were recorded in the monitoring of coverage on 10 April. Election education and the news of the Sudanese Election Commission continued through all media.

It was also observed that officials carried out campaign-related activities which could have been postponed until after the elections, which were to be reported in different media outlets.

Radio

Radio Station	Violations observed
Military radio	Military radio broadcast statements by President Al-Bashir
Bakhita FM	The station Bakhita FM broadcast statements by SPLM member
Goss Radio/SSR	Evident support to SPLM and in GoSS race, particularly for Salva Kiir
Miraya FM	Miraya FM covered the main political actors, particularly news related to the President Omar Al-Bashir and GoSS candidate Salva Kiir.

TV

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[9] National Elections Act 2008, Art. 64 (3): 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.

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| TV Station	Violations observed
Sudan TV	Sudan TV broadcast paid electoral advertisements of all national presidency candidates
Blue Nile TV	Blue Nile TV broadcast paid electoral advertisements of DUP leader and devoted airtime to SPLM

Newspapers

Newspaper	Violations observed
Al Intibaha	Al Intibaha covered President Al-Bashir and Ali Karti's campaign
Al Ray Al Aam	Al Ray Al Aam covered President Al-Bashir's campaign
Al Sahafa	Al Sahafa covered El Merghani's (DUPO) campaign
Akhir Lahza	- covered the electoral campaign of NCP and DUP members - covered President Al-Bashir's campaign - covered Abdel Rahman El Khidir's (NCP) campaign
Al Sudani	Al Sudani published Mahjoub Erwa's paid electoral advertisement
Al Ayam	- covered the electoral campaign of both NCP and DUP - published statements by Mubarak El Fadil (withdrawn candidate for the National Presidency)
Ajras El Hurriya	Ajras El Hurriya published SPLM 's paid electoral advertisement
Akhabar Al youm	- covered President Al-Bashir's campaign - published statements by Salva Kiir, Yasir Arman and Mubarak Fadil - covered El Merghani's (DUPO) campaign
The Citizen	The Citizen widely reported statements by Salva Kiir and clear support for SPLM was observed - covered Yasir Arman's statement
Sudan Vision	Reported statements by Al-Bashir and Lam Akol.

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F. Hate speech in election coverage

During the monitoring period 13 February – 9 April, 259 cases of hate speech were recorded. This is 91 (35.1%) cases more than was recorded in the previous monitoring period (13 February – 21 March). The print media remain the main type of media through which hate speech messages are addressed, showing that 232 of 259 cases of hate speech recorded appear in print media. This is equivalent to 89.5 % of the total cases recorded. There is no noticeable increase in hate speech on TV and Radio observed in the latest monitoring period.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by month and by media sector
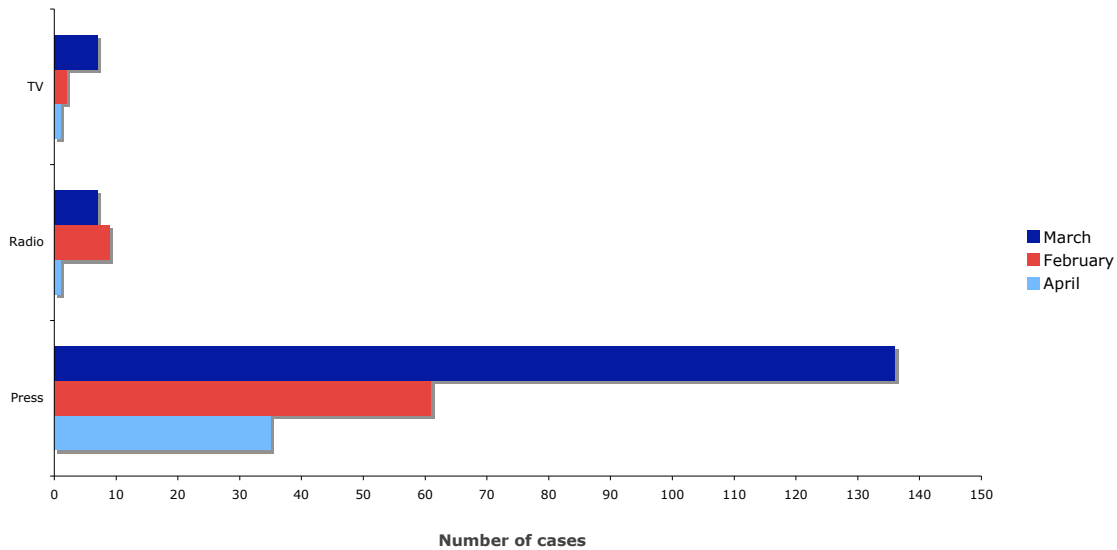
As the election drew closer, defamation cases increased substantially scoring a total of 192 episodes which is 64 more episodes than the previous period.
Although not as substantial as 'defamation', the categories 'call for violence', 'accusations of rigging' and 'other' show a marked increase. The emergence of other categories of hate speech was observed during the current monitoring period, such as: 'Call for tribalism' and 'call for religious intolerance'. This was not observed during the previous period of monitoring.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by category and by month

