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Executive Summary

An independent media is a determinant aspect of a robust and sustainable democracy. In the Maldives, the legal framework for establishing a free media was initiated during the democratic reform movement that also led to the new constitution of 2008 and the first ever democratic general elections. This development has given birth to a variety of private, broadcast and print media in recent years. Given the infancy of these non-state media outlets and the legal structure that espouses freedom of media, there is much room for improving their performance and fulfilling the objective of independent and unbiased reporting.

The current research was done to systemically assess the performance of Maldivian media outlets by looking at factors such as bias and objectivity, which contribute to responsible and independent reporting. Using both qualitative and quantitative methods, the research looked into three televisions channels and three newspapers and analyzed various reporting content Types, Topics, and Subjects, during a two weeks period, for time or space allocations, tone, and whether the content was reported in a direct or indirect manner. The findings of this research show that among selected topics Governance and Politics, on average, received the most amount of coverage time or space across both print and broadcast media. It was also found that generally, neutral coverage of various Subjects such as state organizations and political parties was low in comparison to that which was reported either positively or negatively, in terms of tone.

The report provides recommendations for media, state and state regulators, civil society organizations and political parties on actions they could carry out that would help to align the performance of Maldivian media outlets to internationally accepted standards and best practices associated with independent, ethical, and responsible media. The report recommends media outlets to work towards ensuring that the editorial positions are based on standards of professional journalism and curb the influence of owners and other persons who hold financial interest in the respective media company. Another recommendation for the media is to encourage and contribute towards providing professional training for journalists so that the quality of their reporting can be improved through increased objectivity and bias reduction. It is also recommended that state regulators such as the legislature should review the existing media laws and regulations such that they reflect international best practices and act as a disincentive for biased and unethical reporting. The report also recommends the legislature to expedite media related bills, such as the Right to Information bill, which would contribute towards independent journalism. Furthermore, it is recommended that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) working on issues related to journalism and media play a stronger role in advocating for media freedoms and a strengthened regulatory framework that would enable this.

Introduction

Media is often regarded as the fourth power of the state; where the public entrusts the media to, among other duties, act as a watchdog overseeing the work of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers. This in itself highly emphasizes the importance of having a strong, independent and professional media active within a democracy.

This media monitoring report is an evaluation of media performance in the Maldives, with a focus on analyzing the extent to which various media outlets comply with existing legislations and international best practices. The content has been analyzed for objectivity, bias, and tone contributing to responsible journalism.

As this is a pilot project for the upcoming Presidential Elections of 2013, the scope of the project was limited to the scrutiny of three television channels and three print media outlets, listed below. Transparency Maldives had the resources to monitor only a limited number of media outlets.

Television:

- DhiTV
- MNBC One
- VTV

Print media:

- Haveeru
- Miadhu
- Minivan (online)

This initiative is designed to;

- 1. Provide a basis to advocate for impartial and objective reporting
- 2. Provide objective feedback to media outlets, which can be used to improve future performance
- Portray objectivity and bias of media outlets with regard to state and political actors selected for the purposes of this study, many of whom are directly or indirectly affiliated with some of these media outlets
- 4. Observe whether, and the extent to which, state and public media outlets adhere to the legal standards for reporting
- 5. Compare local media practices with international best practices

Background

The Development Of Media In The Maldives

For many years before the introduction of private broadcasters, media in the Maldives had been restricted to state-owned television and radio channels, and a number of private newspapers, of questionable independence from government influence.

From 1978 to 2008, Maumoon Abdul Gayyoom had repeatedly been elected president of the Maldives for six five-year terms, through a referendum lacking democratic transparency mechanisms. During this period, as the conventional forms of media were all under government control, reformist groups started their own informal forms of media including weblogs and various forms of social media. Even this was done in anonymity as the country did not recognize freedom of expression as a right, due to which persons who spoke out were often dealt with using strict measures. Following public outrage regarding a case of police brutality in 2003, Gayyoom was under heavy pressure from local and international sources to introduce more democratic reforms into his regime in the later years of his administration. This was when a window of opportunity opened for Maldivian media to better establish themselves.

The registration process for print media was relaxed in 2005, which got rid of the months of bureaucracy and red tape previously associated with registering a print media outlet. With the new registration process it became possible to complete the registration process within a single day. Minivan Daily, the first officially registered private print media outlet, was registered on July 26th 2005.

Following the first International Press Freedom Day celebrated in the Maldives on 3rd May 2007, then Minister of Information and Arts, Mr. Mohamed Nasheed, introduced six media reform related bills to the Parliament:

- 1. Freedom of Information Bill
- 2. Freedom of the Press Bill
- 3. The Media Council Bill
- 4. Broadcasting Bill
- 5. Registration of Publications Bill
- 6. Cable TV Services Bill

Following this, the Broadcast Licensing Contract was composed, and within the year it was announced in Parliament that the country would hitherto be open to private media.

On 1st July 2008, the country launched its first private channel, DhiTV. Closely following this, the second private channel, VTV, was inaugurated on 5th September 2008.

As the Presidential Elections approached, the Ministry formulated an Airtime Allocation Agreement

under which they allocated coverage of a designated amount of time for each political party prior to the elections.

This was a significant change in a country where anti-government sentiments were taboo in mainstream media as well as in general conversation.

The ratification of the new constitution in August 2008 found large scale freedom for the Maldivian media. Other contributing factors include the fact that defamation was decriminalized and made a civil offence instead, and also the establishment of the Maldives Media Council and the Broadcasting Commission of the Maldives.

However, along with the general conviction that the state media was controlled by the government, the years following their establishment saw the rise of speculations on bias being directed at the private media outlets.

All the private media sources were either owned or indirectly associated with influential political players which led to further doubt regarding the editorial independence of the media entities.

The ruling party has often openly accused private channels of being biased towards the opposition, while at the same time the opposition claims that the ruling party has an unfair hold over the state media.

This report analyses the content of state and public media for bias and objectivity towards various actors within the monitoring timeline and aims to give readers an insight into the state of the media in Maldives.

Legal Framework

The legal framework that regulates media in the Maldives is rather weak and comprises only of a few laws and regulations. Currently, Chapter two of the Constitution of the Maldives (Fundamental Rights & Freedoms), Broadcasting Act (16/2010), Maldives Media Council Act (15/2008) are the main pieces of legislations that govern the media.

1. Constitution of the Maldives, Chapter two (Fundamental Rights & Freedoms)

Chapter two of the constitution of the Maldives or the Bill of Rights guarantees various basic rights and freedoms, including that related to media. These include:

Article 27: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and the freedom to communicate opinions and expression in a manner that is not contrary to any tenet of Islam.

Article 28: Everyone has the right to freedom of the press, and other means of communication, including the right to espouse, disseminate and publish news, information, views and ideas. No person shall be

compelled to disclose the source of any information that is espoused, disseminated or published by that person.

Article 29: Everyone has the freedom to acquire and impart knowledge, information and learning.

These three articles, especially Article 28, provides for a free and unbiased press without discriminations (except in the case of religious freedom).

Even prior to the passing of the new Constitution, Maldives had acceded to one of the leading international conventions emphasizing freedom of expression, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on 19th September 2006. However, Maldives being a 100% Muslim country by Constitution, freedom of expression is curbed should it contradict the principles of Islam (as stated in Article 27). Although people have fast gotten familiar with having the right to freedom of expression, many private media interviewed for purposes of this research mentioned that issues of harassment or intimidation from the government still tend to occur at times. Regardless of this threat, there are a number of media outlets that write bold articles and strong criticisms of the government. The Maldives Journalists Association has in the past issued press statements on a number of times alleging the government and the Maldives Police Services, etc. who have allegedly infringed upon the freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

2. Broadcasting Act (16/2010)

The Broadcasting Act, was ratified in August 2010 and called for the formation of the Maldives Broadcasting Commission. Members for this Commission were appointed, after parliamentary approval, on 4th April 2011. The Act empowers Commission members to oversee and regulate the media, including the licensing process. The recently created Strategic Action Plan, launched on September 21st 2011, of the Commission concentrates on six main policies;

- Forming a mechanism through which freedom of opinion can be readily introduced into Maldives in an accountable and responsible manner
- Extending broadcasting services nationwide
- Encouraging media to be supportive of Maldivian talent, productions and culture
- Lowering the prices of services provided by the broadcasting industry to a reasonable level
- Promoting an environment of fair and healthy competition among investors
- Organize ways to increase awareness about broadcasting among the private and public broadcast media outlets.

3. Maldives Media Council Act (15/2008)

The Maldives Media Council was established on 28th April 2010, two years after the Maldives Media Council Act was passed. The Council consists of 15 elected members; 8 representatives from the media and 7 members from the public.

On January 30th, 2011, the Media Council initiated a two day consultation conference with media

organizations. Through this conference, a general Code of Ethics for all media personnel to abide by, as per the Media Council Act, was composed.

The prior-mentioned Code of Ethics were formed with regard to seven basic principles;

- Respecting the Constitution of the Maldives and the principles of Islam
- Protecting national security
- Respecting human rights and maintaining social ethics
- Remaining free of influence
- Being fair and just in presenting the truth
- Being responsible
- · Upholding the professionalism in journalism and news reporting

In interviews with the editorial staff of all media outlets, which were included in this research, a question was based on how effective and sufficient they considered this code of ethics to be. The response was unanimously positive.

As stated in the media background, during the democratic reform movement, the Ministry of Information introduced six media-related bills to the Parliament. Many of these bills, which would enhance media freedoms, such as the 'Right to Information Bill (Freedom of Information)' and the 'Freedom of the Press Bill' are still pending at the parliament.

4. Freedom of Information (Right to Information Bill)

The Freedom of Information bill was among the six media reform bills introduced to the Parliament by the outgoing administration's Minister of Information and Legal Reform, Mohamed Nasheed. The ministry claimed that this bill was designed to promote press freedom, end difficulties the media and citizens faced in accessing information from government bodies, and to provide a general right to the public to access government-held information.

However, a number of International bodies have expressed concerns that this bill does not come to par with international best practices. The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI), in its analysis of the bill has recommended that the bill be rephrased and amended in places to further strengthen five principles that it has highlighted. Namely, maximum disclosure, minimum exceptions, inexpensive and user-friendly methods of access, independent appeals, strong penalties and the effective monitoring and promotion of access. CHRI also raised concerns that the phrasing of the bill could bring about limitations as to what information is or is not made available, and that the access was complicated with a lot of bureaucracy involved.

The bill in question, however, was rejected in Majlis in 2007. Following this, President Maumoon established, via a decree, that the Right to Information would be provided through a Regulation instead. This regulation known as the 'Regulation on Right to Information from State Institutions', (currently enacted under the General Regulations Act) governs the procedures for obtaining official information kept only by State institutions made available to the public.

Currently the Right to Information bill is long pending at the committee stage in Parliament.

5. Freedom of the Press

Dealing with both press and electronic media, this bill highlights the freedoms provided to writers publishing their work. At the same time, this bill also details the acts, which will not be considered as freedom and thus would be curbed.

The International Press Freedom and Freedom of Expression Mission to the Maldives, in its July 2006 report titled 'A Vibrant Media Under Pressure: An Independent Assessment of Press Freedom in the Maldives' elaborated on their concerns regarding this particular bill. As per the report, this bill does not meet international standards and best practices. Their opinion is that this bill does not provide acceptable levels of positive reinforcement, nor does it promote freedom of expression to a level, which justifies it being labelled as a 'Freedom of Press' bill. It proposes the formation of new 'media crimes' and infringes upon the content, which can be covered in the news through clauses that include a plethora of items considered as 'banned material'. As these restrictions are many in number and formed with very loose phrasing, there is the risk of it being abused for political purposes.

Methodology

The two sets of criteria used for analyzing both the print media and the broadcast media includes both qualitative and quantitative measures. These two methods were used because they are highly relevant and necessary to paint a comprehensive and accurate picture of the overall media reporting conducted during the period monitored.

Furthermore, internationally accepted standards were adopted under the supervision of National Democratic Institute (NDI). A week's training was provided to the monitoring team, followed by actual monitoring under the supervision of the trainer, Mr. Marek Mracka of Memog8.

The media outlets, Subjects, Topics and Types or programs to be covered for the period monitored were decided by the trained media monitoring team with the assistance of other staff at Transparency Maldives. Although monitoring of print and broadcast media required different approaches, same Topics and Subjects were used for both media to maintain consistency.

The decision to select three TV channels and three newspapers were reached based on viewership numbers and project budget. In addition, when selecting the Subjects and Topics priority was given to those related to governance and democracy. The monitoring window of March 21st to April 4th was chosen on the basis of project period and work plan.

Categories - Type, Topics and Subjects selected for Analysis

Print Media

Type

Following are the sub-categories selected for monitoring and analysis of print media under the category Type: News, Editorials, Paid Space, Reports and Others.

1) News

All news articles were included under the sub-category News, regardless of the Topic or Subjects mentioned in them.

2) Editorials

All the writings in the Editorial category were selected for monitoring and analysis.

3) Paid Space

Paid Space included space sold for advertisements and announcements. It was analyzed only if a relevant Subject was mentioned. For instance, public announcements of government

and other institutions, candidate advertisements, political announcements etc.

4) Reports

Reports include accounts of events, investigations conducted or lengthy pieces based on a particular issue. For example, a report about the National Day, unemployment, welfare etc. Reports were analyzed only if a relevant Subject was mentioned.

5) Others

All the items that don't fit into the above-mentioned sub-categories yet have a reference to any of these elected Subjects come under this category.

Topics

Following are the Topics selected for the research.

- Parliament
- Local Council Administration
- Judicial administration
- Governance
- Corruption
- Human Rights
- Politics
- Elections
- DRP Split
- Others

Subjects

Following is the list of subjects selected for monitoring and analysis.

- 1. Parliament
- 2. President's Office
- 3. Judicial Service Commission
- 4. Human Rights Commission
- 5. Anti Corruption Commission
- 6. Riyaasee Commission
- 7. Attorney General's office
- 8. Prosecutor General's office
- 9. Police
- 10. MNDF
- 11. Rashu Council
- 12. Atholhu Council
- 13. City Council

- 14. Maldives Reform Movement
- 15. Maldivian Democratic Party
- 16. Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party
- 17. DRP-Maumoon
- 18. DRP-Thasmeen
- 19. Adhaalath party
- 20. Jumhoori Party
- 21. Peoples Party
- 22. Qaumee Party
- 23. President Nasheed
- 24. Abdulla Shahid (Speaker of the Parliment)
- 25. Elections Commission
- 26. Transparency Maldives
- 27. Democracy Network
- 28. Supreme Court
- 29. Civil Court
- 30. High Court
- 31. Local Government Authority
- 32. Independent MP
- 33. Independent Candidate
- 34. Previous Government
- 35. Opposition
- 36. Government
- 37. People's Alliance

Broadcast Media

Type

Following are the sub-categories selected for monitoring and analysis of Broadcast Media under the category Type: News, Current Affairs, TV Debates, Reports, Free-time, Paid-time and Others.

Below are the descriptions of the Types which are different from those detailed above under Print Media Types.

Current Affairs

Programs on social and political interest and other important events taking place at the time of monitoring were entered in this sub-category under *Type*.

TV Debates

TV Debates include debates between political candidates or political party representatives.

Free-time

Free-time is the free airtime allocated for political parties and candidates.

Paid-time

Paid-time is the airtime sold to broadcast content produced by the purchaser. Paid-time was not analyzed even if relevant Subjects were covered. However, total Paid-time was calculated.

Others

Unlike in Print Media, all content which do not fall into any of the above Types were included in this category, regardless of whether or not a relevant Subject was mentioned.

The Monitoring Structure

In this research the contents were analyzed for the time or space given, the tone of presentation and whether it was a direct or indirect representation of the Subject. Additionally, the amount of time dedicated in each media to particular Topics were analyzed.

Broadcast Media

The quantitative data for broadcast media were collected by numerically measuring the amount of media coverage offered to the Subjects and Topics. The length of time devoted to content about each Subject was measured in seconds by using a stopwatch. The amount of direct and indirect coverage dedicated to each Subject in different media was measured separately. For instance, if a Subject speak on air, it was recorded as direct. On the other hand, if a Subject is paraphrased or summarized by the newscaster, it was recorded as indirect. The paraphrased, summarized and translated statements have to be treated as indirect because after watching a number of news items, it was decided by the monitoring team that at times this did not reflect the exact meaning of the statement. For the broadcast media, time element was measured as follows:

- Total time in seconds of content on each Subject
- Total time in seconds each Subject appears and speaks
- Total time in seconds the image of the Subject appears without speaking
- Total time in seconds the voice of the Subject is heard even if there is no film or image of the Subject.

