POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF TWO PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leicester

By Margaret Ivy Amoakohene
Centre for Mass Communication Research University of Leicester

April 2006
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents,
Nana Effah Gyan and Mrs. Comfort Gyan
And to my dear children,
Lady, Kofi and Nana Yaa
This thesis compares newspaper coverage of two constitutional governments in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: President Rawlings’ National Democratic Congress (NDC) and President Kufuor’s New Patriotic Party (NPP). It puts coverage in perspective using The Four Theories of the Press as an overarching background to examine and discuss the socio-political environment of news production highlighting some antecedent factors capable of influencing the process. The study uses the sociology of news production with emphases on the social organisation of news work focusing on source-reporter relations to explain news-making and influences exerted on the media. Grounded in these theoretical models, the study investigates whether and how differences between the two administrations’ media relations affected the quality and amount of political news coverage by the two newspapers.

Content and document analyses are employed to gather data from two newspapers: the state-owned Daily Graphic and the privately owned Ghanaian Chronicle, and some documents of selected state and government organisations. These documents contain important material relating to the media and government such as legal instruments and other constitutional provisions governing journalistic practice in Ghana. Using these newspapers and documents as the main sources of data, the study analyses the relationship between the mass media and government during parts of the NDC and NPP regimes: 1993-1994 and 2001-2002.

On the whole, fewer political stories/items are published in Period 1 (1993-1994) than Period 2 (2001-2002), and the Ghanaian Chronicle carries more political items than the Daily Graphic. The study finds that measurement of indicators such as size, direction and tone of political stories suggest systematic bias of the two newspapers. Whereas Graphic’s bias favours ruling administrations, Chronicle’s does not necessarily favour any of the two regimes but is rather against the NDC as a political party and regime.

The study finds newspaper coverage concentrates less on key political actors than on their political parties. Furthermore, in both newspapers and for the two study periods, “journalistic
newsgathering” exceeds “information subsidies” especially in the Ghanaian Chronicle and more so during the second period of the study. The study finds relations between Ghanaian political news sources and reporters fit into the separate source-reporter role option of Gieber and Johnson’s (1961) three-role typology: neither characterised as negotiations/mutual exchanges nor manipulation but as a relationship of mutual mistrust and suspicion. Evidence of this is the minimal use of official news sources implying low incidence of information subsidies. The study thus indicates that relations between political sources and reporters do not constitute cardinal determinants of political news.

In conclusion, the study shows that political news and the prominence given to it are more the result of relations between political systems (environmental factors) and the media than anything else. Consequently, analyses of newspaper content must be contextualised within local environmental conditions even if conceptualised within global perspectives.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish, first and foremost, to thank my supervisor, Anders Hansen, whose unparalleled guidance and constructive critique saw me through this thesis. Anders was always available and accessible to me even when I was away in Ghana on fieldwork. Working in such an atmosphere of unimaginable cordiality and encouragement blurred the lines between supervisor and candidate and turned a rather lonely and dull exercise into a delightful experience. Anders, words cannot express my gratitude to you.

Secondly, I extend my heartfelt thanks to Olga Linné under whose supervision I began this journey. Olga’s warmth, sympathy and counselling saw me through initial difficulties and uncertainties; and at the crossroads, her foresight and clairvoyance in handing me over to the very capable hands of Anders made all the difference. Not only does Olga have my deepest gratitude, but also my indebtedness forever.

To my family, I cannot find words to express my gratitude especially to my young children – Nana Yaa, Kofi and Lady Animah - who gracefully endured a mother’s absence at such tender ages and for so long, and to my parents - Nana Effah Gyan and Mrs Comfort Gyan – for being there for me. Maame, you left your family to take care of mine! How can I forget that? And, Paapa, your bi-weekly phone calls were both encouraging and re-assuring. To all my siblings, colleagues and friends, especially those who were only a phone call or an e-mail away, I extend my most sincere thanks. I will like to mention, particularly, Professor K. Ansu-Kyeremeh (Kaakyire), Dr Kwadwo Bosompra (Nana), and Dr K. Kwansah-Aidoo (Aspa) whose suggestions, encouragement, assistance and academic support were immeasurable. So do I say a big “Thank You” to the families of Catherine Brew, Emmanuel Plas-Otwe and Reverend Christopher White for your love and friendship.

My gratitude goes to the University of Ghana, and to the Government of Ghana for extending this scholarship to me. Without it, I could not have undertaken these doctoral studies. I sincerely do appreciate the award. To all staff and colleagues at CMCR, I say it has been an experience of a lifetime. Thanks to you all for creating a congenial atmosphere for me.

Above all, to God Be the Glory for the Great Things He has done! Thank you, my Creator, the Lord God Almighty, for making this dream come true. It has been By Your Grace!
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title Page</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Charts</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background Statement

1.2 The Problem

1.3 Objectives

1.4 Research Questions

1.5 Rationale for the Study

1.6 Scope of the Study

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

## Chapter Two: Media and Politics in Ghana

Introduction

2.1 Press/Media Systems in Ghana: A Brief Historical Perspective

2.2 History and Development of the Mass Media in Ghana

2.3 Recent History of the Mass Media and Politics in Ghana

Table continues on page vi
Chapter Three: Influences on News-Making: From Press Systems Theories to Sociology of News Production

Introduction

3.1 Normative Theories: Four Theories of the Press
   3.1.1 Authoritarianism
   3.1.2 Libertarianism
   3.1.3 Social Responsibility
   3.1.4 Soviet Communism
   3.1.5 Criticism of the Four Theories of the Press

3.2 Developmental Media Concept

3.3 Theories of Influences on the Media

3.4 Approaches to the Sociology of News
   3.4.1 Earlier Approaches
      3.4.1.1 Gatekeeping
      3.4.1.2 Criticism of Gatekeeping
   3.4.2 Political Economy Approach
      3.4.2.1 Impact of New Media
   3.4.3 Cultural Approach
   3.4.4 Social Organisation of News Work

Summary

2.4 Government-Media Relations
   2.4.1 Ownership and Control of the Media in Ghana
   2.4.2 The "Culture of Silence"

2.5 Media and Freedom of Expression in the 1992 Constitution

2.6 Summary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.4.4.1 Source-Centred Approach</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four: Influences on Media Systems and News Production: An Overview</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Press/Media Systems Influences</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Gatekeeping</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Political Economic Influences</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Impact of New Media</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Cultural Influences</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Social and Institutional Influences</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.1 Source-Reporter Relationships</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.2 Journalistic Role Perceptions, Norms and Profiles</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Organisational Influences</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1 Media Ideology and News Decision-Making</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.2 Bias and Negativity in News Reporting</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five: Methodology</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Methodological Considerations</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Study Design</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Methods of Data Collection</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 Content Analysis</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.1 Definitions</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Six: Findings: The Nature, Type and Extent of Coverage of Two Political Regimes in Ghana

Introduction 150

6.1 Content Analysis: Key Variables 150
6.2 Amount/Extent of Coverage 151
   6.2.1 Number of Political Stories 152
   6.2.2 Most Mentioned Political Party 156
   6.2.3 Actors in Political Stories 163
   6.2.4 Sources of Political Stories 166

6.3 Quality/Type of Coverage 169
   6.3.1 Major Themes of Political Coverage 169
Chapter Seven: Political Reporting in Ghana within a Global Context:
A Comparative Analysis

Introduction

7.1 Nature, Type and Level of Reporting/Coverage

7.1.1 Focus on Politics

7.1.2 Application of Specific Journalistic Concepts

7.1.2.1 Accuracy, Objectivity, Fairness, and Bias

7.1.2.2 The Dumbing Down Thesis

7.1.2.3 Visualization

7.2 The Incumbency Factor

7.3 Freedom of the Press and of Expression

7.3.1 Types of Press System Evident in Coverage

7.3.2 Journalistic Arbiters in Ghana

7.4 Government (Source)-Media (Reporter) Relationships

Summary
# Chapter Eight: Conclusion

## Introduction

### 8.1 Main Findings

#### 8.1.1 Political and Legislative Environment

#### 8.1.2 Media and Politics

#### 8.1.3 Theoretical Perspective

### 8.2 Conclusion

---

## Bibliography

---

## List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Title of Newspaper by Political Story per Year of Publication</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b&amp;c</td>
<td>Title of Newspaper by Political Story per Period of Publication</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Type of Political Content Item by Title of Newspaper and Period of Publication</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Content Item Type by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Actors in Political Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Types of News Sources by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Main Themes of Political Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7: Tone of News Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 177
Table 8: Direction of Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 180
Table 9: Size/Length of Political Story/Item by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 189
Table 10: Story Placement by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 193
Table 11: Type of Story Enhancement by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 194
Table 12: Types of By-lines Used in News Stories by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 198
Table 13: Occasions or Events Covered by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned 201
Table 14: Regime Types in Ghana and Their Relationships with the Mass Media 203
Table 15: NMC Cases Involving Politicians and Media Practitioners 207

