



MEDIA MONITORING REPORT: A “MINUTE” OF ACCOUNTABILITY

INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION MISSION (IEOM), SOMALILAND LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTION 2012

On November 12, exactly the beginning of the third phase of the election campaign, a local, freelance consultant was commissioned to undertake a monitoring exercise of how both privately and publicly owned media outlets are covering the Somaliland 2012 local council elections. The media monitor, Mr. Hamse A. Khaire embarked this assignment alongside the International Election Observation Mission (IEOM). The consultant monitors 11 newspapers, 3 radios and 2 televisions.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On October 29th 2010, Somaliland's National Electoral Commission announced that the campaign for the 2012 local council elections is open for a period of 28 days. Within the campaign period, each political party and association will campaign once a week until the 25th of November – three days before the Election Day. On the 27th of November all political parties and associations are expected to respect the 'silence' day or the NO campaign provision before the Election Day.

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The overall aim of this monitoring is to assess the media performance in terms of coverage and professionalism. In other words, the monitor was trying to uncover whether Somaliland electorate are being assisted to make an informed political choice, access to media by different political subjects in order for them to communicate to the electorate, and whether editors have sufficient autonomy from both the political system and economic system.

Both print and electronic media dedicated a lot of space and time to election news. As the election-day got closer by the day, the president paid a number of visits to the east and west of the country and this news dominated both airwaves and print media front pages. Other major news item included the accusations from opposition parties that government officials are using state funds to campaign for the ruling party's candidates, and the complaints of Berbera and Burao traditional leaders about the number of polling stations.

It is noteworthy that this report is just a snapshot of how the mass media acted during the pre-election period including the 28-days campaign period.¹

¹ Note that the monitoring assignment was formally commenced in the second round of the campaign period.

PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

PRINT MEDIA OUTLETS

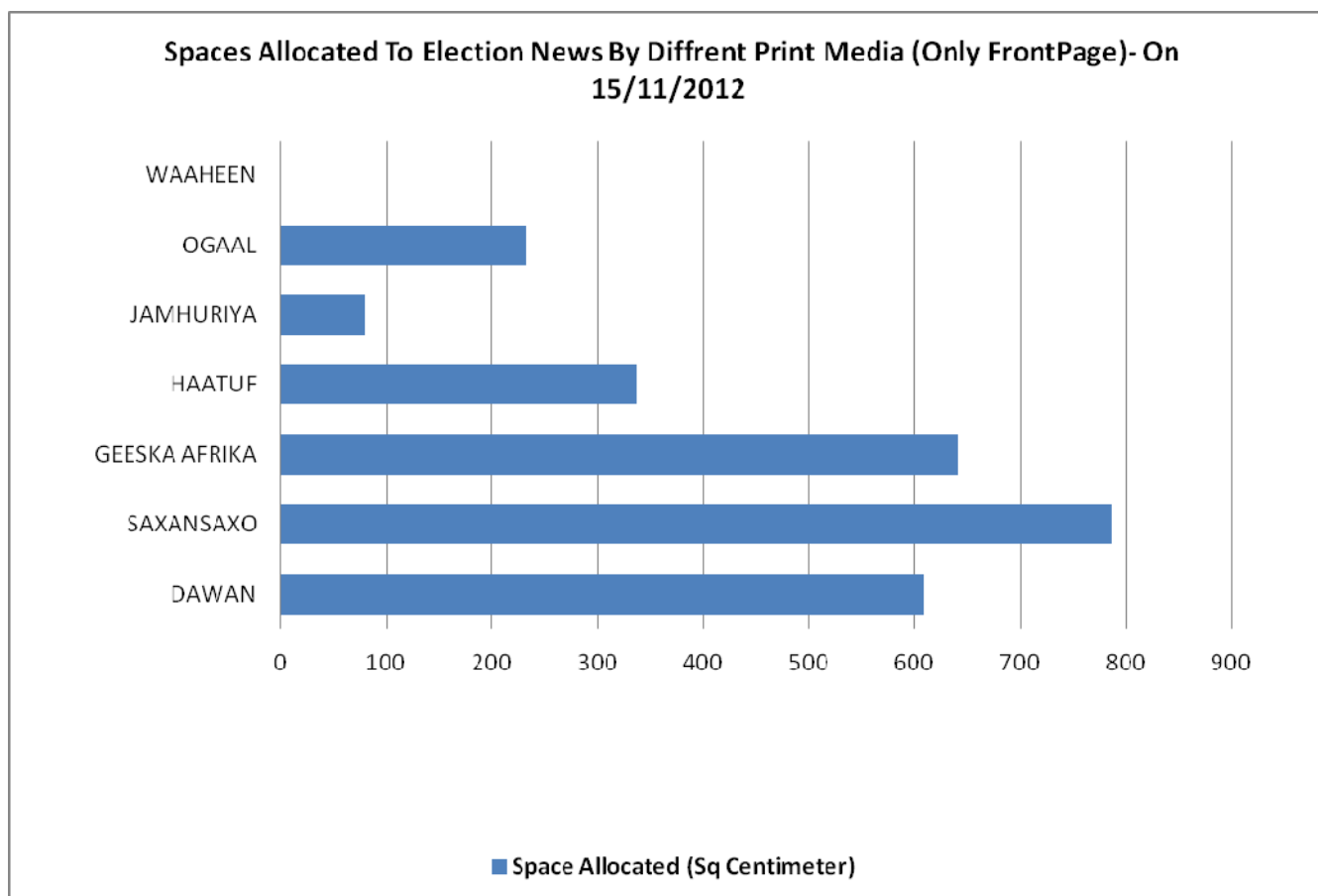
VOLUME OF THE COVERAGE FOR POLITICAL ACTORS BY PRINT MEDIA

As part of this interim report, the media monitor randomly selected the media prints and broadcasts on the 15th of November 2012 by analyzing the leading Journals published that particular day namely; DAWAN, JAMHUURIYA, GEESKA AFRIKA, SAXANSAXO, WAAHEEN & OGAAL. These newspapers were selected based on the breadth of their readership and geographical outreach.² Only front page space and the order of items were analyzed to give the reader of this report a feel of the media's coverage of the election.

On November 15th the print media has differently covered the election issues. The aforementioned newspapers were famous in writing editorials, articles and news items on elections. SAXANSAXO, GEESKA AFRIKA, DAWAN and HAATUF devoted a large space to election news. People were used to vigorously interest in what the media publishes. Except DAWAN newspaper, all other papers are privately owned. DAWAN has comparatively lower readership than the other newspapers. While its readership is limited to government circles, it should also be noted that DAWAN's coverage is freely distributed to ministries and other readers.

There have been concerns by the civil society on how the media will cover the election news. As a result, there was a number of times the local mass media was sensitized with the significance of their role in free, fair and peaceful elections. On behalf of the most of the media groups and practitioners, SOLJA (Somaliland Journalists Association) has repeatedly pledged to remain impartial and objective. The media was part of the signed code of conduct. The political parties and associations arrived at an agreement on the Electoral Code of Conduct. Later on, there have been concerns shown by some of the parties. UCID confirmed their concerns over the possibility of real implementation of the Electoral Code of Conduct. No feedbacks were given to the complaints and claims of UCID. Therefore, things went on without both interruption and consideration of UCID's accusations.

² An IRI opinion poll last year showed that Jamhuuriya, Geeska Afrika, Saxansaxo and Haatuf are the leading journals in Hargeisa.



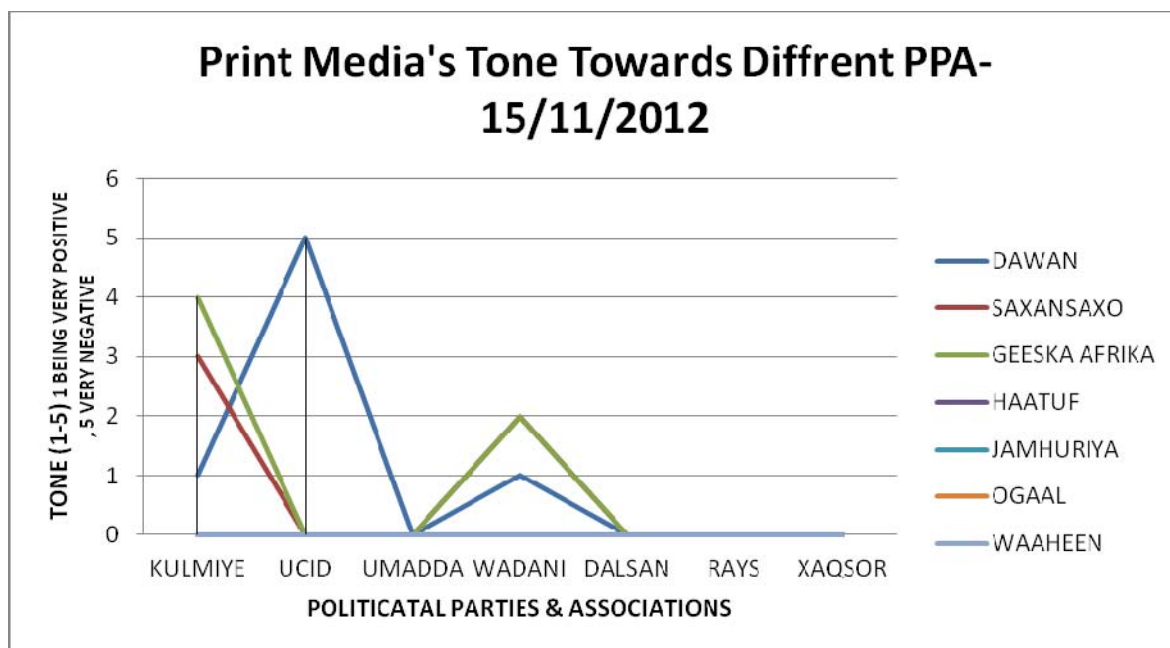
FREQUENT ISSUES DOMINATING PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