While broadcast media could numerically offer equal amounts of coverage to all relevant Subjects, it could present certain Subjects in a damaging light while presenting positive elements of others. Thus, quantitative measurements alone would not indicate such distortions in reporting. On the other hand, making a qualitative assessment is more subjective and, therefore, makes it more likely for questions to be raised about the method. Hence, careful attention has been given while measuring the qualitative aspect of the media monitored.

From the qualitative aspect, the tone of the coverage was measured by making a judgment about whether or not a Subject was portrayed in an overall positive, negative or neutral manner. In assessing the tone of the coverage, the behavior of the media outlet that was considered, and not that of the Subject. Therefore, when measuring the tone of the coverage, the assessment was made on whether or not a viewer was offered a positive, negative or neutral impression of the Subject regardless of truth or balance of the story. Although, these assessments are by definition subjective, to ensure quality and uniformity, decisions about difficult or highly subjective characterizations or controversial reporting were reached unanimously among monitors and team leaders.

Print Media

Monitoring newspapers were done using the same basic methods used for broadcast media except the way measurements were taken.

In collecting quantitative data for print media, measurements were taken in square centimeters by using a ruler. The space given for Subjects, Topics and Tone were measured separately. Furthermore, photographs were also measured separately. In addition to that, the total space given to the whole article or advertisement was also measured.

For qualitative analysis of print media, photographs and the tone of a particular measurement were analyzed by using the same methods used for analyzing the broadcast media. While the tone of a measurement or overall judgment of whether a photo conveys a positive, negative, or neutral impression may be subjective, monitors considered as many objective criteria as possible in reaching this judgment. For example, whether the paper displayed unflattering or compromising shots of some Subjects and flattering ones of others.

These measurements, along with the other aspects monitored were then recorded on monitoring forms; and later entered into computer to translate into pie charts and other graphic presentations to show the amounts of coverage in numeric form and what percentage of coverage the Subjects and topics received in relation to others.

Limitations of the Research

There are a number of limitations of this research project. Firstly, the duration of the media monitoring lasted for only two weeks, which poses limitations on how much the data analyzed and conclusions made in this report can be generalized. In order to address this and ensure that the data sample is representative, during this two-week period, all broadcast media was monitored for the entire duration of prime time and all content of print media during this period was analyzed.

Another limitation of the research is that there was no analysis of the order in which news items were placed in coverage. In other words, the priority given to different Subjects in terms of when and where they were reported in the media is beyond the scope of this research.

This research also did not look into any omission of relevant news coverage by the media and only assess the content for what was presented in it.





Haveeru Newspaper

Background

Haveeru is one of the leading and longest serving daily newspapers in Maldives with a daily circulation of about 3,000 copies. Haveeru was registered in Maldives on December 28 1978 when the local newspaper Moonlight ceased to operate. The first issue of Haveeru was published on January 1 1979 and was under the proprietorship of Mohamed Zahir Hussain, who had close ties with the previous President Maumoon Abdul Gayyoom and who has served as Cabinet Minister for several ministries since 1978.

With Haveeru being owned by Mr. Hussain, some complain that it is close to the previous government and benefited from political patronage, including the allocation of a large majority of public advertising. However, according to Haveeru, even with a majority of public advertisement redirected from commercial newspapers to the Official Gazette, Haveeru has held its leading position as the most read daily paper.

Haveeru currently follows the reporting policy and ethical guidelines recently established by the Maldives Media Council.

Analysis

Figure 1.A

This figure shows the data collected for the category Type. The total space monitored adds up to 117,283 sqcm. Of the sub-categories, News received the majority space while Free-space received nil.

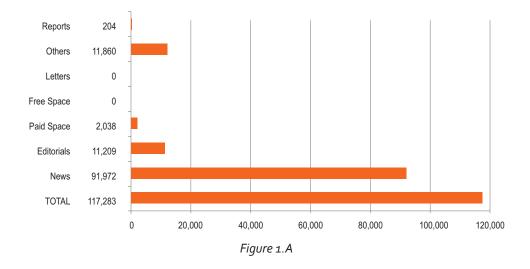


Figure 1.B

News received the most space on Haveeru, with 78.4% of the total space. Others with 10.1% received the second largest portion of the total space. The Editorials received 9.6%, and the Paid Space covers 1.7%. The lowest percentage of space was given to Reports, covering only 0.2% of the total space.

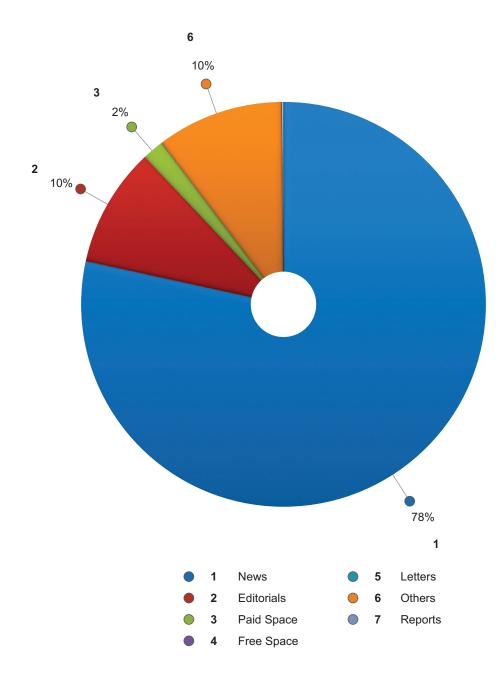


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

Figure 2.A depicts a bar graph representation of the total of all data collected for the category Topic. The sub-category Others, with a total of 77,343 sqcm, received the largest portion of the total space monitored. News related to the Topic of Governance received the second largest portion with a total of 12,728 sqcm while news related to Politics received 10,411sqcm.

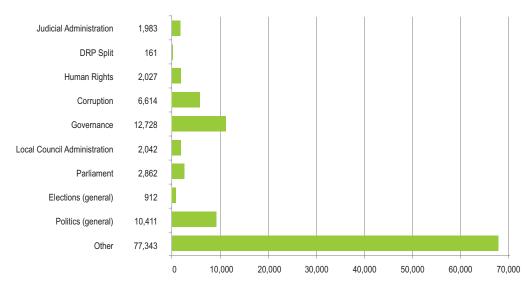


Figure 2.A

Figure 2.B

The same data in figure 2.A is represented in Figure 2.B in percentages. The sub-category Other received 66.1%, of the total space. It is of particular importance to highlight here that, when compared to the data in Figure 1.B, although News received the largest Type of coverage, news related to Human Rights, Judicial Administration, Local Council Administration, Parliament and Corruption received significantly less coverage. For instance, the Topic of Human Rights, Local Council Administration and Judicial Administration each received only just 1.7% of the total coverage. And, while corruption related topics received 5.6% of the total coverage, parliament and elections received only 2.4% and 0.8% respectively.

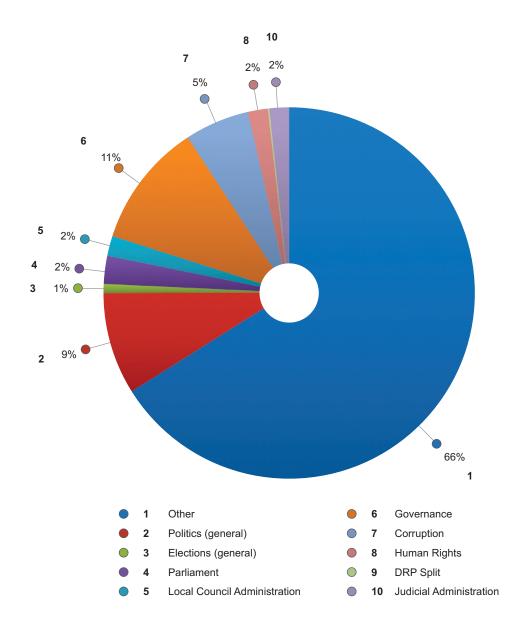


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

The bar graph data in Figure 3.A shows the total space devoted to each of the Subject selected for monitoring and analysis. The largest space, devoted to the Government, received a total of 6,435 sqcm of the total space. The Police received the second largest portion of space with a total of 5,127 sqcm.

Of the two major political parties, MDP received 3,035 sqcms while DRP received 1,967 sqcm of the total space of all media monitored.

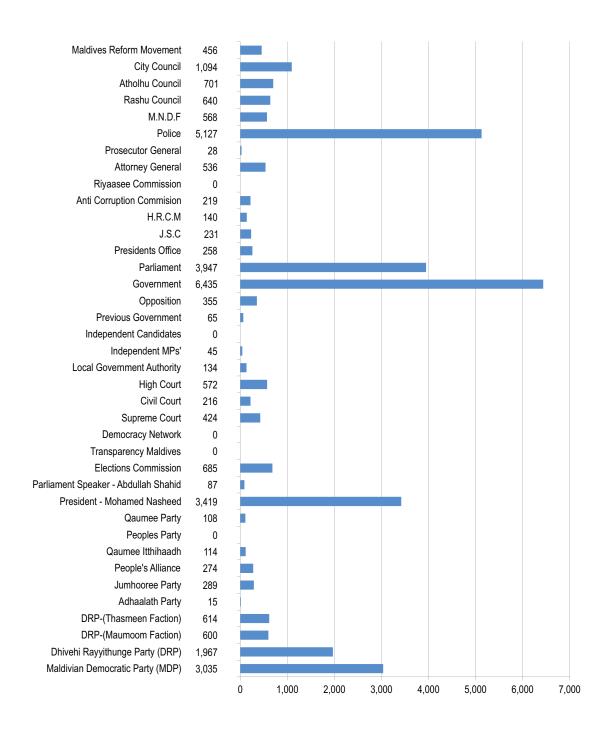


Figure 3.A

Figure 3.B

The incumbent government, with 19.3%, received the majority of the total space of all the subjects selected for monitoring. While the paper devoted 9.1% of total space to the current ruling party (MDP), and 5.9% of total space to the opposition Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party (DRP), with both Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction, each receiving 1.8% of the space. Adhaalath Party received nil while both Qaumee Party and Qaumee Ithihaad each received 0.3% respectively. While 0.8% was devoted to People's Alliance, 0.9% was devoted to Jumhooree Party. The Maldives Reform Movement,

registered recently, received 1.4% of the total space, while the Opposition received only 1.1%.

While figure 3.A shows that the two NGOs selected for monitoring received nil space, Figure 3.B depicts the small amount of space devoted to independent institutions such as Human Rights Commission of Maldives, Anti-Corruption Commission, Judicial Service Commission, Civil Court and Local Government Authority.

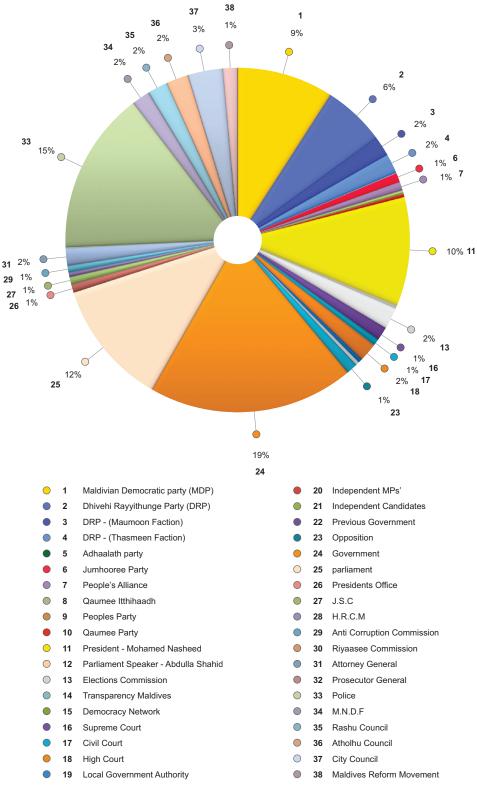


Figure 3.B

Figure 4.A

Figure 4.A depicts the total time and percentage of space each Subject received for the qualitative aspect Tone.

With the largest total space devoted to the Government, , it received 81.24% neutral coverage, 7.15% positive coverage and 11.61% negative coverage.

The Police was devoted the second largest space with 85.74% neutral coverage, 2.03% positive coverage and 12.23% negative coverage.

While the Parliament and President Nasheed received almost equal total coverage, both the Subjects also received an almost equal positive coverage. However, the negative coverage the Parliament received was greater than the negative coverage devoted to President Nasheed.

The incumbent Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP), received the largest space, followed by the majority opposition Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party (DRP). In comparison, MDP received a significantly large positive coverage (10.05%) while the positive coverage devoted to DRP was only 0.7%. And while MDP and DRP received a neutral coverage of 68.83% and 70.77% respectively, the negative coverage MDP received was 21.12% while DRP was devoted 28.52%.

Of the two factions within DRP – (DRP Maumoon Faction) and (DRP Thasmeen Faction), although both received equal coverage in terms of total space, a significant difference in Tone exists. While Maumoon Faction received 12.50% positive space, Thasmeen Faction received only 5.86%. Also, while Maumoon Faction received a total of 32.17% negative coverage, the negative coverage Thasmeen Faction received totals up to 46.74%.

Of the other political parties, the largest percentage of positive coverage was devoted to Maldives Reform Movement (57.68%) while Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ithihaadh and Qaumee Party received nil. And, the largest negative coverage was given to People's Alliance (59.85%) while Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ithihaadh and Qaumee Party received nil negative coverage.

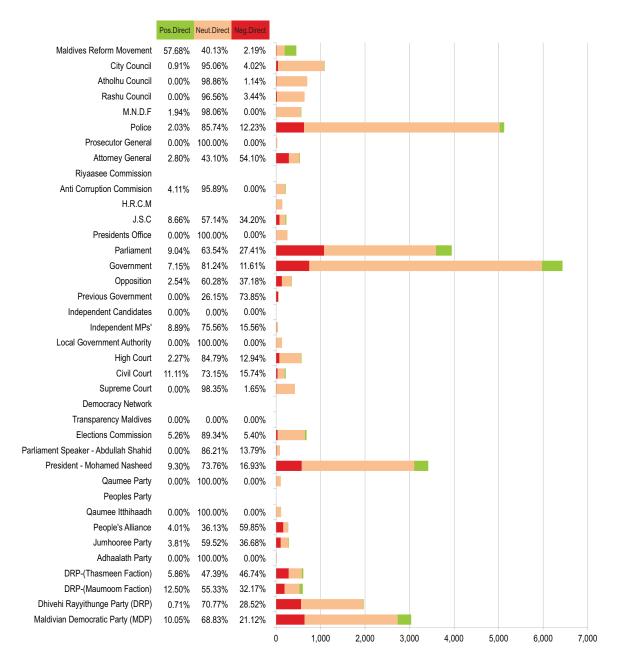


Figure 4.A

Miadhu

Background

Miadhu News was started in the early 90's by Mr. Ahmed Abdullah. He filled the posts of Minister of Health and Minister of Energy, Environment and Water in the Maumoon government.

Miadhu boasts a record of having no complaints about their publications so far according to the Editor Abdul Latheef. The editor claimed that he had complete editorial freedom and that the owners never attempted to influence the editorial work.

According to the editor, in addition to an online version, Miadhu has a daily circulation of roughly 3000 copies. However, this report only analyses the print version.

Analysis

Figure 1.A

Figure 1.A depicts the data collected for the category Type. The total space monitored adds up to 87,519 square centimeters. Of the sub-categories, News received the majority of space (77,975) followed by Others (8,366) while Reports, Letters, Free-space and Editorials received nil.

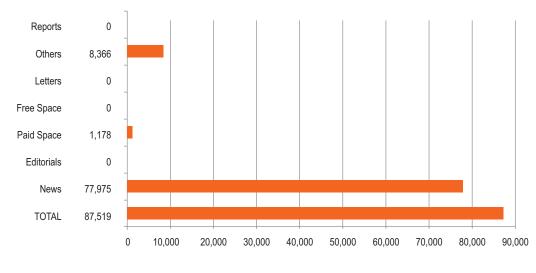


Figure 1.A

News received 89.1% of the total space. Others, with 9.6%, received the second largest portion of the total space followed by Paid Space which received just 1.3%.