List of Charts

Chart 1: Type of Story 155
Chart 2: Political Party Mentioned in Political Item 157
Chart 3: Main Actors in Political News Story 164
Chart 4: Sources of Political News 167
Chart 5a: Main Themes of Political Coverage 170
Chart 5b: Main Themes of Political Coverage Elaborated 171
Chart 6: Direction of Political Items in the Two Newspapers
Chart 7: Story Placement by the Two Newspapers
Chart 8: Type of Story By-line Used by the Two Newspapers
Chart 9: Occasion or Event of Political Coverage by the Two Newspapers

Appendices

Appendix 1: Analytical Categories
Appendix 2: Definition/Explanation of Thematic Labels
Appendix 3: Coding Schedule
Appendix 4: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (1993/1994)
Appendix 5: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (2001)
Appendix 6: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (2002)
Appendix 7: Samples of Newspapers of Period 1 (1993-1994)
Appendix 8: Samples of Newspapers of Period 2 (2001-2002)
Background Statement

Linkages between newspaper journalism and politics in the Gold Coast (colonial Ghana) are extensively established by Jones-Quartey (1975). He points out the seminal role of the press in the struggle for independence, which ultimately resulted in the liberation of the Gold Coast from colonialism. This thesis is about politics and communication in Ghana. The definition of political communication, as a concept that captures the relationship between politics and communication tends to be influenced by its dual disciplinary roots, which are in “themselves open to a variety of definitions” (McNair, 1999, p. 3). Denton and Woodard (1990) defined the concept as “public discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenues), official authority (who is given the power to make legal, legislative and executive decisions), and official sanctions (what the state rewards or punishes) (p.14)”. Graber (1981) and McNair (1999) incorporated all forms of political discourse involving politicians or political actors, including communication undertaken by them, addressed to them by others such as media people or about their activities as contained in news reports and other media forums. Included in their definitions are “verbal and written political rhetoric” as well as “symbolic communication acts” what Graber (1981) refers to as “political language” which in McNair’s (1999, p. 3) view suggests that it “comprises not only rhetoric but paralinguistic signs such as body language, and political acts such as boycotts and protests”.

The thesis, while operating within the broadened definitions provided by Graber (1981) and McNair (1999), limits itself to “verbal and written political rhetoric” about two Presidents of Ghana – Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor - and other political actors operating on their behalf, from their governments and/or political parties. It focuses on
communication about them and their activities as contained in news reports and editorials of two selected newspapers as well as from relevant documents. Somewhat like McNair (1999), the study examines “the nature of the interface between politicians and the media, the extent of their interaction, and the dialectic of their relationship” (p. xiii), and how all these get reflected in newspaper reports. It acknowledges the fact that political communication is shaped by various kinds of relations involving the state, media, economy, and socio-cultural and political factors (Benson, 2004; Schudson, 1994/2000).

The Problem

The study is specifically about the interface between Ghanaian politics and journalism, represented by the two largest political parties – the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) - and two important newspapers within the state-private dichotomy: the Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Chronicle. It examines the relationship between politics and journalism and how that relationship determines the extent and quality of political reporting in Ghana. It estimates the extent to which newspaper coverage of the two periods of the study indicates the degree of freedom of the media under each regime and tries to answer the question: what type of government-media relationship leads to increased positive coverage of political activities? The study defines “positive coverage of political activities” as newspaper reportage of activities of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Ministers of State, opposition leaders, and accredited agents of their political parties that is civil, non-conflictual, and oriented towards solutions to problems using non-confrontational or non-adversarial frames.

The mass media in Ghana, previously under absolute state control, became liberated and vibrant at the dawn of the reintroduction of constitutionalism and with the repeal of the
newspaper licensing law (PNDC Law 211) in 1992 (Karikari, 1994; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996). Throughout Ghana’s history, relations between the mass media and government have varied from regime to regime (Anokwa, 1997; Yankah, 1997; Asante, 1996). The two regimes under study — the NDC and the NPP — have similarly related differently with the mass media. The NDC Government’s restrictions on media activities came in different forms ranging from a closed-door policy, which cut out nearly all interface with the local mass media, through physical harassment of journalists, to rigid legislation such as the Preventive Custody Law (PNDC Law 4) and incarceration of media practitioners (Karikari, 2000/2004). Conversely, President Kufuor’s NPP administration, since its inauguration on January 7 2001, has demonstrated its willingness and commitment to work with the local mass media through an open door policy, which allows journalists from all media organisations (both private and state-owned) into the Osu Castle (Ghana’s Seat of Government). Representatives of media organisations, under Kufuor’s administration, take turns to accompany the President on foreign trips, a privilege hitherto reserved for a few journalists in the state sector (Karikari, 2004).

The extent to which Rawlings and Kufuor’s opposing ways of dealing with the media (restriction versus openness) have affected media activity and media content has been a matter of debate. Indeed, the relationship between media reports and their political context in Ghana has often been a subject of conjecture. The position of this study is that it is possible to systematically estimate the extent to which content suggests either a free and independent, or a stifled and controlled, media system. In other words, it is possible to assess the impact of the socio-political environment and antecedent factors of media production on media output. Such an analysis would help to establish the nature and level of newspaper reporting of
politics under the two regimes in the Fourth Republic and to develop strategies for building a government-media relationship capable of enhancing political coverage in Ghana.

Objectives

In broad terms, the study sought to identify, isolate and develop a detailed description and analysis of newspaper coverage of government and its activities during two opposing political administrations in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. From the data collected, it described newspaper coverage of two presidential administrations, both while they were in power and out of power, and attempted to infer from coverage to the context of production. It examined whether identified variables were linked to, or associated with, one another. The study was therefore mainly descriptive: describing the trend of newspaper reporting and relationships among identified variables aimed at developing strategies for building mutually beneficial government-media relations in Ghana. Specifically, it sought to:

- examine the amount/quantity and type/quality of newspaper reports on government and its activities under the two political administrations;
- examine themes that were most frequently covered and sources most commonly used in political news stories under the two administrations in the two periods of the study and highlight any observable changes therein;
- assess and describe the relationship between the mass media (represented by the two newspapers) and each of the two political administrations; and to
- examine the relationship, if any, between newspaper coverage of government and its activities, and the political environment under each regime.
Research Questions

Theories and empirical research on media influences suggested linkages between variables such as newspaper ownership and volume/amount of coverage; ownership and type of coverage (biases, themes and priorities); and ownership and coverage of government in power versus the opposition. The study, therefore, approached its inquiry into political communication by examining four main factors: the nature and level of reporting, the incumbency factor and its influence on reporting, freedom of expression, and the relationship between government and the media. These were explored through the following questions:

Nature and Level of Reporting
- How did the newspapers report on government and its activities? What was the level (amount and type) of reporting of each administration both when it was in power and in opposition?
- Were there any significant differences in observed patterns of coverage of the two political administrations and their activities?
- Did the state-owned newspaper’s (Daily Graphic) coverage of either of the regimes differ in any way from that of the private newspaper (The Ghanaian Chronicle)?
- What themes were predominantly covered as political news under each administration?
- What types of sources were most commonly used/quoted in newspaper reports under each political administration?

Incumbency Factor
- Were incumbent governments and their officials given more coverage in newspapers than those in opposition (their main challengers)?
- Did incumbency translate into more or less positive newspaper reports?
- Overall, did political news reports favour the incumbent more than the opposition during any of the two study periods?

**Freedom of Expression**

- To what extent did newspaper coverage reflect the degree of freedom of the media under each regime?
- Did the use of by-lines increase or decrease during any of the study periods? Were by-lines personal names of reporters or anonymous under any regime?
- Did the nature of news sources change in favour of accredited sources under any regime? Did news attribution increase or decrease?
- Were more or less negative and/or sensational political themes/topics used during any of the study periods?
- Did the use of qualitative labels increase or decrease with coverage of any regime?
- Were there any visible (overt), or subtle (covert) signs of the binary patterns of dominance/submission; respect/disrespect; regard/disregard towards authority in newspaper coverage of any regime?