- Complaints about limited number of polling stations (Eastern Regions & Berbera)
- The Arrest of UMMADDA Party Candidates in Las-Anod and the denial of the Police Chief of Commander.
- Opposition Party's accusation of government bribing their popular Candidate to quit (Ummadda & UCID). In Burao 5 candidates of UCID abandoned their candidacy.
- President's Travel from Burao, Berbera to Borama.
- Accusations that Government Officials are campaigning for the ruling party candidates by using public resources. This accusation's center was SOLNAC's (Somaliland National AIDS Commission) director of finance and administration. Others included the director of the Civil Service Commission (CSC) defending the accused officials.
- JAMHURIYA Newspaper is accused of being pro-government by Jamali Ali (UCID Presidential Candidate) after JAMHURIYA wrote about Jamal threatening to start a civil war if UCID fails. Jamal denies saying this, JAMHURIYA defending itself.
- The accusation of Gabose, the leader of the UMMADDA party, that government is passing law no 59 which severely undermines basic rights of freedom of expression, privacy and other rights.

- The incident of SOOL whereby the vice chairman of XAQSOOR party is kidnapped by armed militia one day before the election day. Mr. Sandule has been released without any injuries.
- UCID's announcement that it will not respect the code of conduct.
- The campaigns of different political parties has also been featured by different media outlets.

WHO IS HARSH TO WHOM? A QUICK LOOK AT THE TONE OF THE COVERAGE

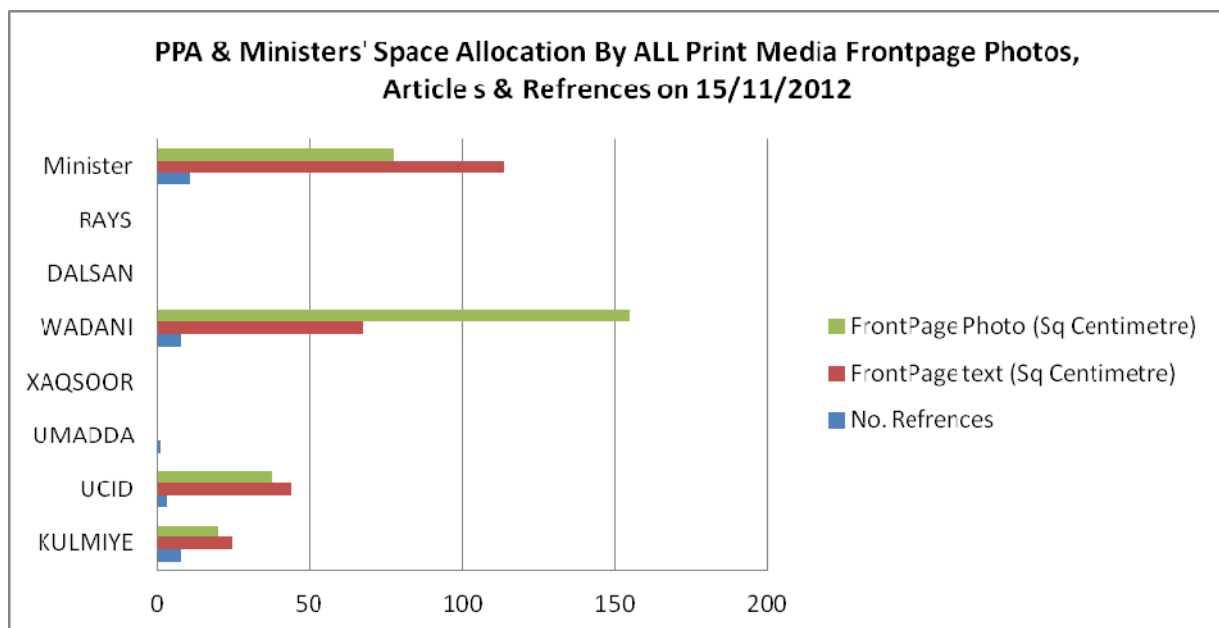
By looking at different newspapers on the same day (15 November), the monitor felt that the tone of the coverage varies from one press to another depending on the target or the subject of the news item. UCID political party in general and its 2015 presidential candidate Jamal Ali Hussein received a negative and biased coverage from DAWAN, the publicly funded newspaper (see the chart below) while KULMIYE enjoyed more favorable (very positive) coverage from DAWAN. On the other hand, the second leading newspaper, GEESKA AFRIKA seemed to be negative with the ruling party of KULMIYE. WADANI, however, is covered with a positive coverage by both DAWAN and GEESKA AFRIKA. Other parties were not covered on that particular day.