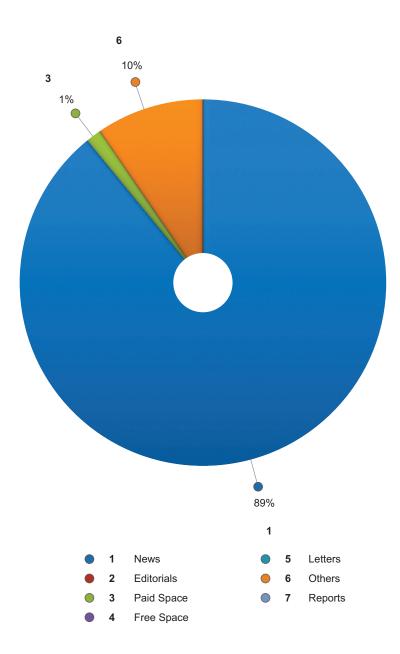
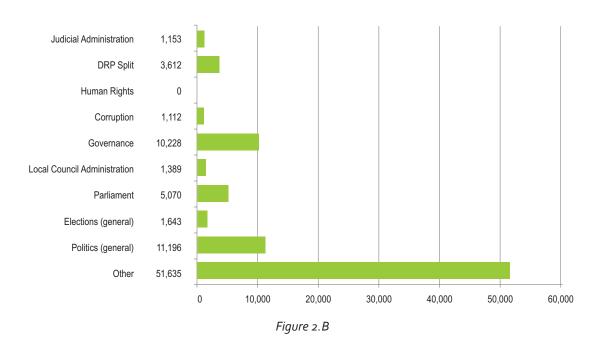


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

Figure 2.A depicts a bar graph representation of the total of all data collected for the category Topic. The sub-category Others, with a total of 51,635 sqcm, received the largest portion of the total space monitored. News related to the topic of Politics received the second largest portion 11,196sqcm, followed by Governance, 10,228sqcm. While Human Rights received nil coverage, Corruption received 1,112 sqcms.



The same data in figure 2.A is represented in Figure 2.B in percentage. The sub-category Other, with 59.3% received more than half compared to the rest of the sub-topics. The second largest coverage was devoted to Politics (12.9%) followed by Governance with 11.8%.

While Human Rights received no coverage, Corruption, Judicial Administration, Local Council Administration and Elections received very low coverage.

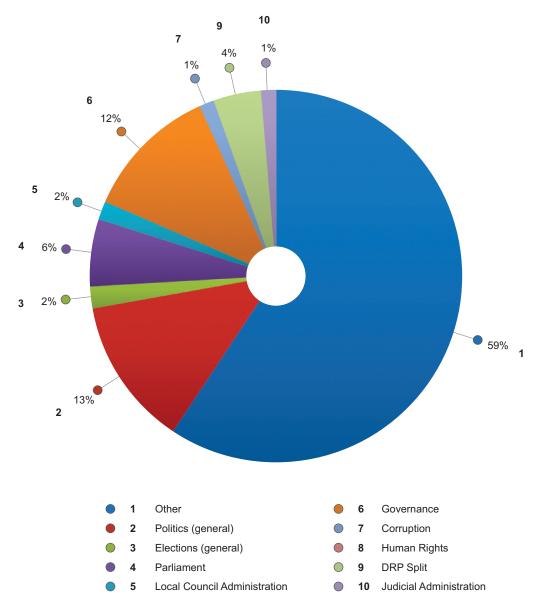


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

The bar graph data in Figure 3.A shows the total space devoted to each of the Subject selected for monitoring and analysis.

The largest space, devoted to DRP, 8,584sqcm of the total space also received the largest space of all the political parties. The Government received the second largest space with a total of 8,121 square centimeters. President Nasheed received the third largest space followed by Parliament.

The MDP received 2,107 sqcm while DRP received the largest space dedicated to a particular Subject from all media monitored.

Also noteworthy is that the Human Rights Commission, Democracy Network and Transparency Maldives received no coverage at all.

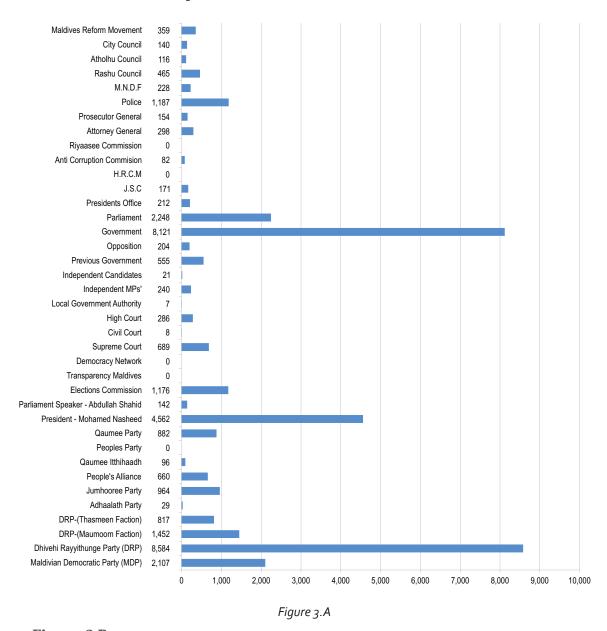


Figure 3.B

The same data represented in Figure 3.A is represented in Figure 3.B pie chart.

While DRP received the largest space (23.0%), Maumoon Faction received 3.9% and Thasmeen Faction received 2.2%. The Government, with 21.8%, received the second largest space among all the Subjects monitored and analyzed.

The significantly small amount of coverage the paper devoted to other political parties compared to DRP is evident from Fig.3.B. MDP received 5.7%, Jumhooree Party received 2.6%, Qaumee Party received 2.4%, Qaumee Ithihaadh received 0.3%, Peoples Alliance received 1.8%, Adhaalath Party and Maldives Reform Movement received just 1.0%.

It is also important to note that except for DRP, Government, President Nasheed, MDP and Parliament, all the other Subjects monitored and analyzed received below 5% coverage.

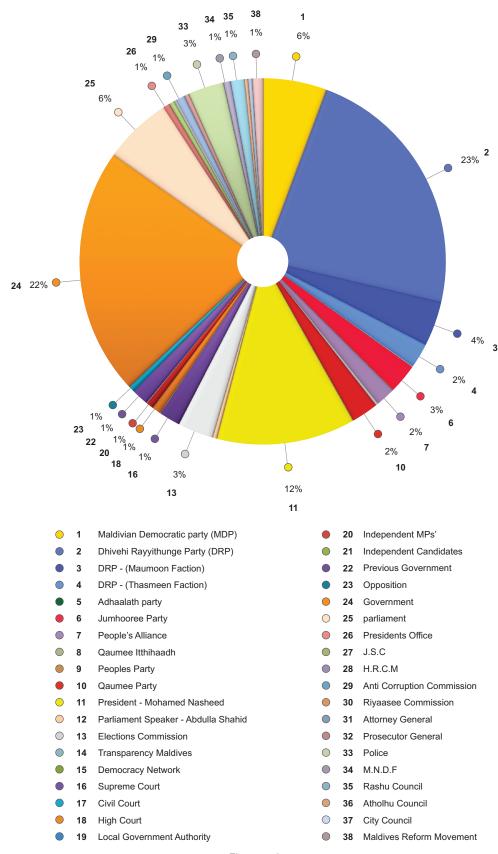


Figure 3.A

Figure 4.A

Figure 4.A depicts the total time and percentage of space each Subject received for the qualitative aspect tone.

While DRP received the largest total space, it received 2.31% positive coverage, 86.03% neutral coverage and 11.66% negative coverage.

MDP received 5.08% positive coverage, 92.79% neutral coverage and 2.14% negative coverage.

With Government getting the second largest total space from all the Subjects, it received 17.37% positive coverage, 63.56% neutral coverage and 19.06% negative coverage. However, President Nasheed with 17.95% positive coverage, 79.35% neutral coverage and just 2.70% negative coverage received the third largest total space of all the subjects.

Of all the subjects analyzed, the Attorney General received the largest positive coverage, of 38.93% while it received 50.34% negative coverage. The second largest positive coverage was devoted to the Previous Government with 29.73%. The largest negative coverage was given to the opposition with 60.29% who received no positive coverage.

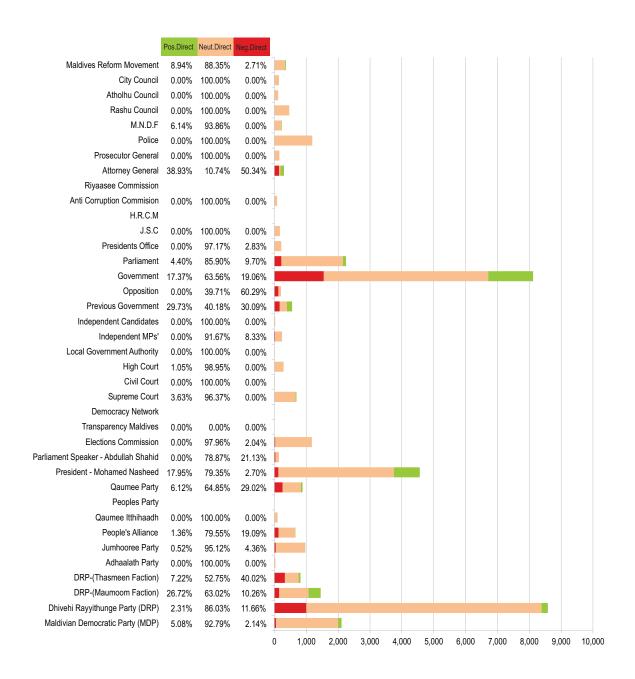


Figure 4.A

Minivan News

Background

Minivan News is the only online news website that we have analyzed for the purposes of this project. We have included it along with the other print media: Haveeru and Miadhu.

Minivan News was initially launched in June 2005 as a media tool for then opposition, MDP. It was established by the current President, Mohamed Nasheed, then a leading MDP member and local journalist, due to the futility of attempting to cover opposition news in the conservative media outlets that existed then.

It was initially granted permission to publish its print version on 26th July 2005, and additionally ran a broadcast radio version alongside. After its 200th edition, the news website minivannews.com was launched. It had a local editor, Aminath Najeeb, and a small workforce of local journalists and contributors.

Although it was officially given authorization, the media outlet and its staff met with strong interference from the government then in power.

In August 2005 Minivan News had to resort to circulating A4-sized photocopies of the newspaper as the printing press they had previously worked with backed out after threats of arson.

On 28th December of the same year, the Colombo-based office of Minivan Radio and Minivannews. com was raided by ten SriLankan police officers, in the pretence of a search responding to reports that the office was a hub for dealing in arms. No arms were discovered in the raid, and reports claim this raid was initiated by false alarms sent to SriLankan counterparts by then Maldivian Chief of Police, Adam Zahir.

In addition to these threats to the institution, many staff of Minivan were subjected to police intimidation, threats and harassment.

At the time, Minivan News was recognized as an overtly anti-government, pro-MDP news outlet. However, according to current editor, JJ Robinson, following the change of power in 2008, Minivan News has undergone a number of changes. All funding from politically affiliated sources were cut off. Foreign editors and journalists were brought in and given absolute editorial freedom. According to Robinson, though the news outlet was previously dedicated to MDP-centered news, it is now run with a strong focus on objectivity. He also highlighted that to further maintain the outlet's independence, the website is now considering further options to raise funding through advertising.

Analysis

Figure 1.A

This graph shows you how the total space in Minivan News online was dedicated to the different Types of coverage. The total measurement of space covered amounts to 87,914 sqcm. Being a news website, the maximum coverage was given to news articles, which was a total space of 84,838 sqcm. No space at all was given to either letters, free space, paid space or others during the period of monitoring.

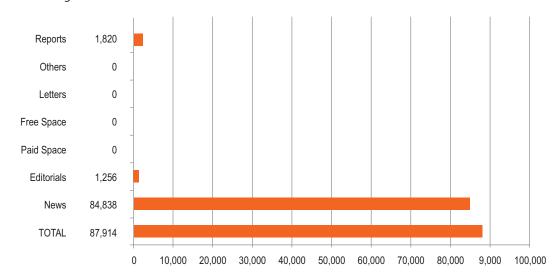


Figure 1.A

Figure 1.B

This figure represents the same information in the form of a pie chart. 97% of the total space was utilized for news, while 2% was used for the publishing of editorials. Reports were dedicated just 1% of the total space. No other types were published in the monitored period and are thus not visible in this figure.

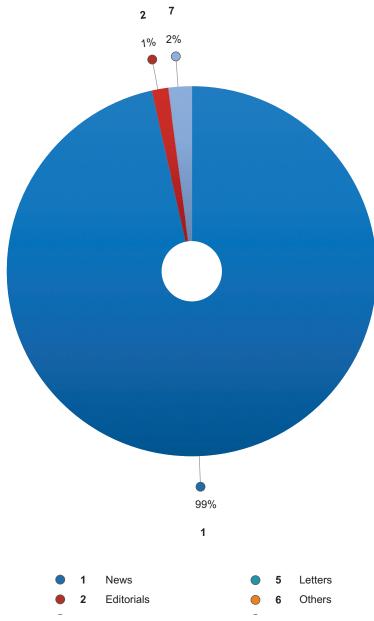


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

The topic 'other', being a wider window, received the largest area of space, 44, 523 sqcm. Looking at more specific topics, Politics and Corruption related topics are leading with Politics having a somewhat larger amount of space. 12, 855 sqcm were dedicated to Politics related news and 12, 744 sqcm handled Corruption related issues. Judicial Administration, with 1,256 sqcm received the least space from those topics covered, whereas Human Rights, Local Council Administration and Elections were not mentioned at all.

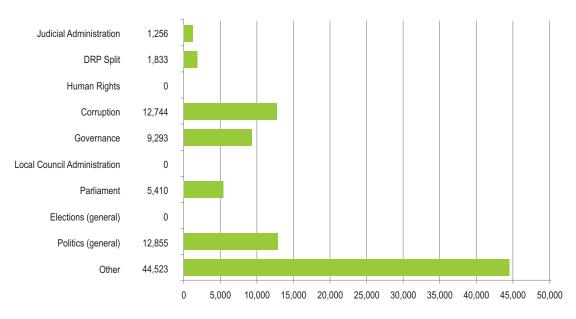


Figure 2.A

Figure 2.B

As was noted above, the category Other received the largest share of coverage with 50.6%. The other maximums are Politics with 14.6% and Corruption with 14.5%. Judicial Administration received a mere 1%.

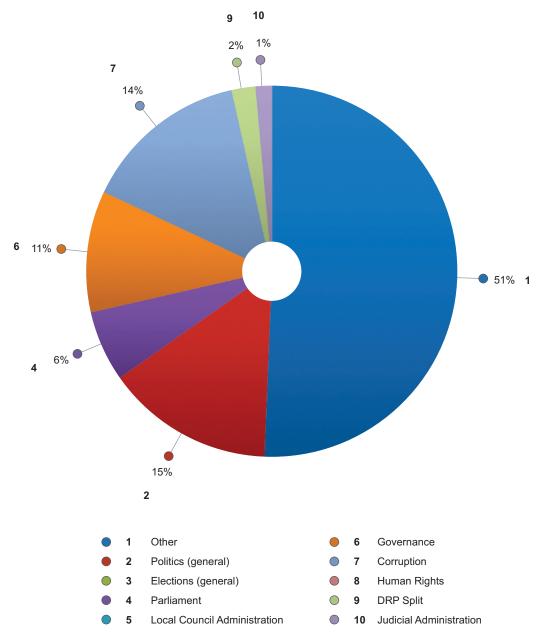


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

In this particular media, Police received a significantly larger amount of space in terms of coverage, a total of 8,040 sqcm.

The government received the next maximum, 4,719 sqcm, while separately, the ruling party, MDP, itself got a coverage of 4, 029 sqcm.

The largest political opposition, DRP, in general, received a coverage of 4,432 sqcm. The two factions of this party, popularly referred to in media as Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction, received 819 and 639 sqcm respectively.

Among the actors who were covered, the least amount of space was given to Independent Members of Parliament, a total of 36 sqcm. However, it is worth noting that of other actors considered, Atoll Councils, the Presidential Commission, Human Rights Commission of the Maldives, Independent candidates for Local Council Elections, Democracy Network, Transparency Maldives, Elections Commission, The Speaker of the Parliament and political party Qaumee Inthihaad were not mentioned on this particular news medium throughout the research period.