**Government-Media Relationship**

Through document analysis, the study sought to answer the following additional questions:

- How did each of the two political administrations relate to the media?
- Which of the two regimes offered a more liberal media environment? In what ways was this liberal environment manifested? Did it influence the newspapers’ choice of political themes?
Which of the two regimes increased journalists’ access to information about their activities? Did increased access determine the prominence given to the story in terms of placement, size and enhancements?

Rationale for the Study

The third age of political communication is characterised by ever-changing dynamics of the relationship between politics and communication in modern democracies worth scrutiny and study (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Esser, Reinemann & Fan, 2001). Many such changes have occurred within Ghana’s emergent democracy. That the Fourth Republic of Ghana is unique has been widely documented (Ayee, 2001a; Ahiawordor, 2001; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001b; Nugent, 2001; Smith & Temin, 2001). This uniqueness makes it an interesting and worthwhile subject for study within political communication especially because of changes that have occurred in its two components: politics and communication. Ghana’s Fourth Republic provides academics, political scientists and communication researchers a unique opportunity to make comparisons between regimes in the area of communication and governance in spite of the apparent unequal playing field given President Rawlings’ head start.

The thesis recognises the uniqueness of Ghana’s Fourth Republic in two respects. It is the only one in the entire forty-nine-year history of Ghana as an independent country in which a political party has retained political power lawfully and constitutionally through the ballot box for a second term of office. Secondly, it is the only Republic in which political power has changed hands from one political party to another through democratic means, a departure from the usual coups d’état (Ayee, 2001a; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001a&b). Whatever its flaws and difficulties, it is the only Republic that has so far spanned more than a decade (from 1993 to
and has enabled a smooth changeover of government. It is studied as a period of
stability in the country’s rather turbulent and unstable political history during which military
rule has superseded democratically elected civilian administration in longevity. As Karikari
(2000) recounts, between 1966 (when military coups began) and 1992 (a period of 26 years)
the military ruled for 20 years.

In view of the long rule of President Rawlings (from December 31 1981 to January 6 2001),
combining eleven years of unconstitutionality as Chairman of the Provisional National
Defence Council (PNDC) with eight years of constitutionality as leader of the NDC,
assessments of his rule have often been muddled and muddied. The performance of President
Rawlings as leader of a lawfully constituted political party, and democratically elected
President of Ghana has often been subsumed under, and perceived from, his actions and
deeds as Chairman of the PNDC. In most cases, these two different but successive or
consecutive administrations are assessed as one continuous 19-year rule without any
differentiation (having had the same leadership) – the (P) NDC (Ayee, 2001a). Studies into
and discussions of Rawlings’ tenure of office and his relationship with the mass media have
tended to dwell mainly on his unconstitutional administration (Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996).

It is important, in order to make any assessment meaningful, to delineate President Rawlings’
unconstitutional rule (December 31 1981 – January 6 1993) from his constitutional, if not
exactly democratic, governance (January 7 1993 –January 6 2001) in spite of their perceived
similarities (Karikari, 2000/2004). This is all the more important when attempts are made to
juxtapose and compare President Rawlings’ media relations with those of other heads of
Government of Ghana given the fact that Rawlings’ longevity as Head of State can be both
advantageous and disadvantageous (Ayee, 2001a; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001b). It has the potential
to skew findings of any such studies if the two consecutive Rawlings regimes are not separated.

Studies of media coverage in Ghana have tended to focus on media reports without studying their linkages with the media environment (NMC Reports, 2000/2004). Discussions of such linkages/associations are, however, necessary as Benson (2004) indicates, it is time to study the “media as an independent variable, as part of the process of political meaning making rather than just a convenient indicator of the outcome” of political communication (p. 276). The present study, in its assessment of newspaper coverage of two regimes of Ghana’s Fourth Republic, therefore, examines the media environment as a concomitant part of news, media performance and output. It departs from Shoemaker and Reese’s (1990) observation that analyses of media content usually do not systematically link content to what created it or to its effects, and is in response to Benson’s (2004) suggestion that “political communication studies draw upon the sociology of news media far more extensively than has been the case in the past” (p. 276). By so doing, the study moves the media out of conceptions of a passive and secondary role (Hall et al., 1978) to those of an active and primary definer of social reality in public political discourse in sync with others including Cook (1998), Sparrow (1999) and Atton and Wickenden (2005).

The study shares the opinion of McNair (1999) that “what the media do is as much the product of external factors ... as with such intra-media considerations as journalistic bias, proprietorial interference, or the routine practices of newsgathering” (p. xii). Similarly, it agrees with Street’s (2001) assertion that “what is reported in papers and on television is not simply a product either of ‘events in the world’ or of the perceptions and prejudices of individual journalists. ... equally important are the conditions and constraints under which
journalism is practised” (p.103). Since such external factors, conditions and constraints include the state and “the activities of the political communications industry” (McNair, 1999, p. xii); the study focused on coverage of President Rawlings and President Kufuor’s activities and those of their accredited political actors. It hoped thereby to be able to compare not only newspaper coverage of the two constitutional governments in Ghana’s Fourth Republic but also of their media relations performances in periods of democratic governance.

In the wider global setting the study, like McNair’s (1999) work, hoped to contribute to the “growing literature in communication and political studies concerned with locating the media’s agency and effectivity in a wider social – in this case political – environment” (p. xiii). In the specific case of Ghana, it filled a void in available literature by comparing and documenting not just newspaper reporting of the two regimes but more importantly, by putting that reporting in perspective through examination of some antecedent factors capable of influencing the news process. It took cognisance of the fact that the conditions under which journalists worked, be they their immediate operational environments (Whitney, 1981) or the larger external environment (McNair, 1999; Street, 2001), had direct effects on the way they gathered and processed news. Just as different types of ownership, management, operating, and/or competitive situations have the potential to impact on news work, so also do conditions of censorship and strict media controls under authoritarian models affect ways of newsgathering and reporting (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998; Murdock, 1990). Since Ghana’s media have lived through the extremes of authoritarian and libertarian principles, and have been shaped by these opposing models, it is useful to both politics and media studies to examine how these influences have impacted on newspaper reporting.
Politics and Political Figures

In Ghana, as elsewhere (Hynds, 1990), there appears to be what Haque (1986) termed an “obsession with politics” (p. 85). This obsession, however, has historical explanations due to the rationale for setting up, and early use of, the newspaper in colonial times and in both the pre- and post-independence periods. Studies have also found that much political coverage is concentrated on the giants or heavyweights of politics, usually focusing on the presidential levels to the disadvantage of lower political levels and in less positive ways (Hart, Smith-Howell, & Llewellyn, 1990; King, 1995; McKinney, Tedesco, & Kim, 1999).

The Ghanaian press appears to see political news as the most newsworthy with the capacity to deliver both readers and advertisers. Even a cursory glance reveals it is this type of news rather than developmental news that occupies the front pages of most newspapers. Consequently, it is politics that forms the basis of the present study: politics, politicians, and government, news about whom constitutes material for most newspaper editorial content, as well as for most radio and television discussions. The focus on politics conforms to major transformations in Ghana’s media environment, just as that of other democracies, within the last decade (Amoakohene, 2004). Although the details of such dramatic changes may vary, their impact has been similar, as they “constitute a reshaping of the media environment that easily rivals those leading to the creation of the social responsibility theory and the structural development of the media as gatekeepers” (Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000, p. 65).

Scope of the Study

The study focused on Ghana under the first two constitutional years of President Rawlings (January 1993 - December 1994) and the first two years of President Kufuor (January 2001 - December 2002). Four factors provided the rationale for choosing these two periods for
study. Firstly, the decade 1993-2002 marked the first ten years of Ghana’s return to constitutional rule and political stability after several decades of unconstitutional rule and political instability. Secondly, it is, arguably, the single most important period in the entire 49-year history of the Republic of Ghana because it marked the period when the country lived under two different constitutional governments in succession within the same Republic and without any military intervention.

Thirdly, the period provides unique comparative opportunities in a continuum of contrasts unmatched in the post-independence history of Ghana (because one constitutionally elected government directly hands over the reins of political power to another). Each of the two periods of the study marks the first two years of one of the two political administrations and thus provides political symmetry. The first period (1993-1994) marks the first two years of the NDC government of Flt. Lt. Rawlings while the second period (2001-2002) marks the first two years of Mr Kufuor’s NPP government. Finally, the two regimes appear to have operated with opposing philosophies of government-media relations. These differences did not only contrast but also influenced the handling of information and the media thereby producing different outcomes in media performance and output, and potentially affecting and reflecting media coverage of the two regimes and their activities.