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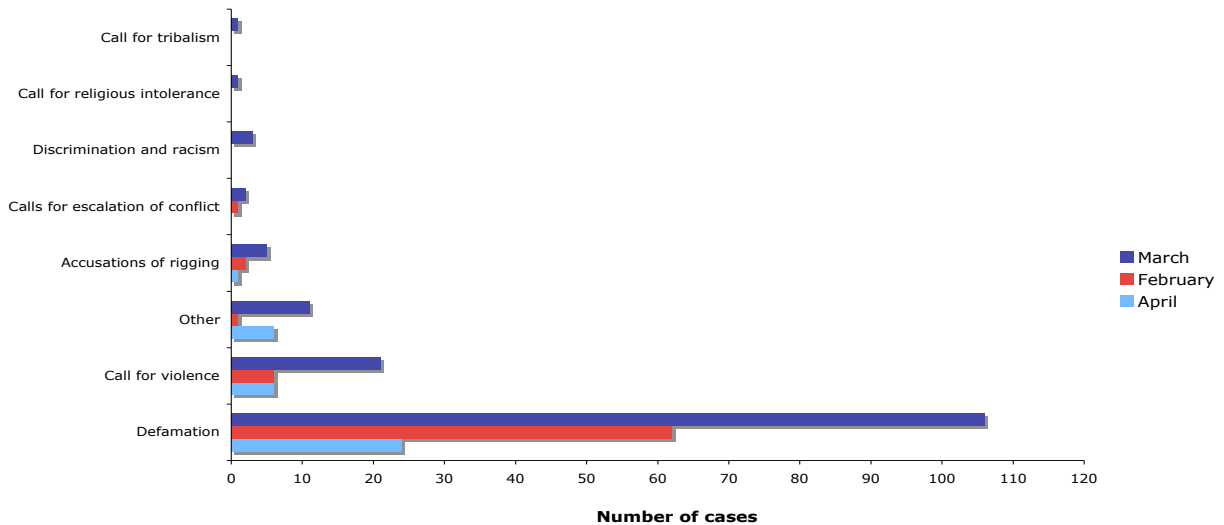
Distribution of cases of hate speech by target and by month
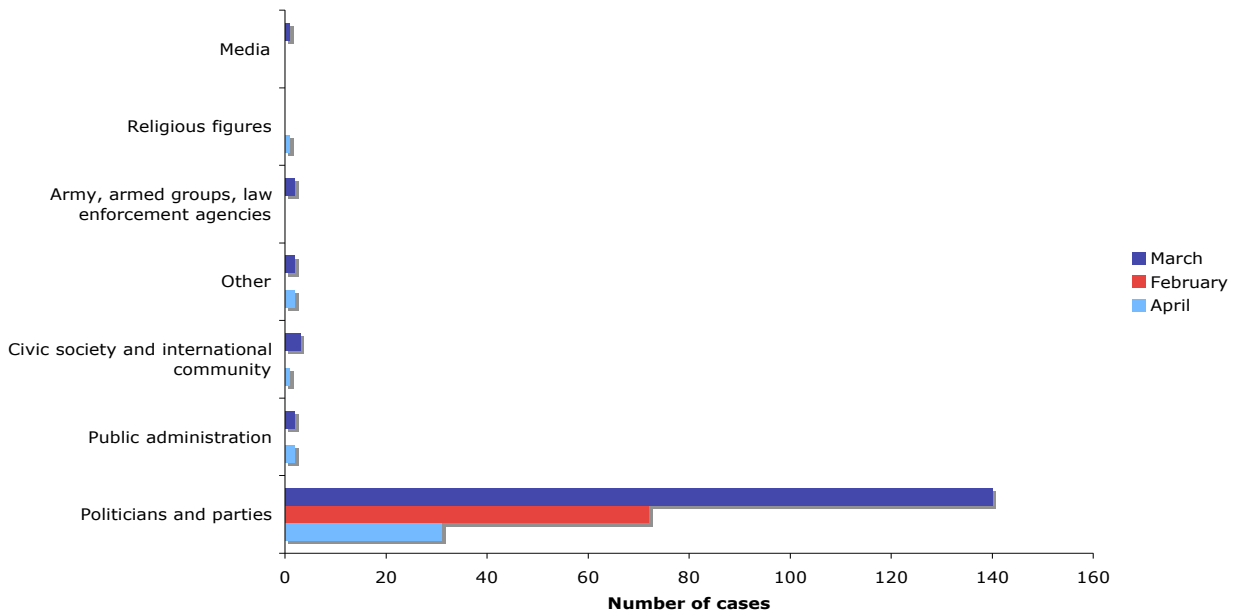
The analysis of the target shows that the category 'Politician and political parties' is the main target with 243 cases of hate speech over a total of 259 (93.8% of the total).