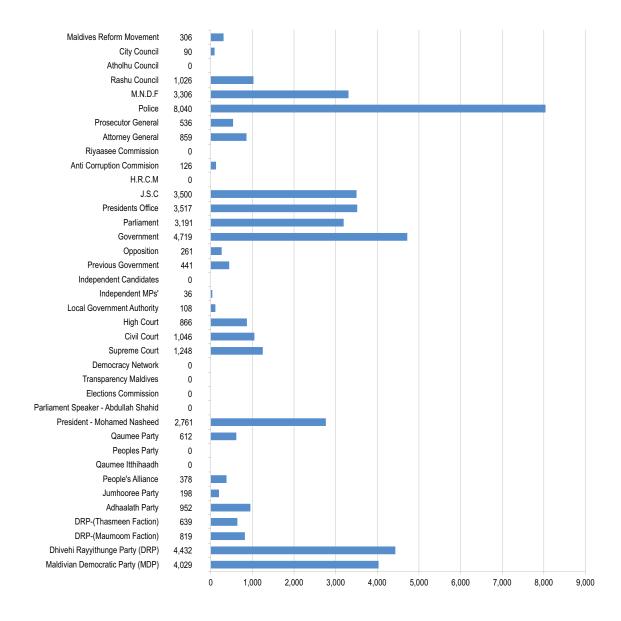


Figure 3.A

Figure 3.B

The maximum space went to Police at 17%. The next maximum is Government, which received 10% of the total space.

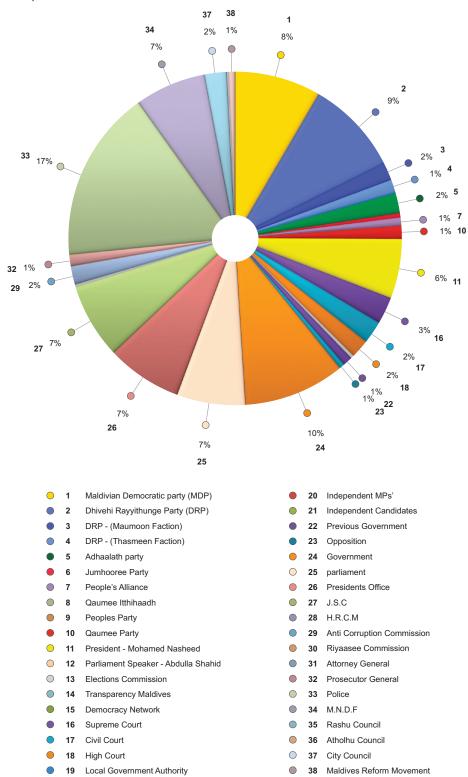


Figure 3.B

Figure 4.A

With regard to neutral statements in the articles, the latter mentioned actors received 100%: Supreme Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent MPs, President's Office, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, Island and City councils. It should, however, be highlighted that except for the President's Office, all the actors got total coverage space ranging from 36 to 1,248 sqcm. The President's Office received a comparatively higher coverage of 3,517 sqcm, all of which was solely dedicated to neutral news.

The lowest percentage of neutral news was given to Adhaalath Party, which had no neutral coverage from a total space of 952 sqcm.

Taking into focus the negative space dedicated to actors, the highest percentage of negative news was dedicated to the Thasmeen Faction of DRP, at 76% of a space of 639 sqcm.

Also to be noted is that many of the actors who appeared in the news received no negative coverage at all during the period of research. The actors who received over 500 sqcm of coverage with no negative references are; Adhaalath Party, Supreme Court, High Court, President's Office, Prosecutor General and the Island Councils.

As per positive coverage, it is worth noting that the only actor who received a full 100% of positive coverage is Adhaalath Party, whose total space amounted to 952 sqcm. Following Adhaalath Party, the next highest portion of positive coverage was given to the Maldives Reform Movement, at 44% of 306 sqcm. The next in line is the Opposition, who received 38% of positive news from a total space of 261 sqcm.

Again, it has to be highlighted that many of the actors considered in the research did not receive any positive news. The actors who were dedicated more than 500 sqcm of coverage with no positive references are; both Thasmeen and Maumoon Factions of DRP, Supreme Court, Civil Court, High Court, Parliament, President's Office, Judicial Services Commission, Attorney General, Prosecutor General, Police, MNDF and the Island Councils.

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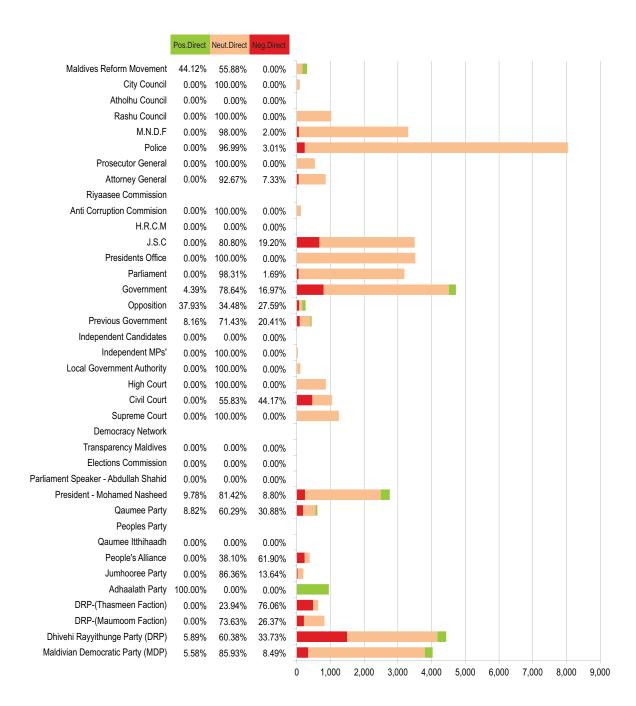
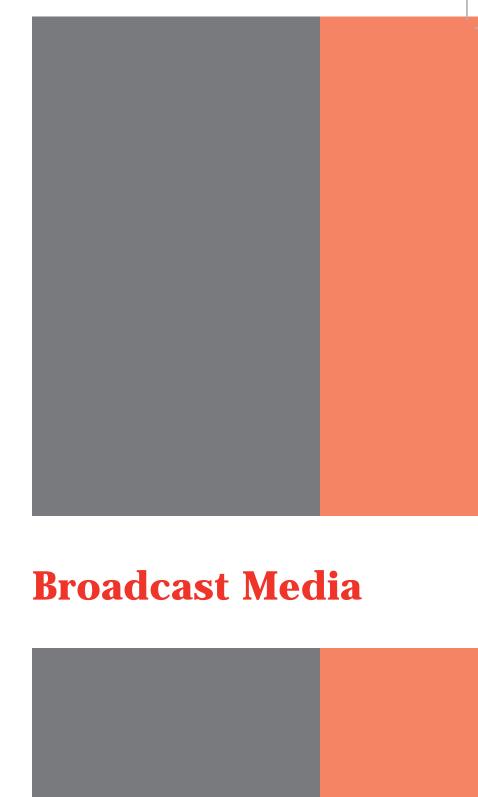


Figure 4.A





DhiTV

Background

Ever since the first TV channel started broadcast in 1978, the State monopoly over media did not allow any space for private broadcasting until the pressure for government reform started building in 2005. After years of struggle, the parliament announced a Broadcast Licensing Contract on 2008.

The first TV channel to be registered was DhiTV. The channel is run by Broadcasting Maldives Pvt Ltd, and is financed by Mr. Mohamed (Champa) Moosa.

DhiTV was inaugurated on July 2008 and started broadcast as the first Private Television channel to test signal.

Analysis

Figure 1.A

The data presented in Figure 1.A shows the total time devoted to the category Type. The total time monitored adds up to 51 hours, 43 minutes and o6 seconds. While the sub-category News received the majority of time with 23 hours and 34 seconds followed by Current affairs programmes with 16 hours, 48 minutes and 28 seconds, the fourth largest portion of total time was devoted to Others. Free-time, Paid-time and TV Debates received nil.

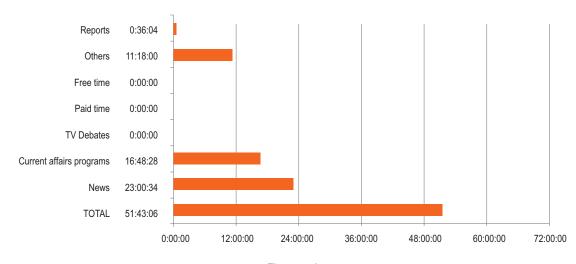


Figure 1.A

Figure 1.B

The data represented in Figure 1.B depicts in percentages the total time devoted to the sub-categories. While the sub-category News and Current Affairs programmes received 44% and 33% respectively, Others received 22% and reports just 1%.

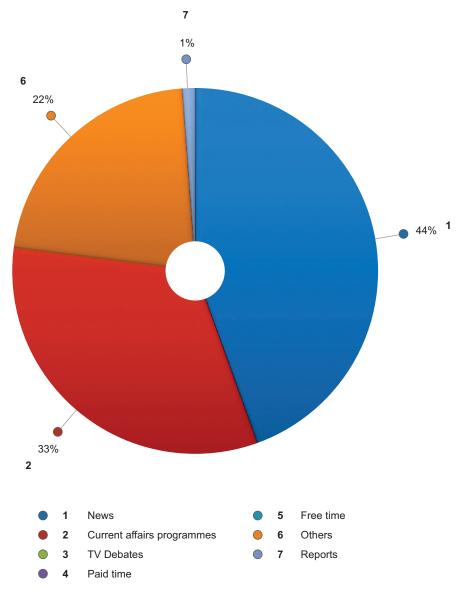


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

The data depicted in Figure 2.A shows the total duration of time allocated to the Topics selected for monitoring and analysis. The sub-category Other received the longest duration of time with 30 hours, 29 minutes and 22 seconds, while Politics received the second largest portion with 7 hours, 55 minutes and 48 seconds. The coverage time received by Parliament slightly exceeds that given to Governance.

It is important to highlight that during the period monitored, while Elections received no coverage, Human Rights, Corruption, Judicial Administration and DRP Split received relatively low coverage.

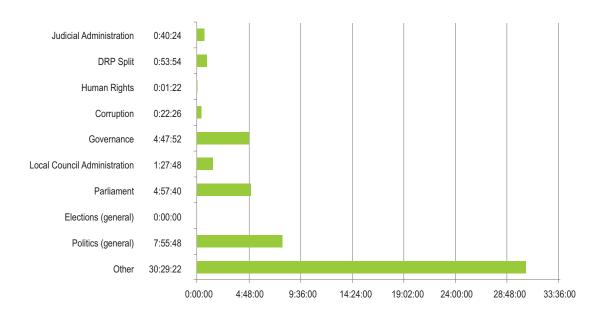


Figure 2.A

Figure 2.B

Figure 2.B depicts the same data represented in Figure 2.A. The reason why the sub-category Other received the maximum coverage time is because a wide range of articles which do not refer to any other topic comes under this category. Similarly, Politics being a wider Topic, covered in various programs, it has a higher possibility of receiving more coverage compared to other Topics analyzed.

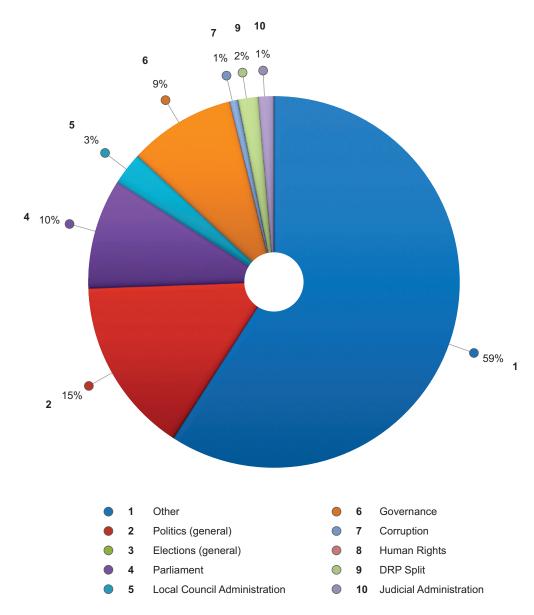


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

The bar graph in Figure 3.A shows the total duration of time devoted to Subjects monitored. While DRP received the longest duration of coverage with 4 hours, 55 minutes and 04 seconds, Government received the second largest portion with 3 hours, 29 minutes and 24 seconds, followed by the Parliament.

While areas directly relating to human rights and democracy (H.R.C.M, Democracy Network and Transparency Maldives) received no coverage, the duration of time devoted to Subjects relating to the area Judicial Administration is significantly less as well.

Furthermore, compared to DRP, other political parties received significantly low coverage. Even though MDP had the second largest coverage of all the political parties, even they received less than half the coverage of DRP.

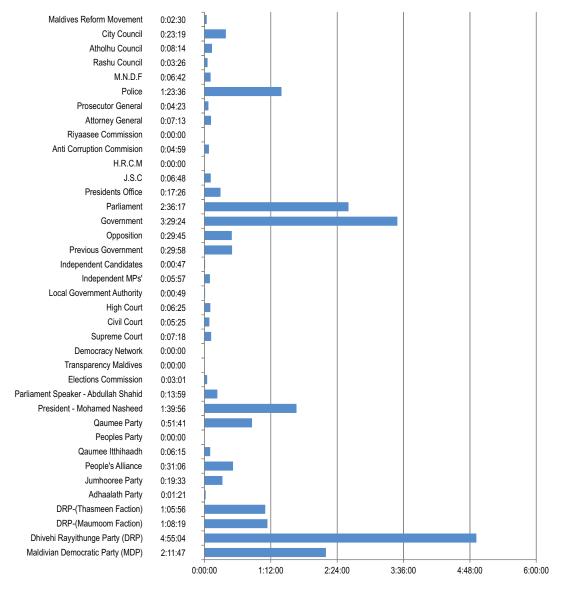


Figure 3.A

Figure 3.B

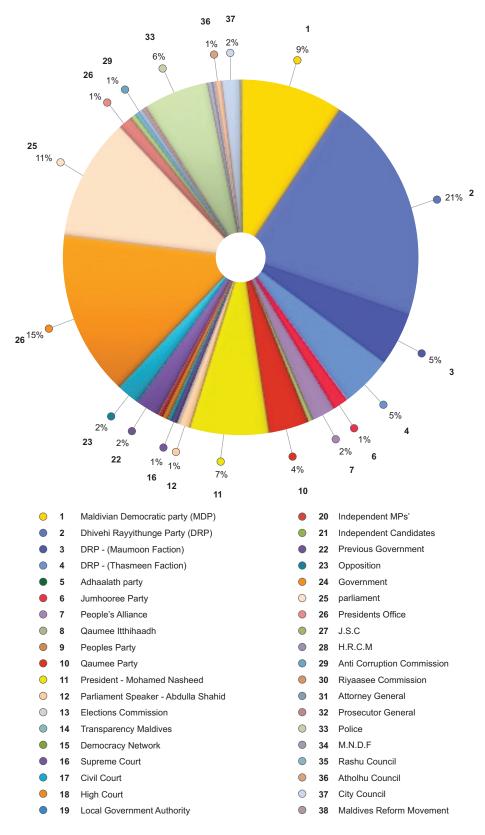


Figure 3.B

Media Monitoring: Maldives

DRP received the second longest duration of time among all the subjects monitored. It also received a significantly larger space (21%) compared to all the other political parties monitored. The two factions of DRP were treated as separate Subjects, and each received 5% of the total space. This is a significantly large percentage compared to other political parties.

While MDP received 8.9%, the second longest duration of time among all the political parties, Qaumee Party received 4%, People's Alliance received 2%, Jumhooree Party received 1% and Qaumee Ithihaadh, Adhaalath Party and Maldives Reform Movement received the least coverage with less than 1%.

Parliament, with 11%, was devoted the second largest space of all Subjects monitored.

Figure 4.A

Figure 4.A depicts the total time and percentage of space each subject received for the qualitative aspect Tone.

While the major opposition, DRP, received the largest space of all the subjects monitored, it received 3.78% positive coverage, 91.39% neutral coverage, and 4.82% negative coverage. Compared to DRP, the current ruling party,MDP, that received the second largest space of all political parties was devoted 14.72% positive coverage, 67.67% neutral coverage, and 17.60% negative coverage. Hence, in terms of the Tone, compared to MDP, DRP received significantly a lesser amount of positive and negative coverage.

Of the two factions within DRP, Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction, both received equal amount of total coverage in terms of percentage. However, there is a significant difference in Tone. While Maumoon Faction received a total positive coverage of 9.47%, Thasmeen Faction received a total of 4.17%. Also, Maumoon Faction received a total of 21.40% negative coverage, but the Thasmeen Faction received a total of 39.18% negative coverage. This, in fact, is also the largest negative coverage devoted to any Subject analyzed. Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction received 69.14% and 56.65% neutral coverage respectively.