Within the theoretical framework of the social organisation of news work and influences on the media and news production, the study combines content analysis with document analysis to study coverage of the two political regimes and the environments they created for journalistic work. It draws on press systems theories, using Siebert et al.’s (1963) *Four Theories of the Press* as the overarching theory, and various socio-political approaches to the production of news, notably as outlined by Schudson (2000) and others. It focuses
exclusively on political news defined as newspaper reports originating from or about/concerning the two Presidents, their Vice-Presidents and their accredited agents including Ministers of State, political party executive officers, and Members of Parliament. These are presented as hard news, press releases or images, including cartoons, on the front-page and comments/opinions in editorials of the two newspapers – the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. They were identified and analysed if they mentioned political actors in the headline, lead or within the first five paragraphs of the story as either the sources of news or as people about whom the story was written. Additionally, they were identified and analysed if they were placed on the front-page or in the editorial of the sampled edition of the newspaper, considered the most important because they carried prime news stories and views of newspapers.

While document analysis (and literature) provided information about the journalistic operational environment – historical, social, cultural, legal and political – in ways that superseded the capabilities of other research methods, content analysis provided verifiable and comparable data on actual reportage. Both methods were ideal for their unobtrusiveness and ability to scale recall lapses needed for a study whose interval spanned nearly a decade documenting disparities and semblances in newspaper reporting of two regimes. The study examined the environment within which the newspapers operated in an attempt to assess the relative degree of freedom they experienced under each regime. By so doing, it provided insights into, and an understanding of, the commonalities and differences in the relationships between the media and the two political administrations while highlighting influences exerted on the two newspapers.
Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into eight chapters. The opening chapter – Chapter One – gives the background to the study and explains its objectives, rationale, and scope, and specifies both the general and specific research questions driving it.

Chapter Two describes the study setting specifying the socio-political environment within which the two newspapers’ coverage of the NDC and the NPP regimes occurred. It provides an overview of the political and media history of Ghana focusing on the historical background and context of the development of the press dating from pre-independence. It also describes the legal, constitutional and political environments within which newspapers have operated since independence in 1957 noting the relationship between the press and various governments.

Chapter Three examines theories of influences on the press/media, and the production of news. It uses *The Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert et al., 1963) as an overarching background to discuss the relationship between media context and media content, which is the focus of this study. It also discusses the sociology of news production and addresses influences on the media, news-making and content including gatekeeping and source-reporter relationships.

Chapter Four reviews studies on political communication conducted within press/media systems’ theories and the sociology of news production that address influences on the media using content analysis, document analysis or other scientific methods. The reviews discuss methods and dimensions of variables used in those studies, findings and conclusions reached, and highlight their importance to the thesis.
Chapter Five describes and explains the methodology of the study. Methods used were content analyses of two newspapers selected for their relevance and salience, and analyses of some important documents relating to the media and government, and their legal/constitutional framework over the decade: 1993-2002.

Results of the content analyses of newspaper reports of political stories and of documents selected for the study are presented in Chapter Six. The descriptive presentation of the findings sets the stage for their discussion in Chapter Seven where an attempt is made to provide answers to questions developed under the four major thematic areas of the study: nature and type of reporting, the incumbency factor, freedom of the press and of expression, and government-media relationships.

The concluding chapter - Chapter Eight - summarises key findings of the study and provides a concluding statement that ends that chapter and the thesis.
CHAPTER TWO
MEDIA AND POLITICS IN GHANA

Introduction
Since the type of press system a country has tends to be a product and a reflection of the nature and character of the prevailing political system within which it operates (McQuail, 1994/2000; Altschull, 1984; Kowalski, 2000; Avraham, 2002) an understanding of the research setting is usually fundamental. Many factors, some individual, others collective and institutional, influence the mass media and the production of news. These factors include the type of political and economic systems operating in the society, the stage of the country's development, technological development of the mass media, logistical support, human resources and interests and needs of specific groups and individuals. Severin and Tankard (1992) succinctly capture these factors: “Political, social, and economic forces directly affect media content. Media ownership and control affect media content, which in turn determines media effects” (p. 285). This chapter describes the specific media and political context within which the present study was carried out in order to aid the comprehension of its unique circumstances. It examines the socio-political environment of the two newspapers’ coverage of the NDC and the NPP regimes.

Press/Media Systems in Ghana: A Brief Historical Perspective
Colonial rule in Africa was often followed by one-party systems, which usually resulted in the creation of authoritarian governments and authoritarian press systems (Asante, 1996; Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). Even where constitutions at independence allowed for multiparty democracy, as was the case of Ghana, governments schemed to convert these to one-party states through various means including well-manipulated parliaments (Ansah, 1991a). The resultant political climate usually required journalists to align themselves with government as
propagandists rather than serve as watchdogs over government actions and of peoples’ rights. In Ghana, the *Accra Evening News*, established by Nkrumah in September 1948 as the Convention Peoples’ Party’s mouthpiece functioned exactly in that manner. Dr Nkrumah had so much faith in the mass media playing such an important role that he said upon establishing the *Accra Evening News*: “…Personally, I failed to see how any liberation movement could possibly succeed without an effective means of broadcasting its policy to the rank and file of the people” (Nkrumah, 1957, p. 76). He saw the *Accra Evening News* as “the vanguard of the movement and its chief propagandist, agitator, mobiliser and political educationist”.

In view of the fact that Ghana and many other African countries have experienced more military and sometimes civilian dictatorships than civilian democratic rule since gaining political independence, the media have had to adapt to several political changes. This has resulted in what Hachten (1993) referred to as a “kept press” functioning as a “cheerleader supporting unpopular leaders and their policies” (p. 34). According to Asante (1996), the Ghanaian press in large part has been in the centre of the country’s political changes and turmoil contending that it “has played a legitimacy role, largely in helping the various Ghanaian administrations perpetuate their rule – however unpopular…” (p. xix). The press in post-colonial Ghana, as elsewhere in Africa (Pitts, 2000), was expected to function as a tool for national development: a role that permeated most parts of Africa requiring it to galvanise the people to build a cohesive nation for rapid socio-economic development (Ansah, 1991a). Even as it suppressed the press, the PNDC through its Secretary for Information, Ms Joyce Aryee, in 1983, saw journalism as an instrument for conscientisation of Ghana’s people particularly because of the country’s high illiteracy rate (Asante, 1996).
Rather than promote the appropriate socio-political and economic climate needed to build an independent, critical and economically self-sustaining media system, many African governments have tended to control, restrict and cow the mass media. African media have, consequently, experienced stunted growth having largely failed to “grow and prosper” (Hachten, 1993, p. 34). According to Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari (1998, p. 3), “An important outcome of the suppression of press freedom is that, the private press particularly have not had the stable condition and atmosphere of peace to grow, mature and develop”.

The situation is worse in West Africa where frequent political turbulence has earned it the “notoriety of being the hotbed of ethnoclientelist wars and military dictatorship” (Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996, p. xi) with little tolerance of media freedom.

Many studies of the media in Africa have, indeed, pointed to a controlled, gagged and authoritarian system, which disables the journalist’s freedom to act and function in accordance with acceptable journalistic principles (Hachten, 1971, 1981 & 1993; Mytton, 1983; Ansah, 1991a & b; Faringer, 1991; Hawk, 1992; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997; Eribo & Jong-Ebot 1997). This situation is not peculiar to journalism and media systems of Africa but also of much of the developing world and undemocratic nations where several factors converge to stifle media efficiency and dynamism. The late 1980s saw a wave of change across Africa arising out of agitations for democratic reforms resulting in transformations from military and authoritarian regimes to democratically elected ones (Karikari, 1994; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996). In spite of these changes, both historical factors and existing realities have exacted their toll on African political and media environments.
History and Development of the Mass Media in Ghana

The mass media institution was developed in Europe and transplanted in Africa during the colonial period (Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). Jones-Quartey (1975), writing under “Journalism and Political Change” in the prologue to his book: History Politics and Early Press in Ghana recounts the origins of the newspaper in West Africa as follows:

The newspaper as a forum for the airing of views and the instigation of social change had its inception in English-speaking West Africa as long ago as 1801, in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Ghana – the then Gold Coast – was next in order, with its own first paper started in 1822; next, Nigeria in 1859 and 1863; then the Gambia in 1883. But African journalism – which this was not in 1801, 1822, or 1859 – started, for its part, only in the middle of that century, again first in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1855; then it came to Ghana in 1857. The previous and much earlier efforts noted above had been made at Freetown and at Cape Coast Castle respectively by the then British administrations of the Sierra Leone and Gold Coast Settlements (p. xxi).