Politicians and political parties are also the main sources of hate speech with the highest number of hate speech episodes during the monitoring period. In fact, politicians and political parties are the source of hate speech in 136 out of a total of 260 cases observed.

Alongside the category 'politicians and the political parties', also the category 'media' as a source of hate speech increased strongly responsible for a total of 92 out of over 260 cases recorded.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by source and by month
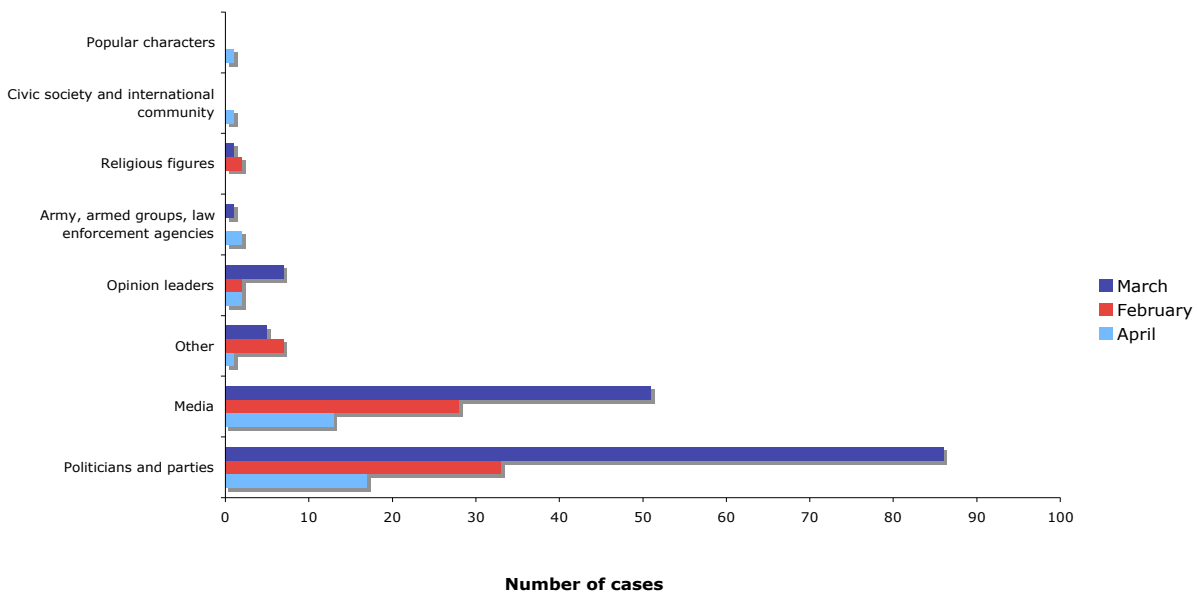
The data analysis revealed that 198 cases of hate speech were recorded under the geographical category 'National'. This means that most of the hate speech touches upon national issues, issues of concern to all the Sudan Republic and not only a certain geographical area. The next geographical category in which hate speech has been concentrated is Other[10] with 25 episodes - a full 173 cases less than in the 'National' category. The category 'Southern' follows in third place with 24 cases of hate speech recorded.