The largest positive coverage was devoted to Local Government Authority, which amounted to 40.82%. However, the Subject received a significantly low total coverage of only 49 seconds.

President Mohamed Nasheed received 20.75% positive coverage and 30.42% negative coverage.

Qaumee Ithihaadh, Independent Candidates and Prosecutor General were the only Subjects that received 100% neutral coverage. However, the total coverage devoted to them was relatively low

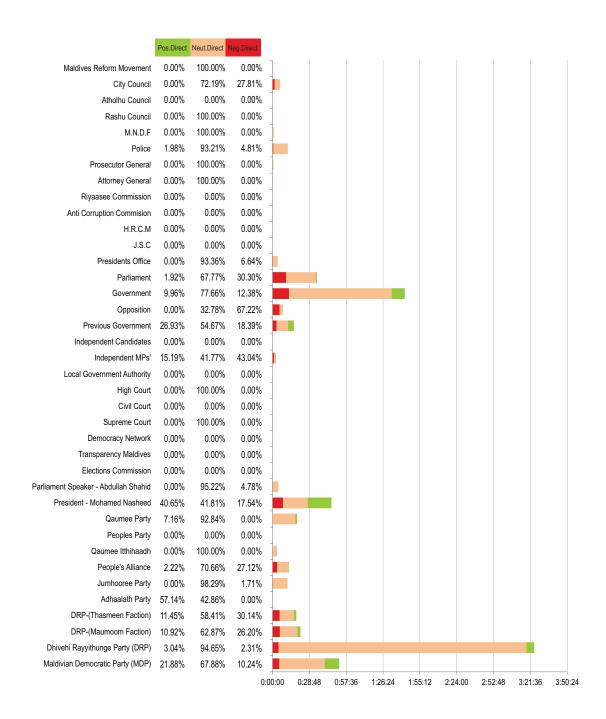


Figure 4.A

Figure 4.B

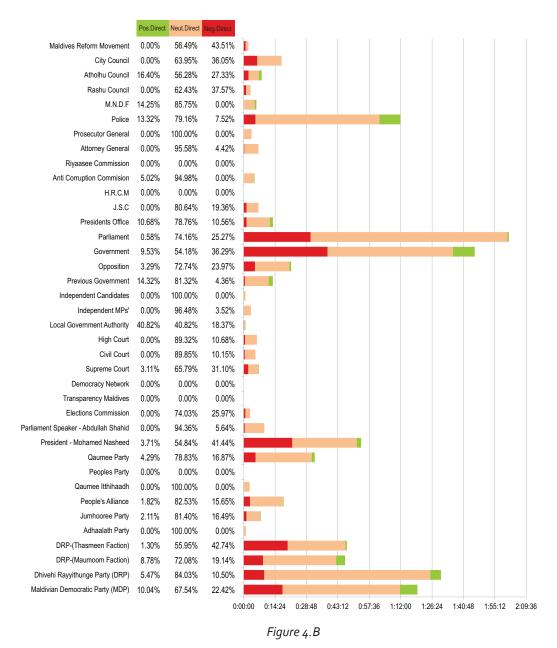


Figure 4.B depicts in percentage the total duration of direct time each Subject received.

Of all the Subjects monitored, DRP received the largest direct coverage with 3.04% positive content, 94.65% neutral content and 2.31% negative content. MDP received 21.88% positive content, 67.88% neutral content and 10.24% negative content. Hence, a significant difference exits in direct coverage between DRP and MDP. More over, the amount of total time devoted to DRP is significantly larger than the total time devoted to MDP.

Of all the Subjects monitored, Opposition received the largest negative direct coverage which amounts to 67.22% with no positive direct coverage.

While the incumbent Government received 9.96% positive direct time, 77.66% neutral direct time and 12.38% negative direct time, the Previous Government was devoted 26.93% positive direct time, 54.67% neutral direct time and 18.39% negative direct time. However, the Government, compared to the Previous Government received a significantly larger total coverage.

President Nasheed was devoted 40.65% positive direct coverage, 41.81% neutral direct coverage and 17.54% negative direct coverage.

Maumoon Faction of DRP received 10.92% direct positive coverage while Thasmeen Faction of DRP received 11.45%. In terms of direct negative coverage, Maumoon Faction received 26.20%, while Thasmeen Faction received 30.14%. In fact, of all the political parties analyzed, Thasmeen Faction received the largest portion of direct negative coverage. Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction each received 62.87% and 58.41% neutral direct coverage respectively.

Adhaalath Party was devoted the largest positive direct coverage (57.14%) among all the subjects analyzed. The Subject also received no negative direct coverage. However, Adhaalath Party received a significantly low total coverage.

Among the other Subjects analyzed, Qaumee Ithihaadh, Supreme Court, High Court, Attorney General, Prosecutor General, MNDF, Atoll Council and Maldives Reform Movement received neither positive nor negative direct coverage. And, while Jumhooree Party received no positive direct coverage with 1.71% negative direct coverage, Qaumee Party received 7.16% positive direct coverage and no negative direct coverage. People's Alliance was devoted 2.22% positive direct coverage and a significantly large negative direct coverage of 27.12%.

Figure 4.C

Figure 4.C depicts in percentage the total duration of indirect time each Subject received.

Of all the subjects monitored and analyzed, Parliament was devoted the largest total indirect space with 0.5% positive content, 74.16% neutral content and 25.27% negative content.

President Nasheed who received a relatively high coverage received a significantly low positive indirect coverage of 3.71% and a significantly high negative indirect coverage of 41.44%.

The largest negative indirect coverage of all the Subjects was devoted to Maldives Reform Movement, amounting to 43.51%. However, Maldives Reform Movement received a very low total coverage.

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ithihaadh, Independent Candidates and Prosecutor General received no coverage on either the positive or negative aspect of the analysis.

Local Government Authority received the largest positive indirect space of 40.82%) from all the Subjects monitored. However, the total coverage devoted to Local Government authority was

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significantly low.

Noticeable is also that some Subjects received a large negative indirect coverage with no positive indirect coverage. These include the Island and City Councils.

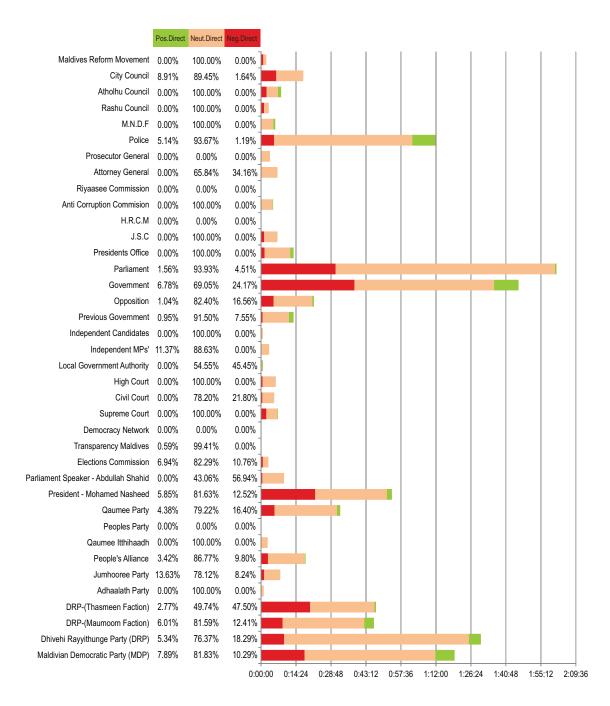


Figure 4.C

MNBC One

Background

The telecasting service first started in the Maldives in 1978 as Television Maldives, more commonly known as TVM. Fully operated by the state, TVM received wide popularity. TVM had been the only local TV channel in Maldives for nearly three decades, during which the state monopoly over broadcasting was a major issue in the country.

In 2005 TVM underwent some major changes after Mr. Mohamed Nasheed was appointed as the Minister for Information and Arts. A foreign consultant for media development was hired to lead media reforms. In 2006 television broadcast was made available to 14 more atolls. Twenty atoll bureaus were created around the country to provide a wider coverage range. Twenty journalists, one from each atoll bureau, were given a convergence media training, enabling them to collect, write and contribute information. In 2007, the Press Forward campaign was launched. Three codes of ethics were created.

- No hierarchy in judging newsworthiness
- No press releases were to be aired on the news
- A 20 second time limit for all news pieces

By 2008 multiple political parties had formed. In order to provide fair coverage to all, news was brought in a revolving order. TVM also aired the first primary elections of MDP (then, the opposition) in 2008. An airtime allocation agreement was adopted, that allowed limited amount of free airtime for all candidates, prior to the Presidential Elections in 2008.

The new Constitution which was ratified in 2008, along with the new government which was elected the same year, brought about a number of changes to the state media. In order to privatize TVM and the state radio channel Voice of Maldives (VOM), the Maldives Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) was formed. The MBC Board members needed to be suggested by the President, and approved by the Parliament. At the time, the parliament consisted of an opposition majority and before the matter was finalized in Parliament, President Nasheed declared the formation of a public company under the Government as the Maldives National Broadcasting Corporation (MNBC). He then registered TVM and VOM under the company. VOM was rebranded as Raajje Radio, and TVM as MNBC One.

The issue escalated to multiple protests in front of the MNBC One offices by the opposition parties, calling on the government to hand over the assets of MNBC to the board of MBC. The government responded saying that they didn't want any political bias in the state media and that state media has to air all state related issues. The opposition parties insist that they will not accept MNBC as the state media until a board is properly elected by the state.

In a meeting held with MNBC One regarding the Media-Monitoring project, they claimed that some political parties were boycotting the channel. The meetings with certain political parties also revealed

that they believed that MNBC One is essentially pro-government and politically biased, and this is why the parties are boycotting this channel.

Analysis

Figure 1.A

The data in figure 1.A shows the total time devoted to category Type. The total time monitored adds up to 69 hours, 50 minutes and 8 seconds. The sub-category Others received the largest amount of total time, coming up to 40 hours, 27 minutes and 14 seconds. The second largest portion was devoted to News, amounting to 14 hours, 59 minutes and 44 seconds. This is followed by Current affairs programs with 8 hours, 56 minutes and 10 seconds and Paid Time with 5 hours, 22 minutes and 10 seconds. The least amount of coverage was devoted to Reports with 4 minutes and 50 seconds. The sub-categories Free time and TV Debates received nil.

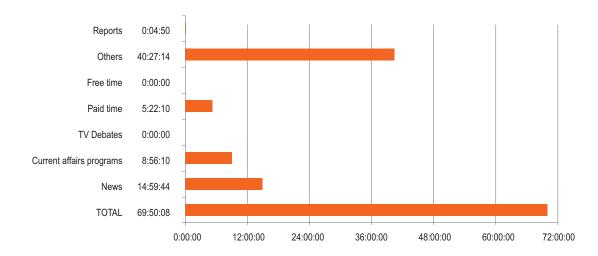


Figure 1.A

Figure 1.B

This figure depicts the same information in the form of a pie chart. Others received 58%, News received 21%, Current affairs programs received 13% while Paid Time received 8%.

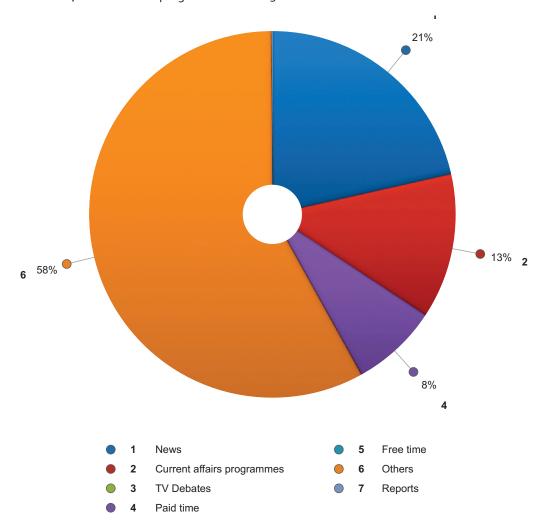


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

The data in figure 2.A shows the total duration of time allocated to the Topics selected for monitoring and analysis. The sub-category Other received a significantly large amount of time with 57 hours, 28 minutes and 4 seconds. Followed by Politics with 6 hours, 7 minutes and 2 seconds. The third largest amount of time goes to Governance with 3 hours, 30 minutes and 48 seconds. The Topic Parliament received 1 hour, 25 minutes and 34 seconds. Judicial Administration, DRP Split, Corruption, and Local Council Administration received a relatively small amount of time while Human rights and Elections received nil.

The fact that some Topics received no coverage at all during the period of research, may be because no related significant events occurred during this time, or because this particular channel did not cover any event that might have occurred.

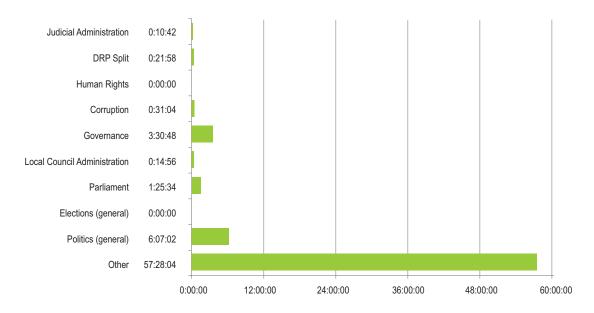


Figure 2.A

Figure 2.B

The chart in figure 2.B depicts the same amounts in figure 2.A converted to percentages.

The Topic Other received 82% of the total coverage, which is the maximum. Politics received 9% of the coverage, whereas Governance received a total of 5%.

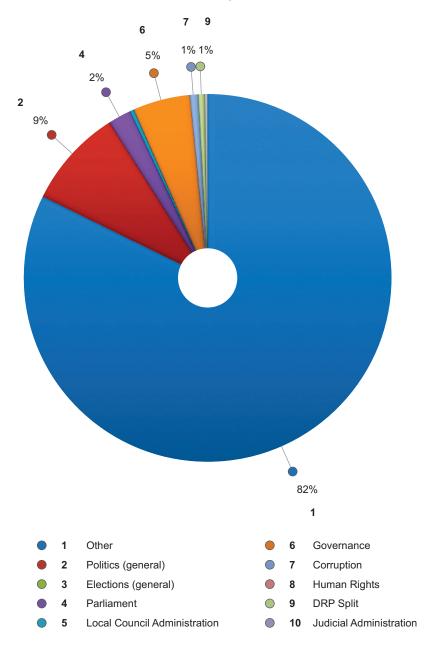


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

The bar graph in figure 3.A shows the duration of time devoted to each Subject monitored. The largest amount of time was received by Government, amounting to 2 hours, 27 minutes and 14 seconds. The second largest coverage time goes to Parliament with 53 minutes and 34 seconds.

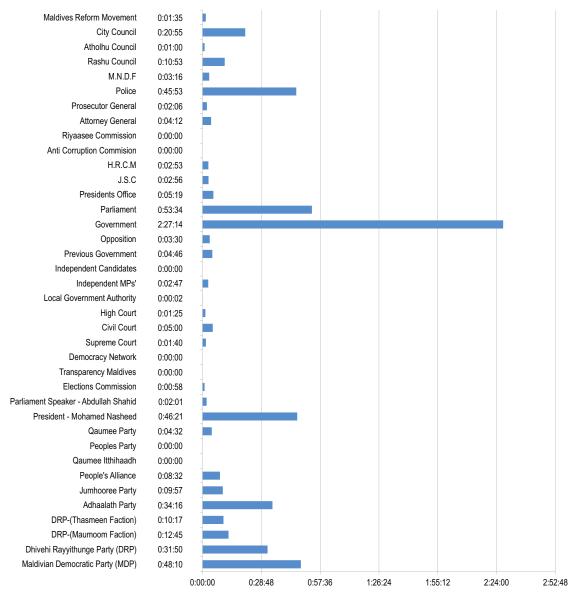
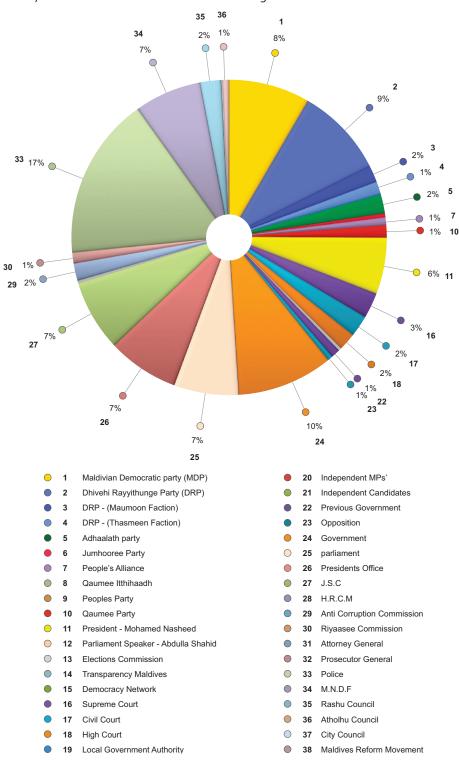


Figure 3.A

Figure 3.B

Figure 3.B represents in percentages the time received by each subject.