The history of the press in Ghana thus dates as far back as 1822 when the first Crown Governor of the then Gold Coast, Sir Charles MacCarthy, first established the Royal Gold Coast Gazette patterned along the lines of the newspaper he had established 21 years earlier in Freetown, Sierra Leone: the Sierra Leone Royal Gazette. Indigenous press – established and operated by natives of the Gold Coast – is traced to 1857 when the Bannerman brothers (Charles and Edmund) started their handwritten publication, the Accra Herald, later renamed West African Herald (Jones-Quartey, 1975). Anokwa (1997) writes on the origins of the Ghanaian press as a colonial fact and states:

The origins of the Ghanaian press ... date back to the nineteenth century. .... The Gazette served as an official organ of the British colonial administration. African participation in the press industry began in 1857 with the establishment of the West African Herald by the Bannerman brothers (p. 8).

Between the first newspapers - the Royal Gold Coast Gazette and the Accra Herald – and those used in the struggle for independence such as the Accra Evening News of Dr Nkrumah’s CPP, there were several others whose dominant theme, according to Mytton
(1983) was: “Political protest and the expression of informed African opinion ... These papers played an important role in trying to raise an early consciousness of nationalism and pride in the face of colonial dominance and alien values” (p. 38). Mytton recounts that by the end of the nineteenth century, nineteen newspapers had appeared in the then Gold Coast (Ghana) including four major ones operating in Accra and Cape Coast in the 1890s. This thesis, however, focuses on the history and development of the media, particularly newspapers, from the years leading to independence. Faringer’s (1991) account of the rationale for establishing indigenous newspapers in Black Africa, notes that an important impetus was provided by the goal of national independence. In this regard, as Ansah (1991a) recalls, many African nationalist leaders either established or edited newspapers in the early stages of their political activities. The list includes Nnamdi Azikiwe’s *West African Pilot*, Jomo Kenyatta’s *Muiguithania*, which was published in Kikuyu (a dominant Kenyan language) in the 1920s, Julius Nyerere’s *Sauti ya TANU* (published in Swahili), Leopold Sedar Senghor’s *La Condition Humaine*, and Kwame Nkrumah’s *Accra Evening News*.

Just as in Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues utilised the press in the struggle for independence, so also did other nationalist leaders elsewhere in Africa. They included Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal. They all saw in the newspaper an indispensable tool for influencing the course of events on the continent and for “displacing colonial institutions” (Ansah, 1991a, p. 89). To them, the newspaper was both a tool and a weapon for political education, political mobilisation, for unifying Africa’s peoples and, above all, for the overthrow of colonialism and imperialism. After independence, according to Faringer (1991), the goal of national independence was no longer a factor and this significantly changed the importance of the press and affected its status.
Despite the journalistic background of many political leaders, once they became heads of governments, their relation to the press changed drastically; after a few years, press control mechanism had been imposed in many cases. The most flagrant example of this development occurred in Ghana (Faringer, 1991, pp.126-27).

Eribo and Jong-Ebot (1997) explain the situation of the media:

Having been organized to serve the needs of the various colonial administrations, they became, at independence, ideological tools of the new African leaders, and were brought under state control and made to sing the praises of dictators in the name of national unity and development (p. x).

Wilcox (1975) says of the hatred and fear Africa’s post-independence leaders had of the press: “Many of them especially those who used the press to garner political power, fear the press because they are familiar with its potential for changing current political elites” (p. 12).

Newspapers were important instruments in the struggle for independence, after which they were expected to perform both a revolutionary and a propaganda role. Their revolutionary role lay in safeguarding and consolidating the sovereignty and independence of Ghana (and the rest of Africa) while their propaganda role lay in projecting a positive image of the government both at home and abroad (Ansah, 1991a). In view of this revolutionary-propaganda role Nkrumah perceived for the mass media, he, during his tenure as Prime Minister and later President of Ghana, embarked on their rapid development and expansion. The aim was to be able to broadcast his government’s policies and programmes to the people as well as “to collect and disseminate information at home and project Ghana’s image abroad” (Ansah, 1991a, p. 91). He established the Ghana News Agency (GNA) in 1957; the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) – the first institution for training journalists in Africa – in 1959; inaugurated a television service in July 1965 as a non-commercial public service station; and considerably expanded radio, which had been introduced in July 1935 under the colonial administration (Ansah, 1991a).
Nkrumah is credited with laying the communication infrastructure for one of the best media systems in Africa (Ansah, 1991a; Anokwa, 1997). However, these developments and expansion did not affect the print media as significantly as they affected radio and television although his acquisition in 1962 of the hitherto private, foreign-owned *Daily Graphic* from the London-based Mirror Group of newspapers was an attempt at expanding the print media base of Ghana (Ansah, 1991a; Asante, 1996). (He also created the *Guinea* (later *Ghana*) *Times* and the *Spark* and revived the *Evening News*). Additionally, these developments did not positively impact on the environment within which media practitioners performed their functions/roles as gatherers and disseminators of news and information. Significantly, they had a negative effect on private participation in the operations of the mass media as the private press was systematically targeted for elimination in line with Nkrumah’s media policy patterned along the lines of socialist and neo-communist models (Ansah, 1991a). It was a policy that favoured strict state-ownership: a media system that was operated and controlled by the state to ensure that capitalist influences associated with private ownership neither crept nor seeped into the Ghanaian media (Ansah, 1991a). Dr Nkrumah categorically stated his objection to and disdain for private ownership of the mass media:

> It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism, the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts, and that the press, therefore, should not remain in private hands (Nkrumah, 1963a, p. 4).

Citing Hachten (1971), Anokwa (1997) summed up his overview of the Ghanaian media by acknowledging the growth of the state-owned media and the near elimination of the private media.

By all indications, Nkrumah’s reign was a period of healthy growth for the state-owned media although the era was also characterized by authoritarian methods of press control and complete rejection of private ownership and control of the media in Ghana (pp. 12-13).
Similarly Ansah (1991a), reviewing the press situation under Nkrumah’s rule, reported that even though the state-owned press saw some development, the privately owned press shrank:

The development in the electronic media was not matched by a corresponding development in the print media. If anything, the print media shrank under Nkrumah as a direct result of his policies. The political atmosphere created after the passing of the Preventive Detention Act in 1958 and other laws specifically designed to limit the freedom of expression and of the press adversely affected the development of the press. While the state-owned or party press expanded, the private press shrank out of existence with the result that at the time of Nkrumah’s overthrow the print media had become a state or party monopoly (p. 92).

Although successive governments did not consciously add onto Nkrumah’s media developments, Ghana can today be described as a country with multiple newspapers, radio and even television stations. From the first newspaper and radio station in 1822 and 1935, respectively, these have expanded to over 70 newspapers, 100 radio and five television stations serving a population of about 20 million. Since modern democracies require vibrant media systems to ensure that many people participate in national discourse and issues of governance (Boyd-Barrett & Newbold, 1995; Deacon, et al., 1999; McNair, 1999; Curran & Gurevitch, 2000; Street, 2001), the diversity of media outlets and ownership appears to be the beginning of Ghana’s march towards democracy. As Deacon et al. (1999) explain:

Modern democracies depend on a media system that delivers accurate information and informed analysis and gives space to the broadest possible range of voices, opinions and perspectives. Many commentators argue that this ideal requires diversity of ownership, since the less concentrated control over public communications is, the more likely it is that the media system will engage with the full range of interests in a society (p. 34).

It is noteworthy that the revolutionary role of the Ghanaian press (carved for it during the struggle for independence) was also to be its nemesis as it distinguished itself early as a force to reckon with (Ansah, 1991a). Subsequent expansion in the media landscape to include radio and television transmission meant an even more powerful force with the potential to
confront and even destabilise political regimes. As a result, each political administration has tried to either directly or indirectly bring the mass media under subjugation or control through legal, quasi-legal, and sometimes, illegal means including censorship, regulation, and various control mechanisms such as intervention and interference instituted both internally and externally (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997; Ampaw, 2004). The Ghanaian media have, consequently, been subjected to degrees of freedom and strict controls depending on which regime is in power. Asante (1996) captured this vividly:

In Africa generally and in Ghana particularly, a change in government usually signals changes in the press system of that country. The press constantly has to adapt to the changing political environment (Asante, 1996, p. xix).