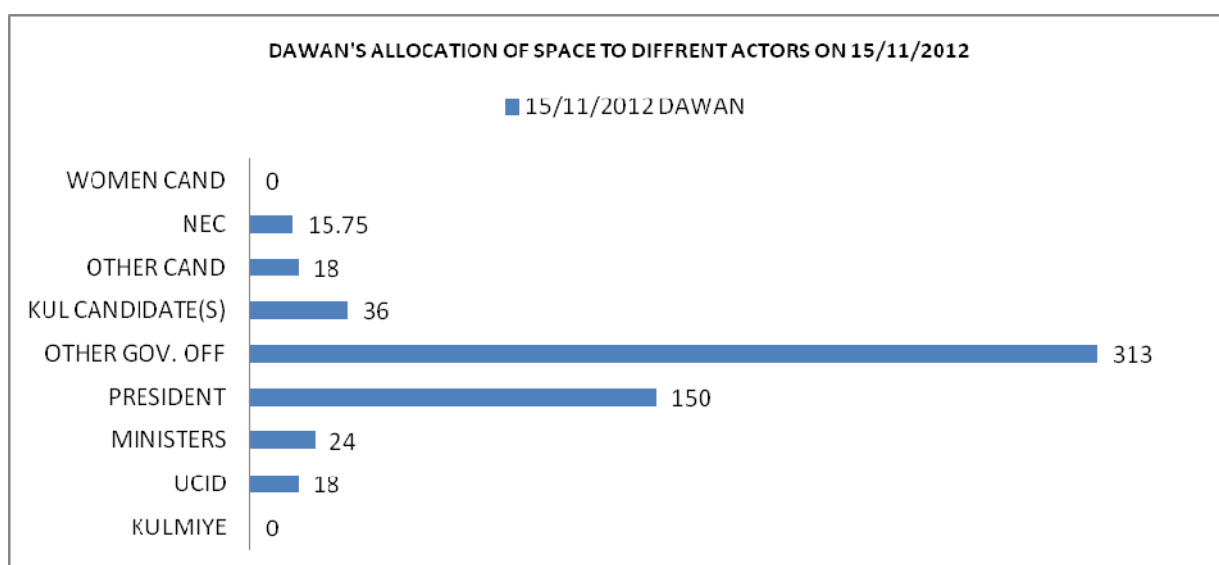
STRIKING A BALANCING POINT: FRONTPAGE COVERAGE BY PARTIES & ASSOCIATION BY PHOTOS, ARTICLES AND REFERENCES.

As the charts below show, the coverage of different parties by different newspapers is not balanced. WADANI Political Association received a wider coverage of front page photos and articles. KULMIYE and UCID also received a notable front page photos, articles and references. UCID's coverage, though large in space, is spoiled by the negative tone as we saw earlier.

Compared with the front page coverage received by ministers on different journals all political parties (both opposition and ruling party) are disadvantaged in terms of front page photos, articles and references. On one hand, one should expect a much larger coverage for ministers and the president as they conduct their ordinary routine state affairs, on the other hand journalists and editors are obliged to strike a balance in covering different stakeholders at all times in general and in election periods in particular.