The Subject which received the highest coverage is Government, totalling 28%. The next majority was received by Parliament with 10% of the total coverage.



63 Figure 3.B

Figure 4.A

The Figure 4.A shows the allocation of time for each Subject with regard to tone.

While the government received the highest coverage from all the Subjects, out of the total time, 76.69% was neutral, 16.21% was positive and 7.10% was negative. The Parliament, with the second largest coverage time, received 83.20% neutral, 3.52% positive and 13.29% negative coverage.

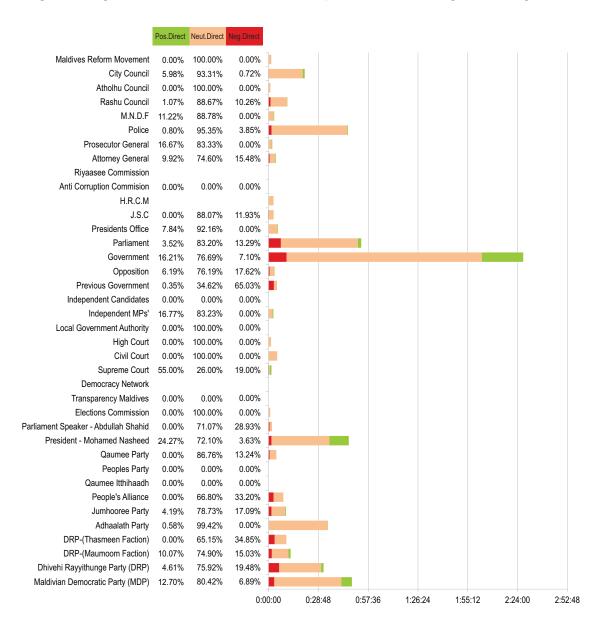


Figure 4.A

Figure 4.B

The bar graph in figure 4.B depicts in percentage the total duration of direct time each Subject received.

Government also received the highest direct coverage with 12.13%. It also received 83.86% neutral and 4.01% negative direct coverage.

The highest percentage of positive direct coverage was given to MNDF with 64.71%. This is followed by Independent Members of Parliament, who received 30.77%.

The highest negative coverage added up to 100% and was received by the Attorney General. This is followed by Previous Government, which received 99.01%.

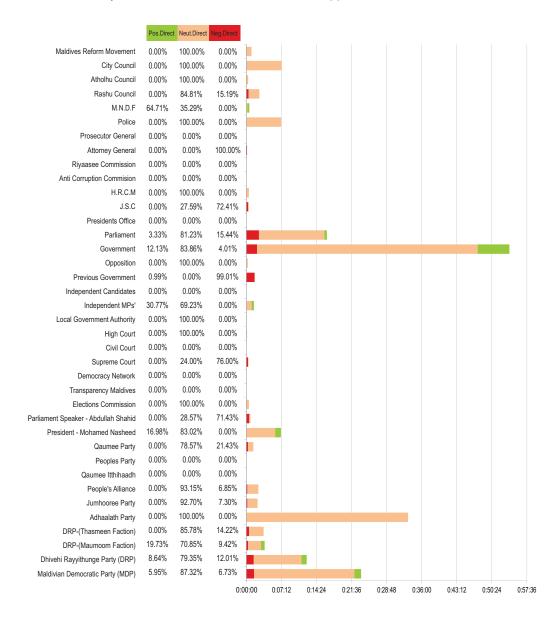


Figure 4.B 65

Figure 4.C

The bar graph in figure 4.C depicts in percentages the total duration of indirect time each Subject received.

Supreme Court, with 73.33% Positive, 26.67% Neutral and no negative indirect time, received the most positive percentage from all the Subjects monitored. The most negative indirect percentage was given to Previous Government with 46.49% negative, 53.51% neutral and no positive coverage.

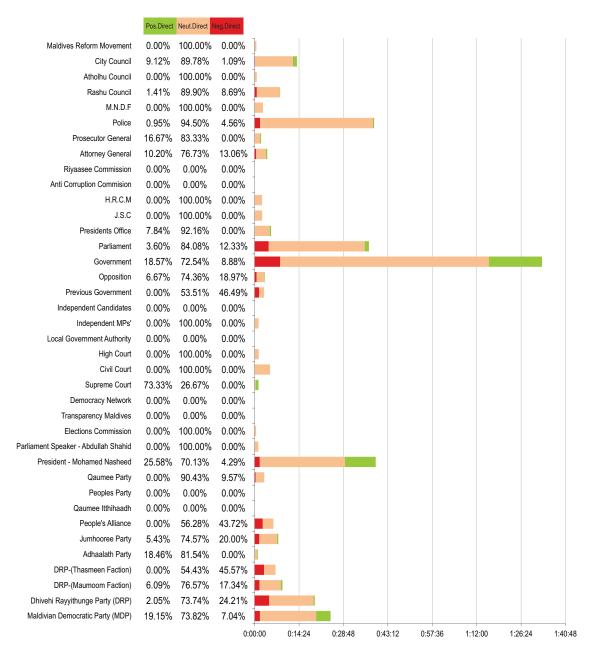


Figure 4.C

Although President Nasheed and the Police received almost the same amount of indirect time, President Nasheed received 25.58% positive coverage while Police received 0.95% positive coverage. They both received almost the same amount of negative indirect coverage.

Of all the political parties, MDP received the most positive indirect coverage, with 19.15%. The largest percentage of negative indirect coverage from all the political parties goes to Thasmeen faction of DRP with 45.57%.

\mathbf{VTV}

Background

VTV is the first licensed private television channel operating in Maldives. As the first private satellite television broadcaster in the country, VTV began its operations on September 5, 2008. VTV is owned by Mr. Qasim Ibrahim, a prominent businessman and chairman of Villa Group. Mr. Qasim also served as Minister of Finance and Treasury in the previous Gayyoom government and as Minister of Home Affairs in the current government. In addition to running for presidency in 2008 election, he is also currently a member of the parliament and the leader of Jumhoori Party.

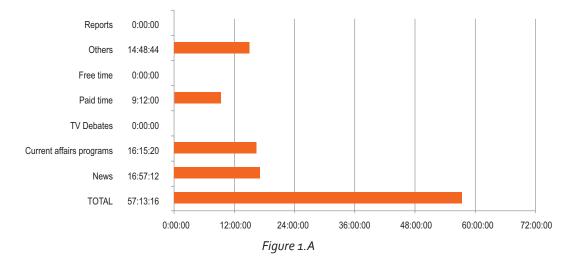
VTV's main programs include local and international news and current affairs programs in addition to entertainment and talk shows that cover local politics and social issues.

The sole proprietor of VTV being Mr. Gasim, there has been allegations that VTV is biased in its reporting.

In a meeting held with the senior editorial staff of VTV regarding the media-monitoring project, they revealed that some political parties have boycotted them. They also highlighted that they believed they are impartial in presenting news, however they claimed to have a loyalty towards the owner. On the other hand, in the meetings with some political parties and other project related stakeholders, accusations were made that VTV is politically biased.

Analysis

Figure 1.A



The total time monitored adds up to 57 hours, 13 minutes and 16 seconds. While the sub-category News received the majority of total time with 16 hours, 57 minutes and 12 seconds followed by Current affairs programmes with a slight difference of 16 hours, 15 minutes and 20 seconds, the third largest portion of total time was devoted to Others. While paid time received 9 hours and 12 minutes of total coverage, Reports, Free-time and TV Debates received none.

Figure 1.B

The sub-category News received 29.6%, Current Affairs received 28.4%, Others received 25.9% and Paid Time received 16.1% of the total space.

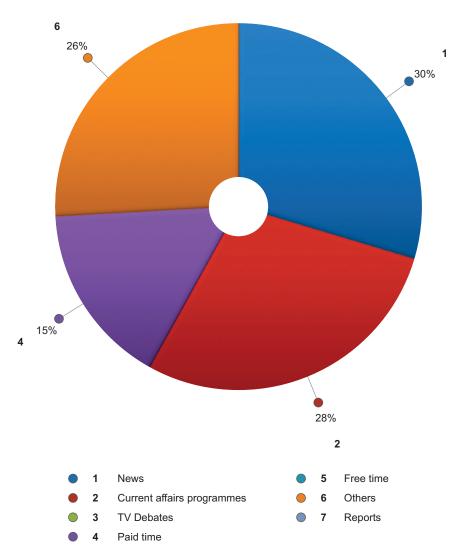


Figure 1.B

Figure 2.A

The sub-category Other received the longest duration of time with 29 hours, 43 minutes and 18 seconds, while Politics received the second largest portion with 16 hours, 05 minutes and 18 seconds. This is followed by Parliament, which received 6 hours, 48 minutes and 26 seconds.

It is important to highlight that during the period monitored, Human Rights received no coverage, while Elections, Judicial Administration and Corruption received relatively low coverage.

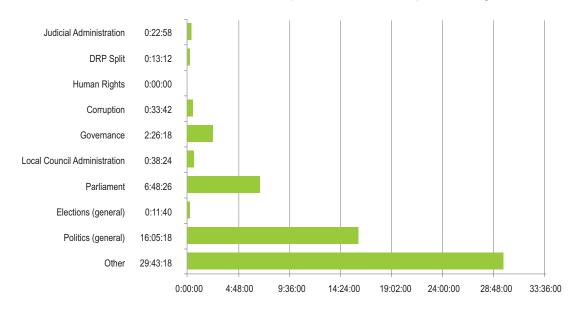


Figure 2.A

Figure 2.B

In this channel, besides the collective category Other, the highest coverage was given to the Topic Politics, which is a total of 28.2%.

The lowest coverage, a mere 0.3%, was given to Elections.

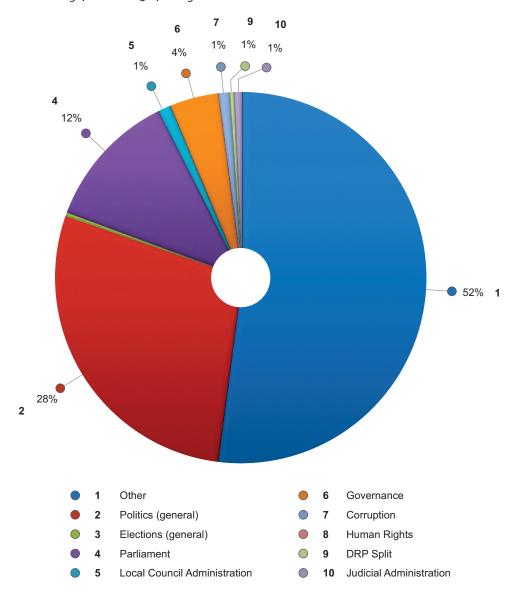


Figure 2.B

Figure 3.A

While the Parliament received the longest duration of coverage with 4 hours, 04 minutes and 25 seconds, DRP received the second largest portion with 3 hours, 43 minutes, 11 seconds.

High Court received o8 minutes and 54 seconds, J.S.C received o6 minutes and 24 seconds, Civil Court received o2 minutes and 29 seconds, and, while Supreme Court received o3 minutes and 31 seconds, Prosecutor General received just 42 seconds.

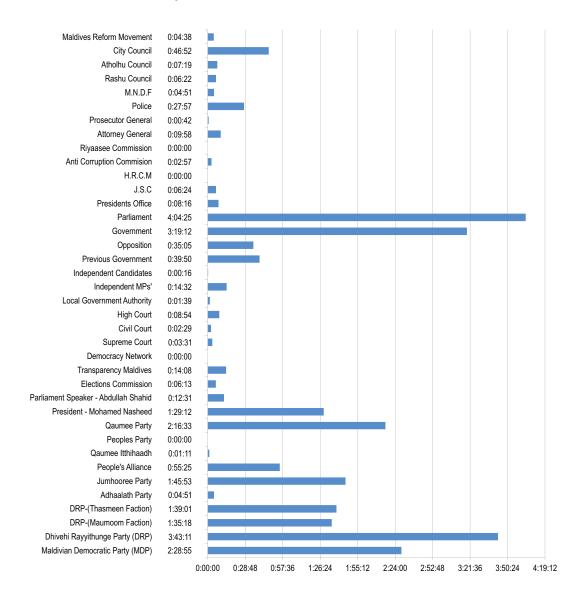


Figure 3.A

Figure 3.B

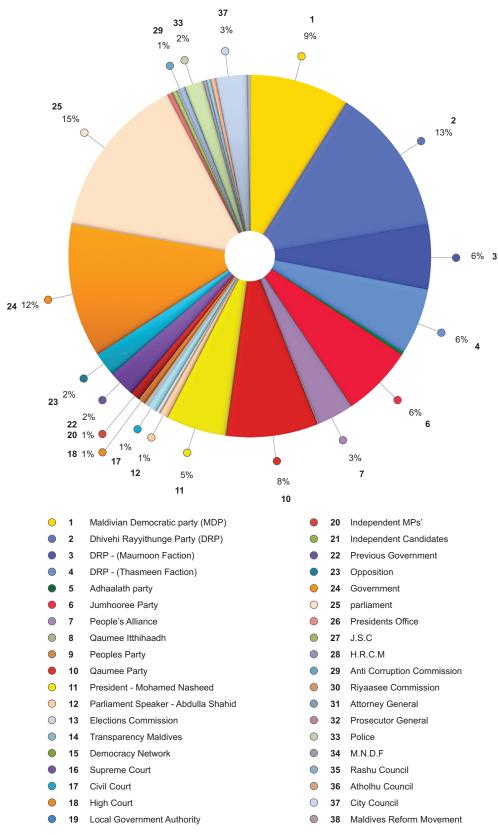


Figure 3.B

The Subject which received maximum coverage is the Parliament, with 14.6%.

In addition to receiving the second longest duration of time among all the Subjects monitored, DRP also received a significantly large space of 13. 4% compared to all the other political parties monitored. However, Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction, which were treated as separate subjects, received 5.7% and 5.9% respectively.

MDP with 8.9% received the second longest duration of time among all the political parties. However, the coverage devoted to MDP was also close to that of Qaumee Party with 8.2%. Jumhoori Party received 6.3% while People's Alliance received 3.3%. Adhaalath Party and Maldives Reform Movement, each received 0.3%. Qaumee Ithihaad received the least amount of time with just 0.1%.

Figure 4.A

While the parliament received the largest portion of all the subjects, out of the total, 91.98% was neutral, 3.21% was positive and 4.81% was negative. DRP devoted the second largest total space; it received 79.56% neutral coverage, 6.16% positive coverage and 14.28% negative coverage.

MDP received 76.58% neutral coverage, 7.08% positive coverage and 16.34% negative coverage. Although both DRP and MDP received almost equal coverage in terms of positive, negative and neutral aspects, there is a large difference in the total amount of time devoted to DRP, which is 13.4%, and MDP, which is 8.9%.

Of the two factions, Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction, though both received almost equal amount of total coverage, there is a large difference in tone: While Maumoon Faction received a total positive coverage of 14.01%, Thasmeen Faction received a total of only 4.83% positive coverage. Also, while Maumoon Faction received a total of 12.98% of negative coverage, Thasmeen Faction received a total of 58.93% of negative coverage. This, in fact, is also the largest negative coverage devoted to any Subject analyzed. Maumoon Faction and Thasmeen Faction both received 73.02% and 36.24% neutral coverage respectively.

The second largest negative coverage was devoted to Local Government Authority, which is of 53.54%, followed by Speaker of Parliament, Abdullah Shahid, who received 53.53%.

With Government devoted 62.76% neutral coverage, 6.61% positive coverage and 30.63% negative coverage, the government received the third largest total space of all Subjects monitored.