**Recent History of the Mass Media and Politics in Ghana**

The history and development of the press in Ghana are, indeed, inextricably linked to the country's political history. Under colonialism, the newspaper was introduced and used more as a political tool to link the centre to the periphery than as a tool for the dissemination of information (Anokwa, 1997; Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). During the struggle for independence, newspapers were used to organise and galvanise the people to fight to liberate the country from colonialism (Ansah, 1991a). Immediately after independence, they became tools for political mobilisation, organisation and education, and weapons for the total liberation of Africa, but later used as tools for suppressing dissent (Wilcox, 1975). In the words of Ghana's first President, Nkrumah, when addressing the Second Conference of African Journalists in Accra, Ghana in 1963:

To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organiser, a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator — a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity (Nkrumah, 1963a, p. 5).
The role of the mass media has transformed from the freedom fighter of the early newspapers to the watchdog role assigned by Ghana's 1992 Constitution (Article 162 (5)). Ghana of the 1990s, described as "the period of transition from the Rawlings years of dictatorship to a democratic republic" (Ampaw, 2004, p. 18), witnessed even greater media involvement in politics. In Ampaw's (2004) view:

The transition has been characterized by burgeoning media (both print and electronic) that have taken up as their primary role the task of making government accountable to the people, exposing corruption and abuse of power, and providing a vehicle for popular expression. Government officials have naturally received the brunt of most of the critical and robust attacks by the emerging media (p. 18).

After the repeal of the newspaper licensing law in 1992, the media, especially private newspapers, began the crusade against unconstitutional rule. They defied the stifling atmosphere of the long PNDC rule with its "culture of silence" and undemocratic practices through scathing political reportage (see Appendix 7). This stance was accentuated after the 1992 elections - boycotted by the Opposition - and throughout the First Parliament of the Fourth Republic during which period the private media played the role of Opposition outside Parliament. Many studies reckon that the mass media played no mean role in the country's transition and transformation serving as catalysts for speedy dissemination of information and as avenues for the discussion of issues of national and international importance (Ansah, 1991a; Ayee, 1997/2001a; Karikari, 1998; Ocquaye, 1998; Gyimah-Boadi, 1999/2001a&b; Ahiawordor, 2001; Smith & Temin, 2001). "The mass media have been touted as the institution which largely contributed to the defeat of the NDC" (Ayee, 2001a, p.6).

Ghana runs a multiparty constitutional democracy operating a hybrid system that combines the British Westminster representative type of government with the US executive presidential model. It has a democratically elected government headed by a President and has, since
1992, had four such governments. It has, for the first time in the country’s history, also had a smooth changeover from one political party to another operating within the same Constitution and the same Republic (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001 a & b; Ayee, 2001; Nugent, 2001).

In recent African history, it is the third country south of the Sahara to have changed government through general elections, that is, through the ballot box rather than the barrel of the gun. The crucial role played by the media in Ghana’s transition and transformation was facilitated by media pluralism and liberalisation of the airwaves (Ayee, 2001; Karikari, 1994/1998/2000; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994/1999/2001b).

There is some similarity between 19th century Britain and the recent political and media history of Ghana beginning with the first parliament of the first government of the Fourth Republic during which much of the political debate and discussion occurred outside parliament (Karikari, 1994/1998). In the case of Britain, according to Gold (1983), politicians and reformers led the political discussion before mass meetings many of which were reported verbatim in provincial newspapers. In Ghana, much of the political discussion took place in the private press as a result of opposition boycott of parliamentary elections citing irregularities and fraud at the presidential. In both cases, newspapers grew exponentially and took centre stage in these discussions. Ghana’s private press soon became known as the “opposition” press (Karikari, 2000/2004; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996) owing largely to its role in holding government in check in the absence from parliament of the opposition between 1993 and 1996, creating a near one-party parliament.

The Ghanaian mass media have had a chequered history principally because of government ownership monopoly, control, regulation, intervention and interference in their operations as well as their use and abuse by successive political administrations. During much of Ghana’s
post-independence history, the mass media have been largely under government monopoly and control (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). As a result, the terms “state-owned media” and “government media” are usually used interchangeably even by the National Communications Authority (NCA). Various governments, since the first regime under Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah and especially during the unconstitutional regimes of military dictators such as General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong and Flt-Lt Rawlings, have tended to excessively control the media and to use them largely as mouthpieces for propagating their political agenda (Anokwa, 1997; Asante, 1996; Ansah, 1991a). Both formal and informal mechanisms have been used simultaneously in overt and covert ways to compel the media to toe government lines thereby undermining their independence and ability to function based on journalistic principles and as watchdog of society (Ansah, 1991b).

Nkrumah’s PDA, enacted on July 18 1958 was meant to keep the press in line. Under the Act, a person could be detained for acts or activities considered prejudicial to: a) the defence of Ghana; b) the relations of Ghana with other countries; or c) the security of the state. It was amended in 1963 and redrafted in 1964 to enable Nkrumah detain his opponents for up to 10 years without trial (Asante, 1996). In August 1960, Nkrumah’s government introduced the Criminal Code (Amendment) Bill “with some even more outrageous additions” later (Ampaw, 2004, p. 16) to halt the persistent belittling of his work by people who did not appreciate it. The Amendment suppressed dissent and empowered the government to impose press censorship and restrictions on the publication and importation of materials considered “contrary to public interest”. According to the Daily Graphic of August 24 1960, the law required “newspapers and other publications which had been indulging in the systematic publication of matters calculated to prejudice public order or safety to be submitted to scrutiny before publication” (p. 5).
The Criminal Code (Amendment) Law was used to compel the *Ashanti Pioneer* to submit its contents to the Ministry of Information for censorship before publication in September 1961 (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997) for consistently opposing Nkrumah’s government especially with regard to its stance on, and interference in, Congo’s internal political crisis. The *Ashanti Pioneer* appeared to be the most critical and vocal private newspaper at the time to oppose Nkrumah’s dictatorship and, as a result, suffered the most from his clamp down on the private press. Nkrumah appointed a government official to the newspaper’s editorial board in 1962 and detained its editor (A. D. Appea) and city editor (Kwame Kesse-Adu) without trial for seven months and four-and-a-half years, respectively (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Eventually, Nkrumah succeeded in bringing the newspaper in line. According to Apter (1972, p. 342): “The only opposition newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*, was censored, gradually curbed and became a government supporter”.

Nkrumah’s government had total domination of the press. Hachten (1971, p. 168) reported that at independence, “Ghana had four daily newspapers: The *Daily Graphic, Evening News, Ghanaian Times*, and the *Ashanti Pioneer*, and in time Nkrumah dominated them all”. Ansah (1991a) recalled that all newspapers were under complete government control at the time of Nkrumah’s overthrow in 1966:

> By the time of Nkrumah’s overthrow in February 1966, government control of the newspaper was total. From about ten newspapers at the time of independence, with most of them privately owned by Ghanaian nationals, by 1966, the government or the party owned and controlled all the newspapers, the resilient Ashanti Pioneer having been subjected to consistent censorship from 1960 and eventually closed down in October 1962 (p. 93).

So the acquisition of the *Graphic* in 1962 completed (the) Nkrumah regime’s ownership and control of the Ghanaian press systems. The only fearless, independent newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*, the mouthpiece of the opposition, was then embroiled in a bitter confrontation with the CPP government. Although a few other individual newspapers (i.e., the *National Times* and the *Talking Drums* belonging to the United Gold Coast Convention opposition party) and missionary publications existed in the country, the only viable press factor seemed to be government newspapers (p. 15).

The National Liberation Council (NLC) regime, which overthrew Nkrumah’s CPP, allowed for the establishment and reintroduction of several newspapers in Ghana (Anokwa, 1997; Asante, 1996). These included the *Echo* and the *Star* (belonging to the Progress Party of Professor K.A. Busia), the *Evening Standard* (belonging to the National Alliance of Liberals of Mr K.A. Gbedemah), the *Western Tribune*, the *Legon Observer*, and the *Ashanti Pioneer* previously silenced by Nkrumah and reintroduced as the *Pioneer*. The NLC also maintained many of the media institutions established by Nkrumah as state institutions (Boafo, 1988; Ansah, 1991a; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). It, however, banned all publications used as ideological tools by the Nkrumah regime including the *Spark*, the *Daily Gazette*, the *Sunday Punch* and later the *Evening News* (Ansah, 1991a; Asante, 1996).

Although Dr Busia’s Progress Party (PP) administration, which succeeded the NLC, did not embark on any physical developments of the media, it created an enabling regime for media activity (Anokwa & Aborampa, 1986; Anokwa, 1997). When in 1970 Busia’s government repealed the Newspaper Licensing Act (one of Dr Nkrumah’s legacies), that move resulted in an expansion of the newspaper industry. It enabled the establishment of many independent newspapers, among them, the *Spokesman*, the *Palaver Tribune* and the *Voice of the People* (Anokwa, 1997; Asante, 1996). While the Busia regime largely refrained from interfering with the work of the media, Colonel (later General) I. K. Acheampong’s National Redemption Council (NRC), which overthrew Dr Busia’s administration on January 13 1972,
brought changes to the top hierarchy of the state media (Udofia, 1982; Pellow & Chazan, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997).