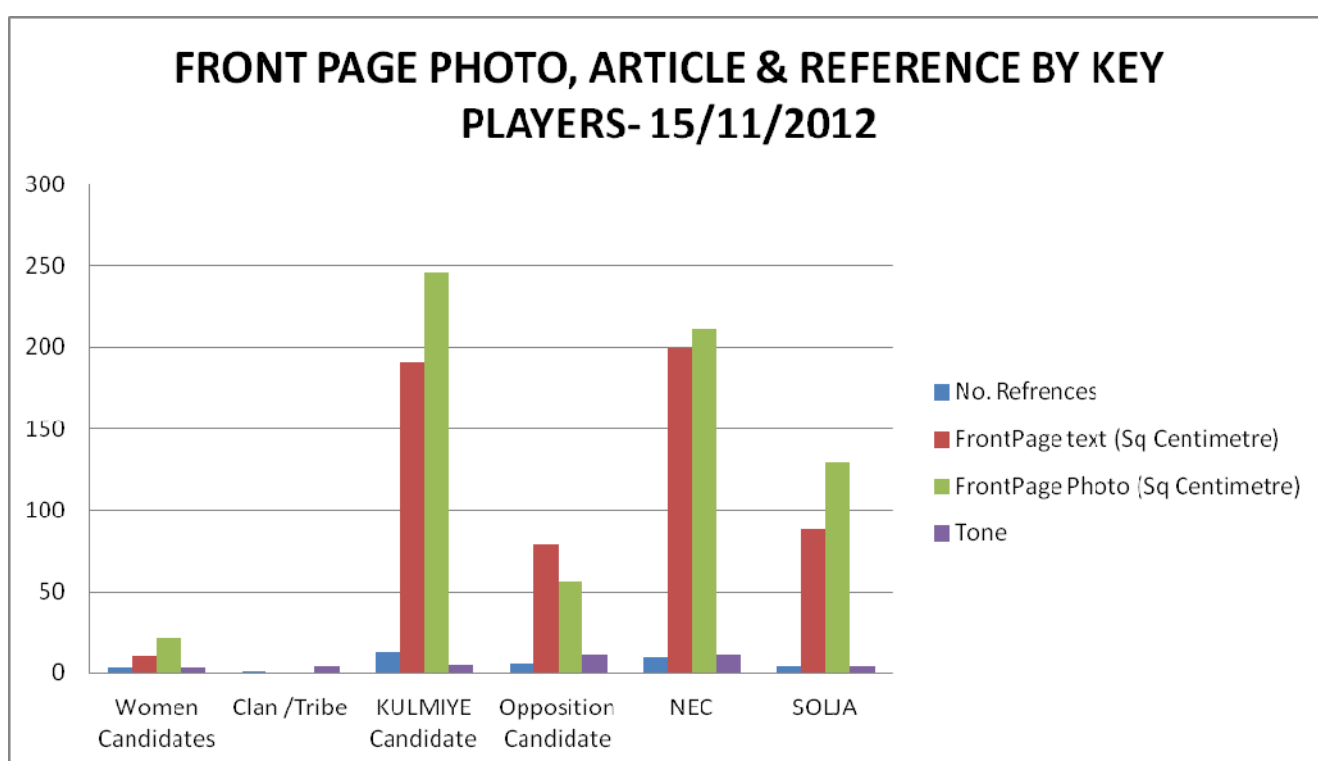


A more balanced impartial and objective tone is expected from editors of publicly funded media outlet. The chart below dissects DAWAN's coverage in its 15th November edition. As the chart below shows, significant space is devoted to the government in general and the president's visit, ministers and other government officials (directors and others) in particular.



ALL PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE & TONE BY KEY PLAYERS – WOMEN CANDIDATES, NEC, SOLJA, OPPOSITION CANDIDATES & RULING PARTY CANDIDATES.

The media monitor also quickly assessed whether different political actors are enjoying equal access to print media outlets. As the chart below shows, female candidates are least featured in front pages or rarely referred to. NEC & SOLJA have been covered well with more favorable tone. Significant difference in access to media has been noted when it comes to opposition parties' candidates against the ruling party's candidates in all print media (both private and public). This observation coupled with the accusation of opposition political party leaders such Faisal A. Warabe of UCID and Dr. Mohamed Abdi Gabose of UMMADDA, the monitor feels that further analysis and explanation should be sought.



