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Notes

- 1 Mark Stevens, Head of Democracy at the Commonwealth Secretariat (personal communication, October 2007).
- 2 Younger journalists tend to have little experience of covering elections and, in their professional lives, have not been party to the democratisation process.
- 3 Accessed 18 December 2008.
- 4 Paragraph 6 of the 'Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles' signed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at a meeting in 1971.
- 5 *Commonwealth Election Broadcast Guidelines*, 2001.
- 6 The handbook outlines obligations by the media as well as other stakeholders in the coverage of an election.
- 7 For the European Commission, these questions are important test cases when determining whether an election is credible.
- 8 See <http://aceproject.org/ace-en> [accessed 19 December 2008]
- 9 *Ace Encyclopaedia* is part of the Ace Electoral Knowledge Network that has done significant research in media and elections. Further references can be made at its website at www.aceproject.org. Ace is a project of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), Elections Canada, Instituto Federal Electoral – Mexico, International IDEA, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the UN Development Programme, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the UN Electoral Assistance Division.
- 10 *The Danish Democracy Canon* discusses media in the context of the four challenges it says that democracy faces. The publication itself is as a result of the Danish government's attempts to list hallmarks in the evolution of the country's democracy.
- 11 Daniel Nyirenda is deputy editor of the national English-language *Daily Times* newspaper.
- 12 This and all other reports of Commonwealth Observer Groups in this chapter have been reproduced with the permission of the Commonwealth Secretariat. These groups comprise eminent persons and are usually led by a former president or prime minister, or a very senior politician. Their views are made in their own individual capacities and are not the views of the Secretariat. The Commonwealth Secretary-General provides the government and political parties with copies of the final report in the country where he deployed observers. This forms part of the Commonwealth's commitment to improving the environment for the holding of free and fair elections and improving governance amongst its members.
- 13 Hatsuse's article was published in the journal *Hiroshima Peace Science* 24 in 2002.

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- 14 The term 'fourth estate' is frequently attributed to the 19th century historian Thomas Carlyle, although he himself seems to have attributed it to Edmund Burke: 'Burke asserts that there were three estates in parliament; but, in the reporters' gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact ... Printing, which comes necessarily out of writing, I say often, is equivalent to democracy: invent writing, democracy is inevitable. ... Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is that he have a tongue which others will listen to; this and nothing more is requisite' (Carlyle, 1905: pp. 349–350).
 - 15 Goldacre's views can be found at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/pda/2008/jun/10/futureofjournalismhowthei> [accessed 7 January 2009]
 - 16 Jessica Guynn's views appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, where she is a correspondent, on 7 June 2007. The full article can be read at: <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2007/06/04/BUGI6Q5L181.DTL> [accessed 7 January 2009]
 - 17 Timothy Selemani is a political reporter at the government-owned *Swazi Observer* newspaper.
 - 18 *Handbook for European Union Election Observation* (second edition) (2008), p. 57.
 - 19 Citation can be found at: <http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/civic-education/> [accessed 8 January 2009]
 - 20 See: <http://www.articlearchives.com/government-public-administration/elections-politics/1505625-1.html> [accessed 8 January 2009]
 - 21 After the disputed 2007 elections in Kenya, the Electoral Commission of Kenya announced the result of the presidential ballot only on state broadcaster KBC, fuelling complaints of there being an absence of a fair and level playing field.
 - 22 The ACE Knowledge Network provides examples of countries where a blackout period or a period of reflection is seen as important ahead of an election at: <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/med/med06/med06c/default> [accessed 8 January 2009]
 - 23 Many would argue that this is why paid advertising is an unfair option – both to poor parties that may have a strong message and to the electorate, which is saturated by campaign materials only the rich can afford to broadcast.
 - 24 A memo to a provincial electoral office from the Elections Commission of India is very clear on this. See: http://www.eci.gov.in/CurrentElections/ECI_Instructions/ins_goa_300407.pdf [accessed 8 January 2009]
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- 25 Full definition is at NDI website http://www.accessdemocracy.org/files/1417_elect_quickcounthdbk_1-30.pdf [accessed 3 February 2009].
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 According to online dictionary <http://www.answers.com/topic/exit-poll> [accessed 8 January 2009], an exit poll is a poll taken of a sample of voters as they leave a polling place. Such polls are used especially to predict the outcome of an election or to determine the opinions and characteristics of the candidates' supporters.
- 28 Anthony Everett Fraser is a veteran broadcast journalist from Trinidad and Tobago. He has written for the Associated Press news agency and also works for the British Broadcasting Corporation.
- 29 In an online mail chain, a political party writes a letter in its support and sends it to designated email or postal recipients. The letter asks that the recipient forwards it to others. For example, a chain letter might end with a message like: 'Please forward this letter to 15 people you know'.
- 30 RSS is a method of syndicating or publishing information on your website through an XML application. This allows other websites or applications to import your RSS feed, which contains the information you are publishing, into their website or application; see Bleepingcomputer.com (<http://www.bleepingcomputer.com/glossary/definition267.html> [accessed 4 February 2009])
- 31 Pertierra's article appeared in the journal *Human Technology*. It went on further to explain other important uses of the cellular phone, such as keeping provincial and branch or district officials linked with their headquarters or communicating when candidates should show up at meetings to ensure the maximum exposure to potential voters during the campaigning period.
- 32 The Sierra Leone case was noted in the report of the Commonwealth Observer Group and in personal communication with Yvonne Chin, a Commonwealth Secretariat official who acted as spokesperson for the group.
- 33 According to Dr Emmanuel C Lallana in his unpublished paper 'SMS and Democratic Governance in the Philippines'. The paper investigates the various SMS-based services that enhance citizen participation.
- 34 *Financial Times*, 9 December 2008 at: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/04a981ce-c553-11dd-b516-000077b07658.html?ncllick_check=1 [accessed 9 January 2009]
- 35 Joyce Mulama is East Africa Bureau Chief for development news agency Inter-Press Service.
- 36 Helal's comments were carried in a story in the *New York Times* headlined 'For Al Jazeera, Balanced Coverage Frequently Leaves No Side Happy' authored by Samuel Abt (16 February 2004).
- 37 IRIN mainly covers human-interest stories, especially in locations where the United Nations has programmes.