The geographical areas 'Central Equatoria' and 'Khartoum' saw seven and five episodes of hate speech respectively.

Distribution of cases of hate speech by area
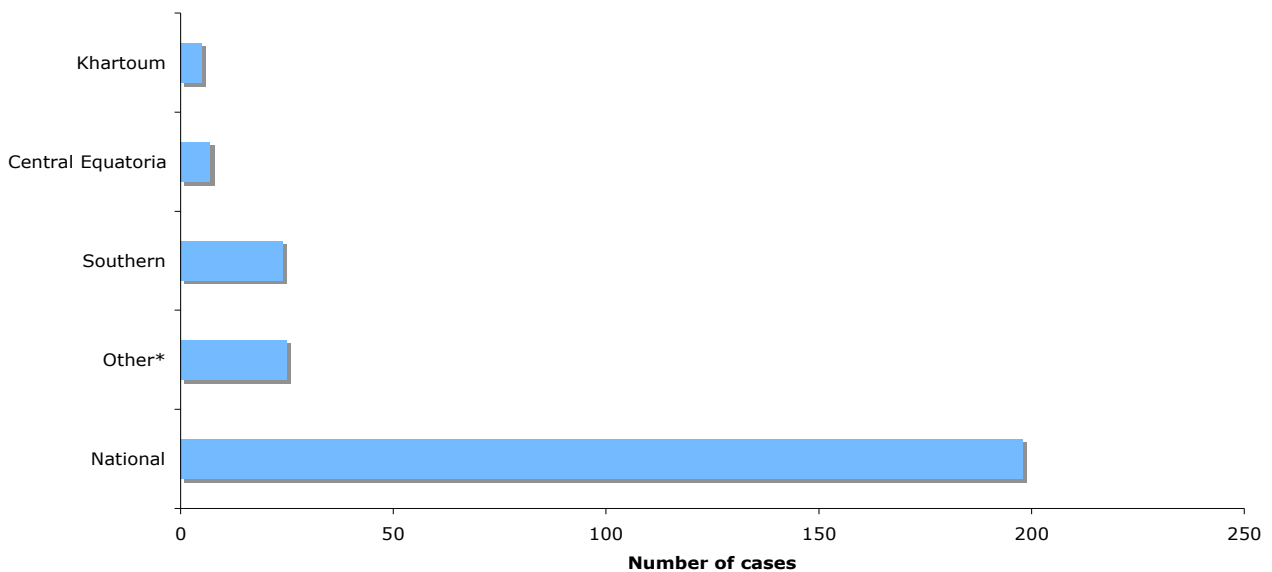
Number of cases

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

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[10] The category Other includes: Darfur, White Nile, Gezira, East Equatoria, Unity, Northern, West Equatoria, Warap, Jongoli, Lakes

Sudan Media and Elections Consortium

IV. Background on SMEC's media monitoring in Sudan

Structure

An important aim of this project is to build the Sudanese capacity in media monitoring. For that reason the choice was made to establish media monitoring centres in Sudan. The two main joint media monitoring units are in Khartoum run by SUDIA and in Juba at the premises of AMDISS[11]. There are seven media monitoring units at the state levels: in North Kordufan, North Darfur, Red Sea, Lakes, Eastern Equatoria, Upper Nile and Central Equatoria. All units are 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 Arab Working Group (AWG) are responsible for advising on the implementation of media monitoring operations and methodology. They are also responsible for controlling the quality of the media monitoring and the same time sharing their experience with the national teams in order to contribute to the capacity and the sustainability of the Sudanese media monitoring units. SUDIA in Khartoum and Norwegian Peoples Aid (NPA) in Juba handle the logistics and organisation of the units where International Media Support monitors and guides the overall project.