ELECTRONIC MEDIA OUTLETS: RADIO HARGEISA'S (RH) ELECTION COVERAGE

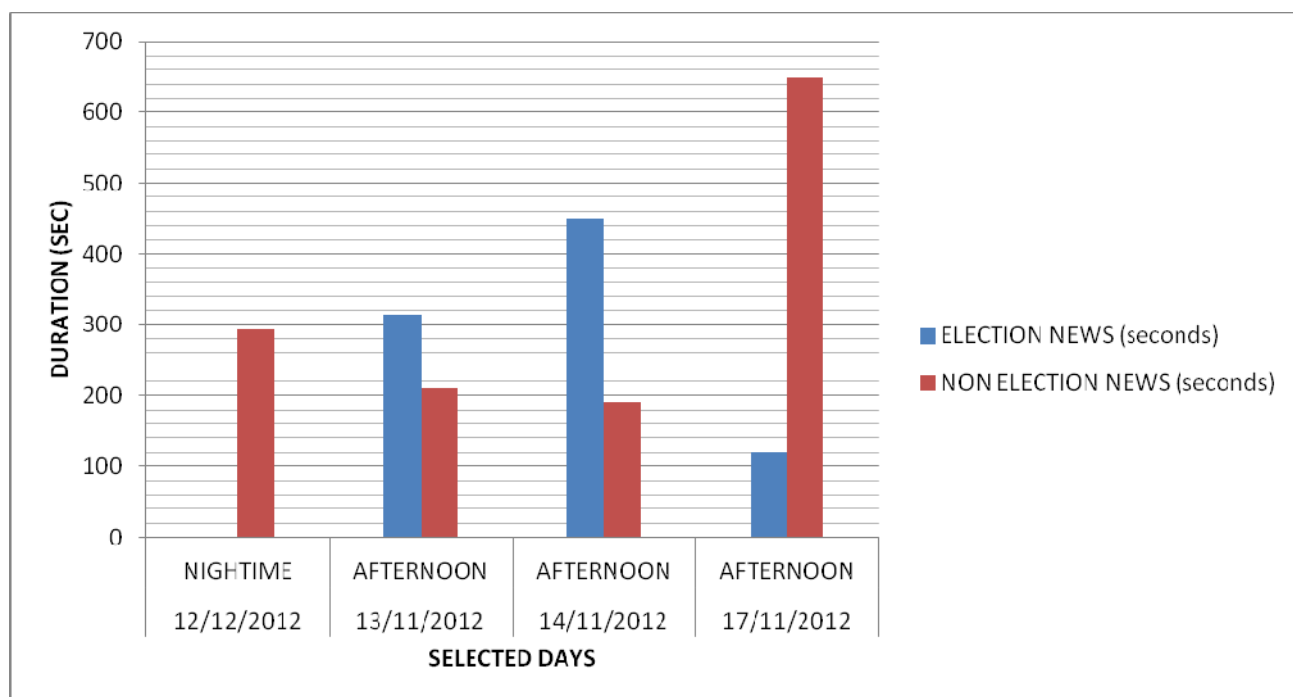
The media monitor selected three days' news to see if the only Radio station, the only licensed radio based in Somaliland, is covering elections and how. The preceding fact, that Radio Hargesia is the only radio station in the country, combined that Radio Hargeisa is funded with tax payers' money makes it a priority observation subject. Below are the specific days selected for analysis.

Radio Hargeisa: Allocation of Airwaves By Political Parties & Associations

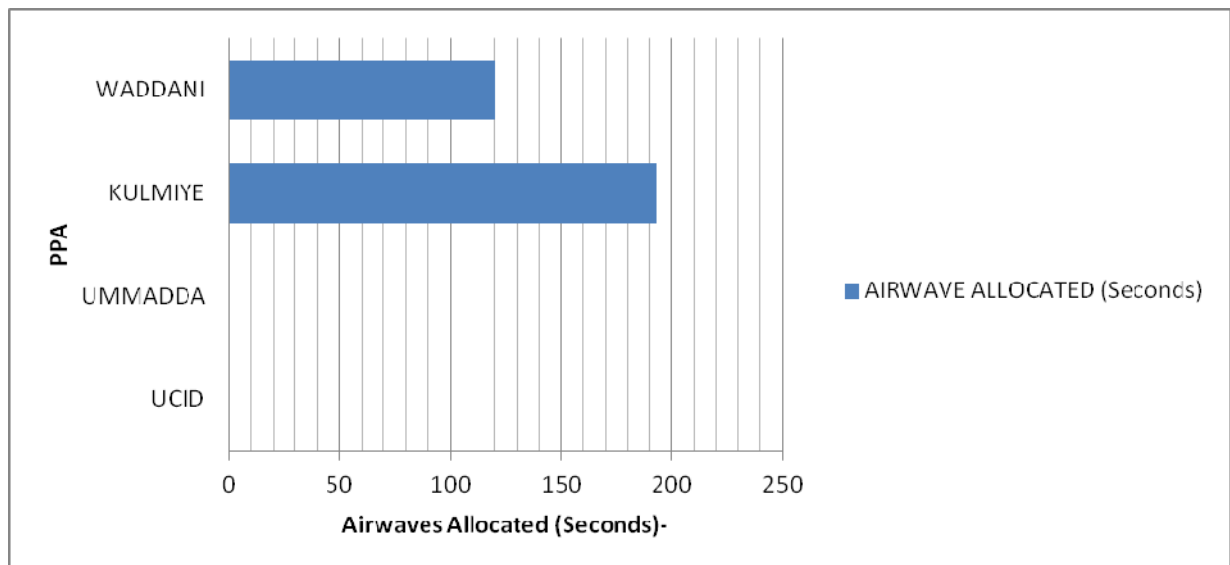
RADIO HARGEISA ELECTION COVERAGE- 4 SAMPLE NEWS

DATE	NEWS TIME	ELECTION NEWS (seconds)	NON ELECTION NEWS (seconds)	TOTAL AIRTIME (Seconds)	PARTY SCHEDULED TO CAMPAIGN
12/12/2012	NIGHTTIME	0	293	293	UCID
13/11/2012	AFTERNOON	314	210	524	UMMADDA
14/11/2012	AFTERNOON	450	191	641	KULMIYE
17/11/2012	AFTERNOON	120	649	769	WADDANI
Total		884	1050	1,934.00	

Even though the pre-election campaign was at its peak, Radio Hargeisa devoted more news to non-election related news.