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- 38 Accessed on 21 January 2009 at <http://ethics.iit.edu/codes/coef/int.federation.journalists.html>
- 39 Winkler and Wilson (1998) *The Bloomberg Way: A guide for reporters and editors*, p. 234.
- 40 The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organisation that supports sustainable democracy worldwide. Its objective is to strengthen democratic institutions and processes. International IDEA acts as a catalyst for democracy building by providing knowledge resources, expertise and a platform for debate on democracy issues. It works together with policy-makers, donor governments, UN organisations and agencies, regional organisations and others engaged in democracy building.
- 41 Main sources include the International Federation of Journalists Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists; national media codes of conduct/guidelines in elections from: Guyana, East Timor, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa; Commonwealth Election Broadcasting Guidelines; the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation R(99)15; Article 19 Guidelines on Election Broadcasting in Transitional Democracies; UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Annual Report 1999; International IDEA, *Code of Conduct: Political Parties Campaigning in Democratic Elections*; and *The Bloomberg Way – a Guide for Reporters and Editors*.
- 42 This meeting and its outcomes was reported by online journal *Bizcommunity*. See: <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/66/30597.html> [accessed 12 January 2009]
- 43 Milton Walker was UK Correspondent for Jamaica's *Gleaner/Voice* Group when he wrote this piece.
- 44 Veteran Fijian journalist Makereta Komai is editor of the Pacific News Agency (PacNews), the only information service with a reach across many of the Pacific island nations.
- 45 Irene !Hoaes is a journalist at the public broadcaster, the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation. She reports on political and economic issues.
- 46 Both the Democracy Monitoring Group (DEMGroup) of domestic observers and the European Union (EU) international observers carried out detailed monitoring of the electoral coverage in the print and broadcast media in the run-up to the elections.
- 47 The UJSC examined whether media coverage from 1–21 February 2006 was positive or negative, considering both the explicit judgement (or bias) of the report, and the subject's framing or context (portrayal).
- 48 Human Rights Watch: In Hope and Fear: Uganda's Presidential and Parliamentary Polls, Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, February 2006.
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- 49 Information provided by New Vision.
- 50 Information provided by Broadcasting Council.
- 51 Figures provided by Uganda Radio Network.
- 52 In April 2003, facing a deteriorating domestic situation, Prime Minister Kemakeza requested Australian intervention to provide assistance and restore law and order in the country. In July 2003, military and civilian personnel from Pacific Island Forum member states arrived in the Solomons as part of a Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI). See: http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Shared_ASP_Files/UploadedFiles/C4E1BBD5-676D-490B-B5ED-6C51F43E0BFE_SolomonIslandsCOGReport2006-amalgamated.pdf [accessed 4 February 2009]
- 53 Sadly, the CPU ceased to exist at the end of 2008.
- 54 Sutton's comments are posted at <http://www.uniraq.org/news-room/getarticle.asp?ArticleID=814> [accessed 14 January 2009]
- 55 This is the standard instruction the Secretariat gives to observers, who, although constituted by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, form an independent group and make up their own minds as to whether an election has been credible or not.
- 56 Detailed background to the work of the Observer Groups and their terms of reference can be found on the Commonwealth Secretariat website at: www.thecommonwealth.org [accessed 12 January 2009].

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