Methodology

All selected media are 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.

The methodology includes two main components: the monitoring of election and political coverage and the monitoring of hate speech. The monitoring of election and political coverage is based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis and aims to observe and assess the extent to which media provide fair and balanced coverage of politicians and other stakeholders within the electoral process, according to national laws, domestic regulations and professional codes of conduct as well as international best practices.

Quantitative analysis implies the selection of elements of the content of media output that can be counted and focused on the time and space allocated to different parties or candidates. Each mention of the subject is logged separately and the amount of time and space allocated is then recorded. Each mention is also classified in terms of the tone used when covering a political actor. The monitors then classify the assessment according to a three-value scale of positive, neutral and negative.

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

The second component, monitoring hate speech or inflammatory language - either reported or originated by the media themselves – aims to assess whether the media acted as agents of pacification or rather contributed to increasing any potential tension related to the elections. This exercise will lead to observing: whether the media publish or broadcast hate speech through and by any political speakers; whether the media themselves promote violence; which are the main sources of hate speech; and who are the target groups affected. [12]

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[11] AMDISS: Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan

[12] Hate speech can be defined as speech intended to foster hatred against individuals or groups based on race, religion, gender, sexual preference, place of national origin or other improper classification.

This category includes: inflammatory language, call for violence and conflict (invitations or calls to commit acts of violent nature against people and things), discrimination (invitations or calls denying the rights of certain groups on the basis of: age, tribal affiliation, ability, marital status, sexual orientation, economic level and religion), accusations of rigging (calls or messages alleging fraud and malpractices in the overall election process), call for tribalism and defamation (an act of communication that causes someone to be shamed, ridiculed, held in contempt, lowered in the estimation of the community, or to lose employment status or earnings or otherwise suffer a damaged reputation).

The quality and accuracy of the work is guaranteed through quality checks and the continuous guidance of experts in the field. All 37 Sudanese monitors are trained in the monitoring methodology in Juba and Khartoum. Directly after the training they began working in the units and in the states. The monitors measure time and space and rate the performance of the media on coding sheets. AWG advisors in Khartoum and Juba guide the mentors during this process and perform quality checks by double-checking data. After the data is entered into a database, the teams provide the qualitative analysis on the media, where Osservatorio carries out the data analysis of the data base input. Every two weeks the consortium publishes a report on the (preliminary) findings with a final report to be expected in June. The media monitoring reports are in English and in Arabic.

The selection of monitored programmes
The SMEC carries out media monitoring of four television stations, seventeen radio channels and thirteen newspapers on a daily basis[13]. The radio stations are recorded and monitored four hours in the morning and four hours in the evening. This can differ from station to station according to the hours of broadcasting. The television stations are recorded in the evenings. The hours monitored are selected based on prime time listenership and viewership. This means that programmes broadcasted beyond these hours are not monitored and therefore not included in the results. Programmes broadcasted beyond these hours are mainly music programmes, repetition and thematically sponsored programmes. Many radio stations are off the air during mid-day hours.

The media monitored have been selected according to a number of criteria, including territorial reach, estimated audience, target group of the media, variety of all media selected, a balance in private/state media and circulation. A balance of TV, radio and print media in the overall selection was another criterion. Web media are excluded from the monitoring due to limited reach in Sudan and the fact that web media are used by traditional media to channel news and information. A last criterion that has been used in the media selection is that broadcast media are operating from and in Sudan. As a consequence, some short wave radio stations operating from abroad were not included in the selection of media for monitoring. Monitoring of radio stations takes place in the state capitals, Juba and Khartoum where the broadcast signals that can be received. This means that some broadcast streams, such as the Darfur and Khartoum stream of Radio Miraya are excluded in the sample.