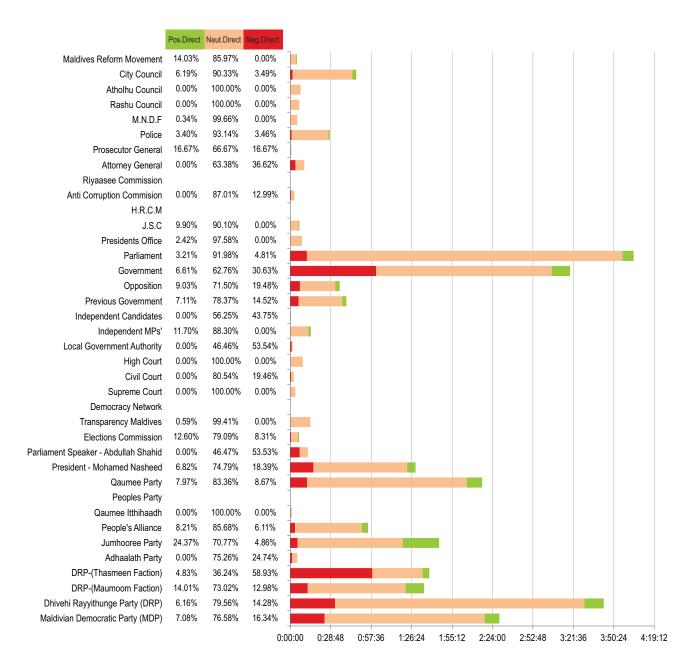


Figure 4.A

Figure 4.B

Of all the Subjects monitored, Presidents Office was the only Subject that received 100% positive direct coverage with no neutral or negative direct coverage.

While the Government received 6.49% positive direct time and 58.30% neutral direct time, the Previous Government with a significant difference was devoted 25.42% positive direct time and 39.37% neutral direct time. However, both received almost an equal amount of negative direct time.

Of all the political parties analyzed, Jumhoori Party with 31.44% received the largest percentage of positive direct coverage. It received 2.64% negative direct coverage and 65.93% direct neutral coverage.

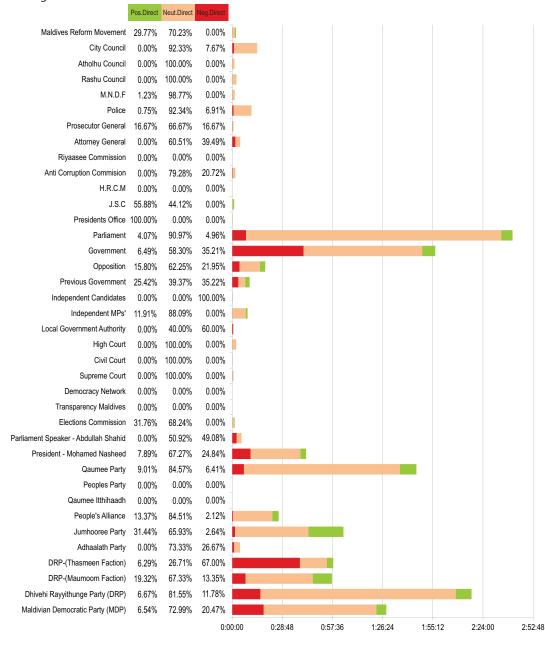


Figure 4.B

Maldives Reform Movement received the largest direct positive coverage (29.77%) with no direct negative coverage, while Adhaalath Party received no direct positive coverage with 26.67% direct negative coverage. Also, Adhaalath Party is the only political party that received nil direct positive coverage.

The largest negative direct coverage was given to Thasmeen Faction; 67% of the total time.

Figure 4.C

Figure 4.C shows that of all the Subjects monitored and analyzed, Jumhooree Party with 13.63% were devoted the largest positive indirect space. The indirect negative space devoted to Jumhooree Party was 8.24%.

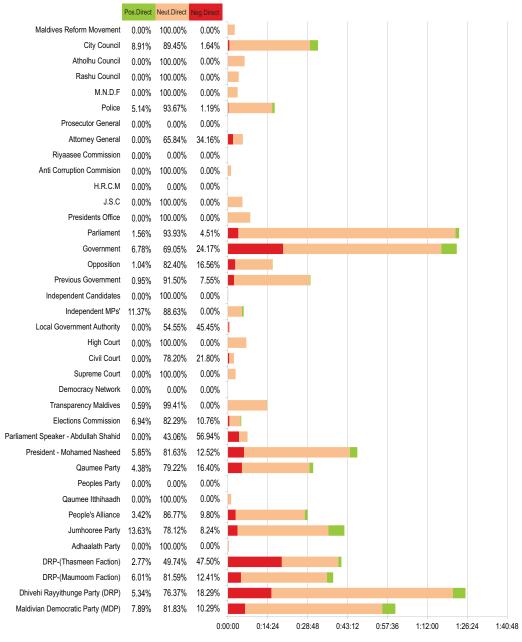


Figure 4.C 77

The second largest portion of positive indirect space amounting to 11.37%, with no negative indirect space was devoted to Independent MP's, who received only 0.9% of total space.

Given the large total space devoted to Jumhooree Party and given that all the Subjects except Independent MP's received a below 10% positive indirect space, the space devoted to Jumhooree Party was significantly high.

The largest negative indirect space was devoted to Parliament Speaker – Abdulla Shahid, a total of 56.94% with 43.06% neutral indirect space and no positive indirect space.

Of the political parties, MDP received the second largest positive indirect coverage (7.89%) with 10.29% negative indirect coverage. The opposition, Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party (DRP) received 5.34% positive indirect coverage and 18.29% negative indirect coverage.

While DRP (Maumoon Faction) received 6.01% positive indirect coverage and 12.41% negative indirect coverage, DRP (Thasmeen Faction) received 2.77% positive indirect coverage and the second largest negative coverage (47.50%) of all the Subjects analyzed.

A comparison of current Government and Previous Government shows that while the Government was devoted 6.78% positive indirect coverage and 24.17% negative indirect coverage, the Previous Government was devoted 0.95% positive indirect space and 7.55% negative indirect coverage.

A noticeable number of Subjects including some political parties also received no coverage on both positive indirect and negative indirect aspect.

Overall Analysis

This segment aims to portray a comparison of the analyses presented above for each media. This will be presented in two sectors: Print and Broadcast media.

PRINT MEDIA

In reference to Figure 1.A and 1.B of Haveeru, Miadhu and Minivan.

These figures depicted the space dedicated to the different Types the content was categorized into. In comparison, it was noted that;

Haveeru had five types of content:

News - 78.4%

Others - 10.1%

Editorials – 1.5%

Paid space - 1.7%

Reports - 0.2%

Miadhu had three types of content:

News - 89.1%

Others - 9.6%

Paid space - 1.3%

Minivan had three types of content:

News - 97%

Editorials - 2%

Reports -1%

The total space of published material during the time of research was;

- Haveeru 117,283 sqcm
- Miadhu 87,519 sqcm
- Minivan 86, 094 sqcm

It was also noticed that during this time, no print media provided any space free of charge to a relevant actor, nor were any letters to the editor published.

In reference to Figure 2.A of Haveeru, Miadhu and Minivan.

This is the figure that deals with the space provided to the Topics under which the content was separated.

In this segment, it is worth noting that the Topic 'Other' is a very wide window, under which all and any Topics which are not specified for the research fall. This understandably resulted in 'Others' receiving a much larger coverage space than any of the other specified Topics. Thus, for this comparison, 'Others' will not be included in Topics.

Noted below are the two Topics which received the highest coverage space in each media;

Haveeru

```
Governance – 12,728 sqcm
Politics – 10,411 sqcm
```

Miadhu

```
Politics – 11,196 sqcm
Governance – 10,228 sqcm
```

Minivan

```
Politics – 12,855 sqcm
Corruption – 12,744 sqcm
```

Politics is a common Topic among all three outlets, though it was preceded by Governance in the case of Haveeru.

Governance is the third most covered Topic in Minivan with 9,293 sqcm.

The second most covered Topic in Minivan is 'Corruption', which however received significantly less space in the other media:

```
Haveeru – 6,614 sqcm
Miadhu – 1,112 sqcm
```

Now follow the Topics which received minimum coverage in these three media;

Haveeru

```
DRP Split – 161 sqcm
Elections – 912 sqcm
```

Miadhu

```
Human Rights – o sqcm
Corruption – 1,112 sqcm
```

Minivan

```
Human Rights, Local Council Administration and Elections – o sqcm
Judicial Administration – 1,256 sqcm
```

In the comparison of coverage provided to separate Topics, here are the other observations made;

- DRP-Split is noted as the Topic which received the minimum coverage space in Haveeru.
 However, it received a much more portion of space on both other media. This suggests that some events, which occurred within the research dates, and which would relate to this Topic, may have not been covered by Haveeru.
- The same can be said about Minivan in the case of Local Council Administration and Elections. Both other media have space dedicated to these Topics but Minivan has not covered them at all.
- On the other hand, both Miadhu and Minivan have no mention of Human Rights, while Haveeru has 2,027sqcm dedicated to the Topic

In reference to Figure 3.A of Haveeru, Miadhu and Minivan.

Here, the amount of total space given to each selected actor is under scrutiny. It is important to keep in mind that the figures here depict the total space given to an actor, regardless of whether the portrayal is of positive or negative nature. Following are the points that stood out.

Noted below are the two actors which received the highest coverage space in each media;

Haveeru

```
Government – 6,435 sqcm
Police – 5,127 sqcm
```

Miadhu

```
DRP – 8,584 sqcm
Government – 8,121 sqcm
```

Minivan

```
Police – 8,040 sqcm
Government – 4,719 sqcm
```

Now follow the topics which received minimum coverage in these three media;

Haveeru

```
Riyaasee Commission, Independent Candidates, Democracy Network and Transparency Maldives – o sqcm
Adhaalath Party – 15 sqcm
```

Miadhu

```
Riyaasee Commission, Independent Candidates, Democracy Network and Transparency Maldives – o sqcm
Local Government Authority – 7 sqcm
```

Minivan

Atoll Council, Riyaasee Commission, Human Rights Commission, Independent Candidates, Democracy Network, Transparency Maldives, Elections Commission, Speaker of Parliament and Qaumee Ihthihaadh – o sqcm Independent Members of Parliament – 36 sqcm

Other factors worth noting are;

- City Council received 1,094 sqcm of coverage in Haveeru, while it got only 140 and 90 sqcm in Miadhu and Minivan respectively
- Atoll Council, Elections Commission, the Speaker of Parliament and Qaumee Inthihaad received coverage in both Haveeru and Miadhu, while they got no space at all in Minivan
- Independent Candidates who took part in the Local Council Elections received 21sqcm of coverage in Miadhu and none in Haveeru and Minivan
- While the Island Councils, Maldives Police Services and MNDF received coverage in all three media, it received about double the space it got in the other two media in Minivan
- Similarly, the Judicial Services Commission and the President's Office received below 26osqcms of space each in Haveeru and Miadhu, Minivan gave them each about 3,500 sqcms of coverage.
- The Human Rights Commission received 14osqcm in Haveeru and none in the other two media
- Government received 8,121 sqcm in Miadhu, lessened to 6,435 sqcm in Haveeru, and lower yet, 4,719 sqcm in Minivan
- The Previous government, in its turn, received hundreds of sqcm of coverage in both Miadhu and Minivan, yet received a minimal 65 sqcms in Haveeru.
- Jumhooree Party received close to a thousand sqcm on Miadhu, while they were limited to
 289 and 198 sqcms in Haveeru and Minivan respectively
- Civil Court, High Court and Supreme Court received 1,046, 866 and 1,248 sqcm of coverage respectively in Minivan. However, only a few hundred sq cm were dedicated to them in Haveeru and Miadhu
- Taking into focus the two factions of DRP, Thasmeen faction received more coverage than Maumoon faction in Haveeru, but only by a difference of 14 sqcm. On the other hand, Maumoon faction received more coverage in both Miadhu and Minivan. In Miadhu, the difference is significantly huge: 817 sqcm for Thasmeen faction, with the Maumoon faction

taking 1,452 sqcm. In Minivan, the difference is of about 200 sqcms, Thasmeen faction receiving 639 sqcms while Maumoon faction was covered in 819 sqcm

- Huge difference can be seen in the space dedicated to portraying the leading political parties, DRP and MDP, in Haveeru and Miadhu. Haveeru gave a coverage space of 1,967 sqcm to DRP, while it increased to 3,035 sqcm in the case of MDP. Miadhu shows even more significant difference: DRP received 8,584 sqcm of space, while it went down to 2,107 sqcm for MDP. Minivan has similar figures for both parties, with DRP getting an additional few hundred: 4,432 sqcm for DRP, and 4,029 sqcm for MDP.
- Democracy Network, Transparency Maldives and Riyaasee Commission received no coverage in any of the media, suggesting that these actors were not present in any newsworthy events during the time of research

In reference to Figure 4.A of Haveeru, Miadhu and Minivan.

This segment deals with the nature of the tone used in presenting news related to the selected actors. Here, the figures are percentages taken from the total space that the subjects received. Please bear in mind that a higher percentage does not necessarily portray a bigger area of space.

Neutral space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of neutral coverage in each media;

Haveeru

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Qaumee Party, Local Government Authority, President's Office and Prosecutor General – 100%

Of these, the largest total space was given to the President's Office – 258 sqcm Atoll Council – 98.86% (of 701 sqcm)

Miadhu

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Civil Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Candidates, Judicial Services Commission, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosector General, Maldives Police Services, Island Councils, Atoll Councils and City Councils – 100% Of these, the largest total space was given to the Maldives Police Services – 1,187 sqcm High Court – 98.95% (of 286 sqcm)

Minivan

Supreme Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Members of Parliament, President's Office, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, Island and City Councils – 100 %

Of these, the largest total space was given to the President's Office -3,517 sqcm Parliament -98.3% (of 3,191 sqcm)

The Local Government Authority and the Prosecutor General received 100% neutral coverage in all media.

The lowest percentage of neutral coverage was given to;

Haveeru

```
Previous Government – 26.15% (of 65 sqcm)
People's Alliance – 36.13% (of 274 sqcm)
```

Miadhu

```
Attorney General – 10.74% (of 298 sqcm)
Opposition – 39.71% (of 204 sqcm)
```

Minivan

```
Adhaalath Party – 0% (of 952 sqcm)
Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 23.94% (of 639 sqcm)
```

It is interesting to note that the actors who received lowest percentages of neutral coverage are particular to each media and do not coincide with the actors receiving the same in other media.

Positive space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of positive coverage in each media;

Haveeru

```
Maldives Reform Movement – 57.68% (of 456 sqcm)
Maumoon Faction of DRP – 12.5% (of 600 sqcm)
```

Miadhu

```
Attorney General – 38.93% (of 298 sqcm)

Previous Government – 29.73% (of 555 sqcm)
```

Minivan

```
Adhaalath Party – 100 % (of 952 sqcm)
Opposition – 37.93% (of 261 sqcm)
```

When considering all three print media, the only Subject to have received a full 100% of positive news is Adhaalath Party in Minivan.

As in the previous segment, no actor who received maximum positive coverage is common in the three media.

The lowest percentage of positive coverage was given to;

Haveeru

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Inthihaadh, Qaumee Party, Speaker of Parliament, Supreme

Court, Local Government Authority, Previous Government, President's Office, Prosecutor General, Island and Atoll Councils – 0%

Of these, the largest total space was given to Atoll Council -701 sqcm DRP -0.71% (of 1,967 sqcm)

Miadhu

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Speaker of Parliament, Elections Commission, Civil Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Members of Parliament, Independent candidates, Opposition, President's Office, Judicial Services Commission, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, Maldives Police Services, Island, Atoll and City Councils – 0%

Of these, the largest total space was given to Police -1,187 sqcm Jumhooree Party -0.52% (of 964 sqcm)

Minivan

Maumoon and Thasmeen Factions of DRP, Jumhooree Party, People's Alliance, Supreme Court, Civil Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Members of Parliament, Parliament, President's Office, Judicial Services Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission, Attorney General, Prosecutor General, Maldives Police Services, MNDF, Island and City Councils – 0%

Of these, the largest space was given to Police – 8,040 sqcm Government – 4.39% (of 4719 sqcm)

The actors Local Government Authority, Prosecutor General and Island Councils are those who didn't get any positive coverage from any of this media.

Negative space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of negative coverage in each media;

Haveeru

Previous Government – 73.85% (of 65 sqcm) People's Alliance – 59.85% (of 274 sqcm)

Miadhu

Opposition – 60.29% (of 204 sqcm) Attorney General – 50.34% (of 298 sqcm)

Minivan

Thasmeen faction of DRP – 76.06 % (of 639 sqcm) People's Alliance – 61.90% (of 378 sqcm)

Here, Adhaalath Party has been included in two different media as getting the second highest percentage of negative coverage.