On 12th and 13th November the two political associations of UCID and UMMADDA were scheduled to campaign and supposedly receive equitable airwave allocation of their campaign. This, however, did not happen. On the other hand KULMIYE and WADANI on their campaign days were covered well (see the chart below).



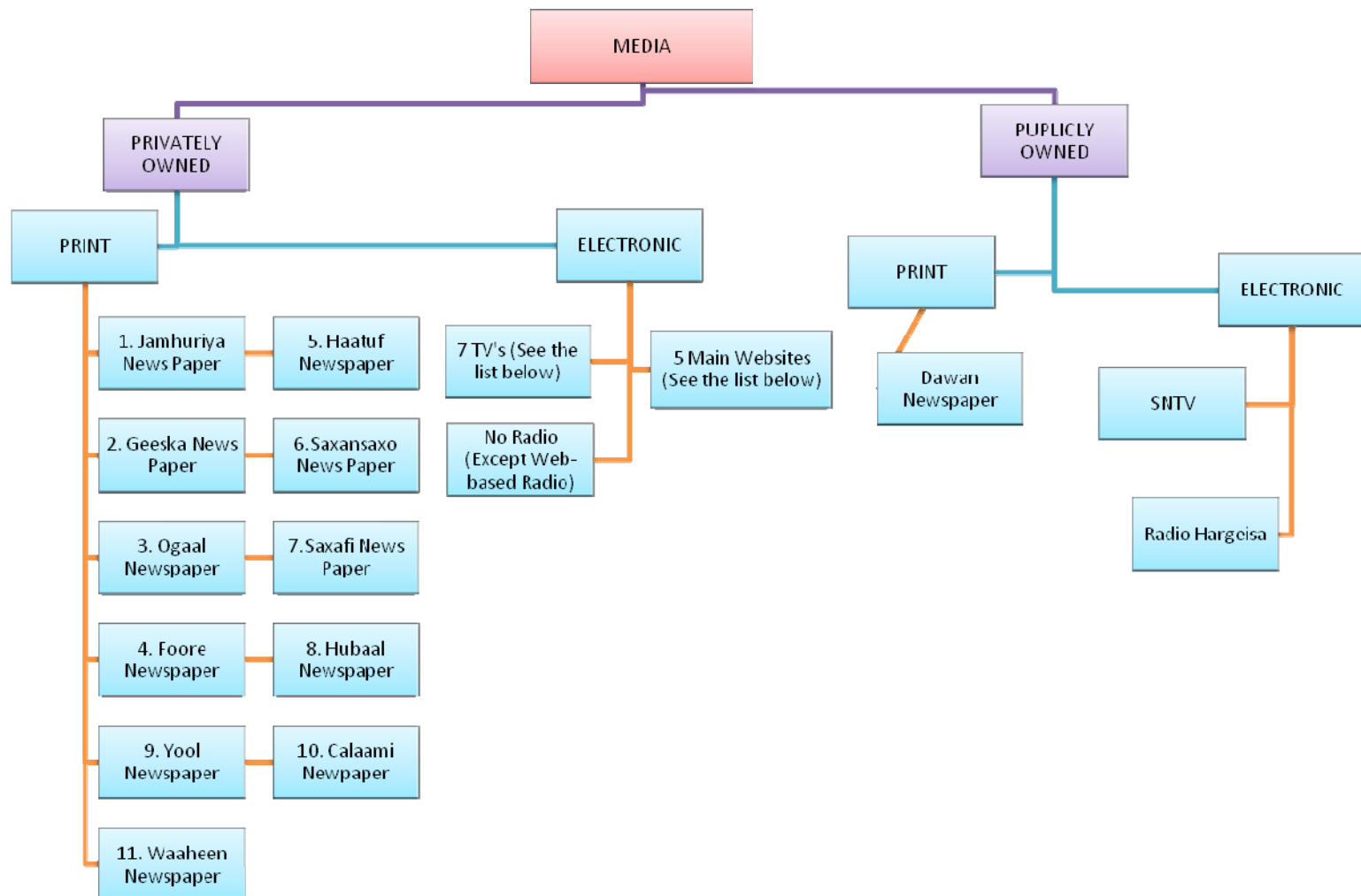
ANNEXES

ELECTION CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE

DATE	PARTY/ASSOCIATION	OTHER CAMPAIGN DAYS
Round One		
29-10-2012	UMMADDA	05,12,19,
30	UCID	06,13,20
31	KULMIYE	07,14,21
01-11-2012	DALSAN	08,15,22
02	RAYS	16,23,30
03	WADANI	17,24,31
04	XAQSOOR	11,18,25,
Round Two		
05	UMMADDA	
06	UCID	
07	KULMIYE	
08	DALSAN	
09	RAYS	
10	WADANI	
11	XAQSOOR	
Round Three		
12	UMMADDA	
13	UCID	
14	KULMIYE	
15	DALSAN	
16	RAYS	
17	WADANI	
18	XAQSOOR	
Round Four		
19	UMMADDA	
20	UCID	
21	KULMIYE	
22	DALSAN	
23	RAYS	
24	WADANI	
25	XAQSOOR	
26- Last Day		
27- Silence Day	(The Day of NO Campaign at all)	
28- Election Day	(Voting Day)	