Legal framework for 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.
Rules specifying the necessary measures to guarantee the rights of all candidates and political parties to access the public media on the basis of equality and equal opportunities have been 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 the public media by all contestants. The time allotted to the presidential contestants in selected official radio and TV channels is 20 minutes, while those contesting for the office of the President of the Government of Southern Sudan would be allowed 13 minutes. Political parties are allotted 10 minutes. In addition, the Commission released a detailed list of rules and regulations that all political parties and independent candidates must adhere to, so as to ensure equal campaigning opportunities to electoral nominees.

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[13] Print 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

The NEC also issued the Professional Media Guidelines for Election Coverage and they conducted sensitisation workshops with the media and other stakeholders both in Khartoum and Juba. According to the instructions issued by the NEC, any candidate or party that makes a claim of having been defamed or injured by a media house, print or electronic, should be granted either the opportunity to reply or be entitled to a correction or retraction by the media house that made the alleged defamatory statement. The reply or correction should be made in approximately the same time period or space as the alleged defamatory statement. The guidelines also require journalists to operate in a way that upholds their highest professional ethical standards, in the exercise of their constitutional right of free expression, and in recognition of their social accountability.

Media legislation and context in Sudan
The current Sudanese legislation on media still lags behind international standards. The former Press and Publication Act made independent and critical journalism virtually impossible through a combination of harsh restrictions and sanctions and greater control by the government, especially by the President of the Republic. A government-appointed National Press Council (NPC) oversees print media, and each paper must register annually, thereby providing a control instrument for the authorities.
At the national level, a revised Journalism and Press Publications Bill was approved by the National Assembly in June 2009. The bill introduces an improvement such as less members of the National Press Council appointed by the President. But is still seen as a big step away far from promoting media freedom, and paves the way for media restrictions in certain circumstances.
In Southern Sudan, a consortium of national and international organizations[14] worked on new media laws over the last few years, building upon international human rights standards. This process included consultation with broader civil society and media practitioners. The bills have been processed for approval in Parliament. This process is still in its final stage.

Radio is the type of 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 stations in 18 of the 26 states. They relay the transmissions of Omdurman. The journalistic approach is limited due to the restrictive media environment. The Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) has inherited three medium-wave radio stations from the Khartoum government. Many radio stations work with aging equipment and their ability to receive and disseminate information is seriously curtailed. 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 little of their own production due to the lack of equipment, knowledge, capacity and funds. 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, is trailing behind radio. The government in Khartoum relays television programmes from Omdurman to various parts of Sudan. In Southern Sudan, there is no other prominent South Sudanese TV broadcaster beyond SSTV.
The print media sector in Northern Sudan is well-developed. Many publications are available in Khartoum and are technically professional. Despite channeling pluriform voices, the Arabic media operate in a political context. 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 where journalists were arrested, media are inclined to work within a restricted framework of press freedom.

The context of the media landscape in Sudan needs to be taken into account when analysing the findings of the media monitoring. The lack of equipment, infrastructure, capacity and/or skills create a

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[14] This consortium consisted of: International Media Support, Norwegian Peoples Aid, Association for Media Development Southern Sudan (AMDISS), Article IX, Olof Palme Institute.

situation where television stations in Northern Sudan use the footage of the national television broadcaster, where radio stations relay the programmes of the national radio broadcaster and where newspapers in Southern Sudan copy articles from each other. Also, journalists work as freelancers for more newspapers, having their articles printed in various papers. This happens in Khartoum as in the South. The restrictive media climate and history of the media culture has politicised the media, especially in North Sudan where media have become a political channel rather than a watchdog of society. In the South, the media sector is relatively young. Finally, it needs to be taken into account that the media monitoring is national, but reflects the size of the media sector in North versus South. During the last few months more than 11, 000 records have been entered into the database of the media monitoring unit in Khartoum (including Darfur, Kordofan, Red Sea). In Juba (including Central & Eastern Equatoria, Lakes and Upper Nile) about 6500 records have been entered in the database.

Annex 1 – List of abbreviations for political parties

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

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

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