The lowest percentage of negative coverage was given to;

Haveeru

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Qaumee Party, Local Government Authority, President's Office, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General and MNDF – 0% Of these, the largest total space was given to MNDF – 568 sqcm Atoll Councils – 1.14% (of 701 sqcm)

Miadhu

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Supreme Court, High Court, Civil Court, Local Government Authority, Independent candidates, Judicial Services Commission, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, Maldives Police Services, Island, Atoll and City Councils – 0% Of these, the largest total space was given to Police – 1,187 sqcm

Of these, the largest total space was given to Police – 1,187 sqcm Jumhooree Party – 0.52% (of 964 sqcm)

Minivan

Adhaalath Party, Supreme Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Members of Parliament, President's Office, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, Island and City Councils, Maldives Reform Movement – 0%

Of these, the largest space was given to President's Office – 3517 sqcm

Parliament – 1.69% (of 3191 sqcm)

The actors being repeated here in all three media are Adhaalath Party, Local Government Authority, Anti-Corruption Commission and the Prosecutor General.

Broadcast Media

In reference to Figure 1.A and 1.B of DhiTV, MNBC One and VTV.

Similar to Print Media, Figure 1.A of these media depict the types into which the content was categorized into. The categories were presented in the following percentages;

DhiTV had four types of content:

```
Reports – 1.2%
Others – 21.8%
Current Affairs – 32.5%
News – 44.5%
```

MNBC One had five types of content:

```
Reports – 0.12%
Others – 58%
Paid space – 8%
Current Affairs – 13%
News – 21%
```

VTV had four types of content:

```
Others – 25.9%

Paid Time – 16.1%

Current Affairs – 13%

News – 21%
```

The total time of material broadcasted during the time of research was;

```
DhiTV – 51hrs 43mins 6secs
MNBC One – 69hrs 50mins 8secs
VTV – 57hrs 13mins 16secs
```

The discrepancies between the total time figures may be present due to the fact that some stations run later into the night than others, and this research is based on content aired between 2000hrs and the end of transmission.

Some other points worth noting are;

- No free airtime was given by any channel during the period of research
- The most paid time was sold by VTV, amounting to a total of 9 hours 12 minutes. On the other hand, DhiTV did not sell any airtime within the research dates
- MNBC One is the channel that dedicated the most amount of time to content which goes under the category 'Others', a total of 40 hours 27 minutes 14 seconds

DhiTV showed the most hours of Current Affairs shows, building up to 16 hours 48 minutes
 28 seconds

In reference to Figure 2.A of DhiTV, MNBC, VTV.

This is the depiction of the time allocated to each Topic listed previously in the methodology.

As before, the Topic 'Other' refers to all and any Topics not specifically mentioned and hence will be not included in the following comparison.

Noted below are the two Topics which received the highest coverage time in each media;

DhiTV

```
Politics – 7hrs 55min 48secs
Parliament – 4hrs 57min 40secs
```

MNBC One

```
Politics – 6hrs 7min 2secs
Governance – 3hrs 30mins 48secs
```

VTV

```
Politics – 16hrs 5min 18secs
Parliament – 6hrs 48min 26secs
```

Politics is the leading Topic on all three outlets.

DhiTV and VTV both have 'Parliament' as the Topic with the second highest coverage time.

However, MNBC One has given the second highest amount of time to Government.

Below are the Topics which received minimum coverage in these three media;

DhiTV

```
Elections – o secs
Human Rights – 1 min 22 secs
```

MNBC One

```
Human Rights and Elections – o secs
Judicial Administration – 10mins 42secs
```

VTV

```
Human Rights – o secs
Elections – 11mins 40secs
```

In the comparison of coverage provided to separate Topics, here are the other observations made;

- DRP-Split has received close to an hour of coverage on DhiTV while it received only 21min 48secs and 13min 12secs on MNBC One and VTV respectively
- Although no Human Rights related content was broadcasted on both MNBC One and VTV,
 DhiTV has shown 1min and 22secs of related content
- Similarly, Elections received no time on DhiTV or MNBC One, but was given 11min and 40secs on VTV
- Governance has steadily increased in coverage space from 2hrs on VTV, 3hrs on MNBC One to 4hrs on DhiTV
- Local Council Administration received an allocation of 1hr 27min 48secs on DhiTV, but just
 14min 56secs on MNBC One and 38mins 24secs on VTV
- Politics received no more than 7 hours on DhiTV and MNBC One. Surprisingly, it covered 16hrs 5mins and 18secs of VTV's analyzed airtime. This figure is also the largest amount of time this research has found a channel dedicate to any Topic.

In reference to Figure 3.A of DhiTV, MNBC One and VTV.

In this section, the amount of total time given to each selected actor is in focus. As before, this is a reminder that these figures show the total time allocated to a Subject, regardless of whether the portrayal is of positive or negative nature. Following are the points that stood out.

Noted below are the two actors which received the most airtime in each media;

DhiTV

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DRP – 4hr 55min 4secs
Government – 3hr 29min 24secs
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MNBC One

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Government — 2hr 27min 14secs
Parliament — ohr 53min 34secs
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VTV

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Parliament – 4hr 4min 25secs
DRP – 3hr 43min 11secs
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Following are the Topics which received the least airtime in these three media;;

DhiTV

Riyaasee Commission, Human Rights Commission, Democracy Network and Transparency Maldives – o secs Independent Candidates – 47secs

MNBC One

Riyaasee Commission, Anti Corruption Commission, Independent Candidates, Democracy Network, Transparency Maldives and Qaumee Ihthihaadh – o sec Local Government Authority – 2secs

VTV

Riyaasee Commission, Human Rights Commission and Democracy Network – o sec Independent Candidates – 16 secs

Other notable observations;

- Atoll Councils received 7-8 minutes of coverage on DhiTV and VTV, but a single minute on MNBC One through out the period of research
- Human Rights Commission received 2mins 53 secs on MNBC One, but were not mentioned in either of the private channels
- The Anti Corruption Commission and Qaumee Ihthihaadh received no airtime at all on MNBC One even though it received some coverage on both other channels
- President's Office received a bigger portion of time on DhiTV
- The Parliament received over 2hrs on DhiTV, over 4hrs on VTV, and yet just 53min 34secs on MNBC One
- Government received more than 3 hours of coverage on DhiTV and VTV, but 2hrs 27mins 14secs on MNBC One
- The Opposition, which received about half an hour of airtime on DhiTV and VTV, was only
 covered for 3mins 3osecs on MNBC One. The previous government also follows this pattern,
 getting just 4mins 46secs on MNBC One
- Transparency Maldives was given 14mins 8secs of airtime on VTV, while it had no coverage on either of the other channels
- Elections Commission received the lowest coverage in MNBC One, of 58secs
- The Speaker of Parliament received only 2mins 1sec on MNBC One

- Qaumee Party received the most coverage time in VTV, amounting to 2hrs 16mins 33secs.
 It received 51 mins 41secs on DhiTV. It dropped down to a total time of a mere 4mins 32 secs on MNBC One.
- Peoples' Alliance received 31mins 6secs on DhiTV and 55mins 25secs on VTV. However, it
 only received 8mins 32secs on MNBC One.
- Even though Jumhooree Party received a total of less than 20 minutes of coverage on each
 DhiTV and MNBC, it got airtime amounting to 1hr 45min 53secs on VTV
- Adhaalath Party received less than 5 minutes on both DhiTV and VTV, but got more than half an hour's airtime on MNBC One
- Although both Maumoon and Thasmeen factions of DRP each received over an hour's coverage on both DhiTV and VTV, it received no more than 10 to 12 minutes each on MNBC One
- On DhiTV and VTV, DRP received significantly more airtime than MDP. DhiTV has dedicated 4hrs 55mins 4secs to DRP and 2hrs 11mins 47secs to MDP. VTV has given a total of 3hrs 43mins 11secs of airtime to VTV, and just 2hrs 28mins 55secs to MDP. MNBC One has spent 31 mins 50secs on DRP and a slightly higher value of 48mins and 10secs on MDP
- Riyaasee Commission and Democracy Network received no coverage on any channel during the period of the research

In reference to Figure 4.A of DhiTV, MNBC One and VTV

This part of the report focuses on the Tones used to portray individual actors in the coverage provided. Here, the figures are percentages taken from the total space that the actor received. As in Print Media, please bear in mind that a higher percentage may not mean a larger amount of time.

Neutral space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of neutral coverage in each media; **DhiTV**

Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Independent Candidates and Prosecutor General – 100% Of these, the largest total time was given to Qaumee Ihthihaadh – 6min 15secs Attorney General – 95.84% (of 7mins 13secs)

MNBC One

Elections Commission, Civil Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Atoll Council and Maldives Reform Movement – 100%

Of these, the largest total time was given to the Civil Court – 5mins

Adhaalath Party – 99.42% (of 34mins 16secs)

VTV

Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Supreme Court, High Court, Island and Atoll Councils -100% Of these, the largest total time was given to the High Court $-8min\ 54secs$ MNDF -99.66% (of 4min 51secs)

Qaumee Ihthihaadh received 100% neutral tone on both DhiTV and VTV.

High Court and Atoll Councils received 100% neutral coverage on both MNBC One and VTV.

The lowest percentage of neutral coverage was given to;

DhiTV

Local Government Authority – 40.82% (of 49secs)
President Nasheed – 48.83% (of 1hr 39mins 56secs)

MNBC One

Supreme Court – 26% (of 1min 40secs)
Previous Government – 34.62% (of 4mins 46secs)

VTV

Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 36.24% (of 1hr 39mins 1sec) Local Government Authority – 46.46% (of 1min 39secs)

Positive space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of positive coverage in each media; **DhiTV**

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Local Government Authority – 40.82% (of 49secs)
Previous Government – 21.30% (of 29mins 58secs)
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MNBC One

```
Supreme Court – 55% (of 1min 40secs)

President Nasheed – 24.27% (of 46mins 21secs)
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VTV

```
Jumhooree Party – 24.37% (of 952 sqcm1hr 45mins 53secs)
Prosecutor General – 16.67% (of 42secs)
```

As before, no subject who received maximum positive coverage is common in the three media.

The lowest percentage of positive coverage was given to;

DhiTV

Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Speaker of Parliament, Elections Commission, Civil Court, High Court, Independent Candidates, Judicial Services Commission, Attorney General, Prosecutor General, Island and City Councils and Maldives Reform Movement – 0%

Of these, the largest total time was given to City Council – 23mins 19secs

Jumhooree Party – 0.85% (of 19mins 33secs)

MNBC One

Thasmeen Faction of DRP, Peoples Alliance, Qaumee Party, Speaker of Parliament, Elections Commission, Civil Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Judicial Services Commission, Atoll Councils and Maldives Reform Movement – 0% Of these, the largest total time was given to Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 10mins 17secs Previous Government – 0.35% (of 4mins 46secs)

VTV

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Speaker of Parliament, Supreme Court, Civil Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Candidates, Anti Corruption Commission, Attorney General, Island and Atoll Councils – 0% Of these, the largest total time was given to Speaker of Parliament – 12min 31secs MNDF – 0.34% (of 4min 51secs)

The actors Speaker of Parliament, Civil Court and High Court are those who didn't get any positive coverage from any of this media.

Qaumee Inthihaadh, Independent Candidates, Attorney General and Island Councils received no positive coverage on either DhiTV or VTV.

Elections Commission, Judicial Services Commission and Maldives Reform Movement were not given positive coverage at all in either DhiTV or MNBC One.

Local Government Authority and Atoll Councils did not receive any positive coverage in MNBC One or VTV.

Negative space

The following are the actors who received the highest percentage of negative coverage in each media; **DhiTV**

Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 39.18% (of 1hr 5mins 56secs) Maldives Reform Movement – 38% (of 2min 3osecs)

MNBC One

Previous Government – 65.03% (of 4min 46secs)
Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 34.85% (of 10min 17secs)

VTV

Thasmeen Faction of DRP – 58.93 % (of 1hr 39min 1sec) Local Government Authority – 53.54% (of 1min 39secs)

Thasmeen Faction of DRP is a common actor in all three media, who received negative coverage at figures among the noted maximums.

The lowest percentage of negative coverage was given to;

DhiTV

Adhaalath Party, Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Independent Candidates, Anti Corruption Commission, Prosecutor General, MNDF – 0%

Of these, the largest total time was given to MNDF – 6min 42secs

Attorney General – 4.16% (of 7min 13secs)

MNBC One

Adhaalath Party, Elections Commission, Civil Court, High Court, Local Government Authority, Independent Members of Parliament, President's Office, Prosecutor General, MNDF, Atoll Council and Maldives Reform Movement – 0%

Of these, the largest total time was given to Adhaalath Party – 34mins 16secs

City Council – 0.72% (of 20mins 55secs)

VTV

Qaumee Ihthihaadh, Transparency Maldives, Supreme Court, High Court, Independent Members of Parliament, President's Office, Judicial Services Commission, MNDF, Island and Atoll Councils and Maldives Reform Movement – 0%

Of these, the largest total time was given to Independent Members of Parliament – 14mins 32secs

Maldives Police Services - 3.46% (of 27mins 57secs)

The only actor being repeated here in all three media is MNDF.

DhiTV or MNBC One.

 $\label{eq:Qaumee Inthihaadh does not receive any negative coverage in DhiTV or VTV.}$

The actors High Court, Independent Members of Parliament, President's Office and Maldives Reform Movement, do not have any negative coverage on either VTV or MNBC One

Recommendations

1. Media

- 1.1 Media outlets should ensure that the journalists they employ are provided with professional trainings and apprenticeships to pave way for unbiased reporting as well as for conducting quality investigative reports.
- 1.2 Editorial policies of all media outlets should respect the principles of fair and balanced coverage and provide all parties with equal opportunities to present their view. This is especially so during election periods where the election laws specifically call for fair coverage to all candidates.
- 1.3 Media outlets should ensure that the editorial positions are based on professional and ethical standards of journalism and curb the influence of owners and other persons who hold financial interest in the company.
- 1.4 Regulatory bodies should establish functioning media monitoring units, which monitor the media for accuracy of information, bias and other such journalistic values.
- 1.5 Regulatory bodies should effectively penalize media outlets that do not adhere to broadcasting and journalistic standards, laws and international best practices.
- 1.6 Report arrests and violence against media to Media Council of Maldives, Maldives Broadcasting Company and Police Integrity Committee.

2. State and State Regulators

- 2.1 Strengthen monitoring and reporting of incidents of harassment and intimidation of journalists to ensure a safe working environment for media personnel.
- 2.2 Review and revise existing media laws and regulations as well as the bills pending at the parliament to reflect international best practices and to ensure cohesion of related legislation.
- 2.3 Expedite the legislative process of media related bills, such as the Right to Information bill, within the parliament.
- 2.4 Law enforcement bodies such as the Police and Defense Forces should strengthen and reinforce media access to covering live events, political protests and other public events.

3. Civil Society and Political Parties

- 3.1 Political parties should recognize and respect the independence of journalists and media and ensure equal access to interviews, press conference, party functions and access to speakers at panel discussions etc.
- 3.2 Not for profit Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) working on journalism and media outlets such as the Maldives Journalists Association and South Asian Federation for Media Associations, should play a stronger role in advocating for media freedoms and a strengthened regulatory framework.
- 3.3 Higher education institutions such as the Maldives National University should provide high quality professional trainings as well as academic programs in journalism and mass media.

Appendix

In order to collect background information and to clarify editorial policies, meetings were held with the editorial teams of all monitored media outlets

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Following are the forms used for data collection in Media Monitoring.

Broadcast Media

Form 1

			MONITORIN	OTOICH	•			
MONITOR/NAME	MEDIA OUTLET			PROGRAM TITLE				
DATE	TIME START			TIME END				
		TOTAL TIME						
NAME Example Name A	1 -	19sec	3	D	Торісх	Typex	COMMENT	
Example Name B	Subject - Y	27sec	4	D	Topicy	Туреу		
	I							

Form 2

		Т	V MONITORING F	O RM 2	
	MEDIA OUTLET R				
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Topic Y	1243 sec	Туре Ү	No selative covers	age .	
					_
		I			

Print Media

Form 1

PRINT MEDIA MONITORING FORM NAME							
Page	TITLE	Name					
8	Headline Example	Example A	Subjects X	3	Type X	159.5 cm2	Topic X
	omm ents						

Form 2

PRINT MEDIA MONITORING FORM 2					
N AM E	NEWSPAPER	DATE			
Topic Topic X	Space Type 250 cm2 Type X	C om m en ts			
			I		