Changes effected by the Acheampong regime included the brief detention of editors of the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times*, and the *Weekly Spectator* (all state-owned), and their replacement with Acheampong favourites (Boafo, 1988; Anokwa, 1997) thus enabling the regime to perpetuate its grip and control of the media. In addition to these changes, it also instituted stringent measures such as the promulgation in May 1972 of the Defamation by Newspapers Decree and reshuffled cabinet to enable Acheampong personally take charge of information and public relations. When Acheampong's NRC (later Supreme Military Council - SMC I) was toppled, General Akuffo's SMC II announced its intention to set up an independent press council “to provide a suitable framework within which the media, Ghanaian and foreign journalists could practice their profession” (Udofia, 1982, p. 396). General Akuffo's intentions could, however, not materialise before Rawlings' Armed Forces' Revolutionary Council (AFRC) overthrew his government on June 4 1979.

The Peoples' National Party (PNP) government of Dr Hilla Limann (1979-1981), which followed the brief AFRC regime, established an independent press council in accordance with Ghana's 1979 Constitution, which provided for the establishment of a Press Commission with objectives similar to those of the current National Media Commission (NMC) established under the 1992 Constitution (Ansah, 1991b). They sought to afford the mass media independence and protection to enable them perform their functions of informing and educating the public, and also to enable them perform the watchdog role over people's rights and freedoms. The 12-member Press Commission was, as captured by Ansah (1991b), “to insulate the press from direct political interference so that journalists in the public sector
can discharge their duty of objectively informing the people and acting as watchdogs on
governmental activities without fear of reprisals from the government” (p.8). In order to
enhance democratic governance, the Press Commission, like the NMC, was charged with
ensuring that the state-owned media afforded equal opportunities and facilities for the
representation of opposing and/or divergent views.

Limann’s PNP administration tried to ensure the realisation of press freedom in Ghana
(Anokwa, 1997). However, on February 15 1980, ahead of the official inauguration of the
Press Commission whose functions included the appointment of management staff of state-
owned media organisations, President Limann appointed some senior journalists to editorial
positions of the Daily Graphic, the Mirror, and the Ghanaian Times. The then acting editor
of the Daily Graphic, Elizabeth Ohene who was confirmed as editor, turned down the offer
protesting that such appointments were the prerogative of the Press Commission and not the
President (Boafo, 1988; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Ms Ohene and five other senior
editorial staff of the Daily Graphic took Dr Limann’s PNP government to court charging that
it was improper and unethical to make those appointments, which contravened the 1979
Constitution. The case was later withdrawn from court and settled amicably by the Minister
of Information and the Press Commission, and the President also withdrew the appointments.

Rawlings’ PNDC, which overthrew Limann’s PNP, also made changes to the management of
the state-owned media soon after it assumed office (Boafo, 1985). The editors of the Daily
Graphic and the Mirror (both of Graphic Corporation) were dismissed and immediately
replaced. Many senior editors and management personnel including Elizabeth Ohene, who in
1979 turned down Rawlings’ offer of appointment as editor of the Daily Graphic, were either
sent on retirement or on indefinite leave. The PNDC also dismissed three officials working at
the Press Secretariat of the Osu Castle (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). In 1985, it re-organised Ghana’s mass media institutions ostensibly to motivate quality in the media’s productive capacities. However, the re-organisation enabled the regime place persons loyal to it in key positions and to firmly control and direct the mass media especially with the subsequent introduction of the newspaper licensing law (PNDC Law 211) in March 1989. Ampaw (2004, p. 20) described PNDCL 211 as “the product of a besieged mentality determined to hold onto power to the very end and to close all possible avenues of social protest and dissent”.

The repeal of PNDC Law 211 in 1992 saw a proliferation of private newspapers on the newsstands and re-activation and revitalisation of media energies. The Fourth Republic was thus greeted with a reawakened and rejuvenated media environment characterised by intrepidity and abrasiveness meant to provide an alternative to the one-sidedness and predictability of state media reports. The hitherto dormant media atmosphere dominated by two newspaper corporations (Graphic and New Times) with their two volumes apiece, and one radio/television organisation (Ghana Broadcasting Corporation) all owned by the state, suddenly became vibrant with private participation (Karikari, 1998/2004; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996). The private press whose numbers increased by the day, and private commercial radio stations (began in 1995) appeared to provide a voice for the voiceless and an avenue for expression for people who had been muzzled for over a decade (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). The result was a cacophonous media atmosphere although pluralism was acknowledged to enhance participation. There was a sharp division between the state-owned media and the private “opposition” press (Karikari, 2000/2004; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996) in terms of their levels of abrasiveness and adversarial reporting. While the former became the
mouthpiece of government, propagating messages from people in authority, the latter assumed the role of opposition outside parliament.

Generally, the media have been instrumental in safeguarding Ghana’s democratic principles (Ayee, 2001a), playing vital roles in both the historical and socio-political development of the country (Ansah, 1991a; Gyimah-Boadi, 1999/2001a & b; Smith & Temin, 2001). In spite of their important presence, experience of their use generates some controversy (Smith & Temin, 2001; Tettey, 2001; Anokwa, 1997; Ansah, 1991a; Boafo, 1988). They have vacillated between intrepidity and cowardice along a continuum of revolutionary, confrontational, legitimacy, and supportive roles depending on the prevailing political atmosphere (their roles determined by the unstable, complex social and political environments in which they function). The media have tried to play the watchdog role during most civilian administrations (Boafo, 1988; Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996). They have also had to play the lapdog role out of genuine fear for their lives especially during military regimes when they are forced to toe the line or risk the consequences (Boafo, 1985). In normal times, and on the average, they have functioned more like what Donohue, Tichenor and Olien (1995) referred to as the guard dog, a kind of mid-posture between the watchdog and lapdog concepts, owing principally to the uncertainty of their operational environment (Boafo, 1985; Anokwa, 1997).

**Government-Media Relations**

In spite of their importance to the flow of news and information and to building and sustaining democracy, the mass media have often come under attack and numerous constraints from several quarters, which have militated against their operations. As Hargreaves (2003) pointed out:
We have more news and more influential journalism, across an unprecedented range of media, than at any time since the birth of the free press in the eighteenth century; yet journalism is also under widespread attack, from politicians, philosophers, the general public, and even from journalists themselves (p. 2).

Relations between governments and the media have been mediated by several factors including partisan political considerations and regulatory and legal regimes some of which predate Ghana’s independence (Ampaw, 2004). One-party and military dictatorships such as Nkrumah’s CPP and Rawlings’ PNDC, for instance, regarded intellectual/academic freedom as a threat to political order and a potential, or pretext, for “political subversion” (Yankah, 1997, p. 9). Consequently, such governments tended to consider icons of intellectual freedom - including the universities and journalists - as “opposition parties in disguise, or surrogates of anti-government power blocs” (Yankah, 1997, p. 31). At the level of legislation, just as the Ghanaian press originated from colonialism so also did the press laws of the country many of which were legacies of the colonial administration, which came handy to governments eager to suppress press freedom and free speech. Anokwa (1997), writing on press censorship as a colonial legacy noted:

... Under colonial rule, several press laws were passed to muzzle the African press. The laws included The Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1894 (Cap 116) and the Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1897 (Cap 12)...; and the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance of 1934 also known as the Sedition Ordinance (Ordinance No. 21 of 1934) (pp. 8-9).

According to Twumasi (1974 & 1980), the Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1897 (Cap 12) “enjoined a newspaper editor to send returns of the total circulation as well as the title of the newspaper, its offices, printers and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. In addition, the printer was expected to print his name and address on the first and last pages of the newspaper”. Similarly, section 330 of the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance of 1934 specified that:
Any person who published any seditious words or writing or was found in possession of any newspaper, book or document or any part thereof or extract therefrom that contained seditious words or writing and who did not show to the satisfaction of the court that at the time he was found in such possession he did not know the nature of its content was guilty of an offense (reproduced in Twumasi, 1980; Ekwelie, 1978).

Inimical as these laws were to press freedom and to freedom of speech and of expression, they remained in Ghana's statute books and served some of the country's dictatorial regimes, notably Dr Nkrumah's (Ampaw, 2004). The Criminal Libel Law, for instance, not only stayed in the law books but was also effectively used by some governments, especially the PNDC and the NDC, until the Kufuor administration expunged it from the criminal code in August 2001.