MEDIA OUTLET LIST

MEDIA TO BE MONITORED BY OWNERSHIP AND MEDIUM TYPE



THE LIST OF WEBSITES (ORDERED ACCORDING TO THEIR VISITOR BASE)

1. Hadhwanaagnews.com
2. Oodwaynenews.com
3. Gabileynews.com
4. Ramaasnews.com

THE LIST OF TVs

1. S24 (Low Viewership)
2. Royal (Moderate Viewership)
3. HCTV ((Widely Watched Covers all Somaliland and beyond; Headquarter in Hargeisa)
4. UNIVERSAL (Widely Watched Covers all Somaliland and beyond)
5. SOMALICHANNEL
6. BULSHO TV (Moderate Viewership ;)

PRIOTIRISATION OF MEDIA OUTLETS

I recommend that we prioritize the monitored media outlets in the following manner (prioritization is based on my quick judgment on the media's geographical coverage, readership, ownership type whether publicly owned or privately owned, medium type whether electronic or print, and party/clan affiliations and match).

PUBLICLY OWNED MEDIA OUTLETS

All Publicly owned media (SNTV, Dawan Newspaper, Radio Hargeisa and etc)

PRIVATELY OWNED MEDIA OUTLETS

TELEVISIONS & RADIO'S

1. HCTV (Hargeisa Cable TV)
2. Universal TV
3. Somaliland Space Channel
4. Bulsho TV

JOURNALS & NEWSPAPER (SOMALI LANGUAGE VERSIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED FIRST)

1. GeeskaAfrika Newspaper (English Version as well)
2. Jamhuuriya Newspaper (and its sister papers such as the 'Republican')
3. Haatuf Newspaper (and its sister paper of 'SomaliaIndtimes' and Haatuf-al-Arabia)
4. Ogaal Newspaper
5. Saxanso Newspaper (Affiliated to a senior , incumbent politicization)
6. SaxafiNewspaper
7. Waaheen Newspaper
8. Hubaal Newspaper (affiliated to a candidate running for Hargeisa local council)
9. Foore Newspaper (3 days a week)
10. Yool Newspaper (3 days a week)

RADIO HARGEISA TOP STORIES ON 12/11/2012

RADIO HARGEISA DAILY TOP STORIES

DATE 12/12/2012

TIME: WARKA GALABNIMO (AFTERNOON)

READ BY SAKARIYE AHMED MUHUMED

TOTAL DURATION OF THE NEWS 11: 34 minutes

DURATION OF THE NEWS SUMMARY: 1:53

TOP 5 RADIO HARGIESA STORIES

NEWS ITEM 001

VICE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, GUIDANCE & CULTURE, HON. ABDILLAHI MOHAMED CUKUSE, HELD PRESS CONFERENCE THIS MORNING IN HIS OFFICE. THE VICE MINISTER REPLIES SOME OPPOSITION LEADERS ON THE ISSUE OF LAW NO 59;

TYPE: Election related item DURATION: **01: 43 (103 Seconds)**

NEWS ITEM 002

THE GUURTI CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES THE FORTHCOMING LOCAL ELECTIONS AND OTHER POLITICAL MATTERS AS HE CLOSSES THE 48TH SESSION OF THE UPPER HOUSE.

TYPE: Election related item DURATION: **01:27 (87 Seconds)**

NEWS ITEM 003

A WORKSHOP ON 'STRENGTHENING CITIZEN'S PARTICIPATION OF ELECTIONS' OPENS IN MANSOOR HOTEL. THIS WORKSHOP IS CONDUCTED BY HAVOYOCO.

TYPE: Election related item DURATION: **01:21 (81 Seconds)**

NEWS ITEM 004

HARGEISA CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATE, MR AHMED SIYAD MUHUMED DONATES \$ 1000 TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF MOHAMED MOGE NEIGHBORHOOD.

TYPE: Election related item DURATION: **00:43 (43 Seconds)**

NEWS ITEM 005 THE IVORY COAST PRESIDENT, HASSAN WATARA, STATES THAT THE ECOWAS APPROVED THE DEPLOYMENT OF 330 TROOPS TO MALI.

THE FORMER LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER TO APPEAR A COURT TODAY.

ISREAL REPORTS A MISSILE.....

TYPE: NON-Election related item DURATION: **03:32 (210 Seconds)**