Giving a historical overview of the relationship between governments and intellectuals in Ghana (defined to include teachers, writers, poets, and journalists), Yankah (1997) observed the chequered nature of such relationships since independence characterised by mutual mistrust. He noted that while intellectuals perceived governments and politicians as semi-qualified self-seekers, governments tended to regard intellectuals as adversaries whose frequent and partisan attacks on government policy had to be curbed in the interest of social stability. Consequently, authoritarian governments have tended to keep intellectuals under close scrutiny regarded as major obstacles "in the attempt to maintain a perpetual hold on power" (Yankah, 1997, p. 2).

Dr Nkrumah's socialist stance dichotomised society into the bourgeois (including intellectuals) and the exploited (the masses) (Ocquaye 1994; Yankah, 1997). It translated into strict media censorship and control, and the use of national newspapers, radio and television as propaganda tools to inform the people about his government's policies, programmes, and achievements (Ansah, 1991a). Propelled by this socialist-neo-communist orientation,
Nkrumah ensured that he had stamped out all private newspapers and criticism of his administration through direct censorship, harassment, banning, imprisonment, and/or deportation of (foreign) journalists and the enactment of repressive laws (Boafo, 1988; Ansah, 1991a & b; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Nkrumah’s era has been described as a period of “press emasculation and intellectual alienation”, an “era of political oppression” (Yankah, 1997, p. 15). The PDA allowed Dr Nkrumah to jail or detain anybody without trial for up to five years while the Newspaper Licensing Act of 1963 (Act 189) made it impossible for anyone outside Nkrumah’s party or government to operate a newspaper (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997).

The NLC government, like Nkrumah, used the media to propagate its political and ideological objectives – the idea of a free enterprise (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997) and as its “publicity and propaganda instrument” forcing editors to toe the line while “any deviation exacted swift governmental retribution: dismissal or detention” (Asante, 1996, p. 45). General J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the Council, is quoted as saying, “one who pays the piper will have to call the tune” (Asante, 1996, p. 41). The NLC’s attempts at libertarianism, however, showed in several gestures made towards relaxing government-media relations (Anokwa & Aborampah, 1986). Within seven months after coming into power, the junta on September 1 1966 revoked the ban on several foreign correspondents and individuals, and also lifted censorship on news reports sent overseas from Ghana imposed by Nkrumah. It institutionalised regular weekly meetings with editors of national media organisations as a boost to government-media relations although such meetings were said to be used to instruct the media on what to do (Asante, 1996). Most significantly, it repealed the PDA and released many who had been jailed as a result of that law. Writing about the new era of press freedom into which the Ghanaian media had been ushered, Hachen (1971) said, the media
atmosphere had been “enhanced by the repeal of the Preventive Detention Act of 1958, under which the ousted dictator had jailed without trial more than 1,800 people at various times – some for more than seven years” (p. 174). Anokwa and Aborampah (1986) believed that “the functioning of the mass media during the NLC era was characterised by libertarian principles” (p. 148).

In many respects and on the whole, however, the NLC was as authoritarian towards the press as the government it overthrew on February 24 1966 in spite of its initial attempts at libertarianism. It is on record as having revoked Nkrumah's repressive press laws while introducing its own to bring journalists in line. Hachten (1971) reports of the dismissal of four editors of three state-owned newspapers for criticising the NLC's agreement with Abbott Laboratories of the United States to take over a state-owned drug corporation set up by Hungary. Another threat to freedom of the press was recorded when the editor of the University of Ghana based Legon Observer, Yaw Twumasi and 28 university professors were, on January 8 1968, charged with contempt before an Accra High Court. They had published in the December 8 1967 issue of the publication an article headlined: “Justice Delayed is Justice Denied”, which criticised the court for delays in hearing cases.

Under Dr. Busia’s government, the mass media enjoyed relative freedom thanks to the regime's general tolerance of the media in spite of occasional disguised threats and crackdowns. These included the dismissal of Cameron Duodu as editor of the Daily Graphic for opposing Busia’s “dialogue” approach to apartheid South Africa. On the whole, however, Busia’s political liberalism permeated his attitude towards the mass media and a free press.
because of the democratic principles his Government espoused, but also because there was a preponderance of the elite and academics in Busia’s Government” (Yankah, 1997, p. 16). Udofia (1982) believed Dr Busia’s regime “was perhaps the freest in the history of the Ghanaian press since independence” (p. 390) as it largely avoided interference and control of mass media operations: a situation akin to a libertarian press and in contrast to authoritarian press practices.

For his part, Acheampong’s smooth relations and popularity with the press and close, cordial relationships with journalists began to sour in October 1978 when the Ghana Journalists’ Association (GJA) went on a three-day strike to demand improved working conditions and better salaries and remuneration.

Acheampong’s intolerance of dissent was reflected in his response to the growing tide of civilian unrest. He harassed his opponents, issued decrees prohibiting criticism of the regime, and stifled the press (Pellow & Chazan, 1986, p. 69).

According to Yankah (1997), “General I. K. Acheampong’s seven-year dictatorship brought back the historic tension between Government and intellectuals, after an initial flush of co-operation” (p. 17). In contrast, the Limann Government’s brief spell in political office “brought the two institutions into greater co-operation” (Yankah, 1997, p. 21), not only because Ghana was a constitutional democracy, but also because Dr Limann’s academic background “naturally attracted his like” (p. 21).

The PNDC began its suppression of the media in a multifaceted manner after it had effected changes to the top hierarchy of the state-owned media. It banned, confiscated, nationalised or forced out of business many private newspapers and coerced journalists to toe the official line in diverse ways (Boafo, 1985; Anokwa & Aborampa, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa,
1997). For instance, UNIPRESS (publishers of the *Palaver*, the *Herald Tribune*, and the *Chronicle*) was nationalised while other newspapers including the *Free Press* and *The Monitor* folded up because the atmosphere was not conducive to private newspaper publication especially for those who wanted to offer alternative views (Asante, 1996). Another popular PNDC technique was the organisation of thugs to attack, vandalise and destroy equipment of uncompromising journalists. In July 1982, a group of angry protesters attacked the offices of several independent newspapers in Accra, including the *Echo* and *The Believer*. Barely a year later in June 1983, another group of protesters attacked the *Free Press* and the *Citadel Daily* accusing them of using their newspapers to subvert the PNDC government through critical reporting of events in the country (Boafo, 1985). In all cases, the attackers destroyed property including office and printing equipment and material, and threatened lives. In the case of the *Free Press* and the *Citadel Daily*, they took over the printing press of their publishers, Tommark Advertising, intending to use the printing facilities to print the “people’s news” to champion the cause of the revolution.

All newspapers perceived to be critical of the PNDC government suffered in one way or the other from that regime (Boafo, 1985/1988; Anokwa & Aborampa, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Notable among them were the *Catholic Standard*, *The Ghanaian Voice*, the *Free Press* and the *Echo*. In January 1985, the government ordered the immediate suspension of *The Ghanaian Voice* (a privately owned newspaper) but lifted the order a couple of months later (in early March). Similarly, the *Catholic Standard* was banned in December 1985 for its critical news stories and comments on the PNDC’s human rights record. While *The Ghanaian Voice* was suspended, according to the PNDC government, for “distorting news” and “fabricating stories which are completely without foundation”, the *Catholic Standard* was banned for its “unpatriotic reporting”.
The 1970s and 1980s may be considered the doldrums of the press in Ghana. State control and monopoly and their attendant “culture of silence”, were the principal features of two decades of military dictatorship briefly interrupted by the liberal government of the People’s National Party (PNP) under President Hilla Limann (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998, p. 3).

According to Boafo (1985), physical harassment, attacks and ordeals journalists suffered had a cowering impact on the private press. He recalled, for example, that after the attack on the *Echo*, the newspaper’s management published a letter in the August 1 1982 edition of the paper apologising to the government for “the nature and tone of the opinions expressed in the *Echo* which amount practically to an incitement of the people against the present administration”. In addition, *Echo*’s guest editor was dismissed and critical editorial comments and coverage of views and expressions not in consonance with PNDC official line of thinking, completely disappeared from the newspaper (Boafo, 1985, p. 77). Self-censorship and suppression of stories were the hallmarks of media practice under the PNDC aimed at preventing trouble and falling out of tune with the government. The Castle Information Bureau (CIB), which was responsible for the PNDC’s information and publicity, was widely believed to author some editorials of the *Daily Graphic*. Although these allegations were largely unsubstantiated, government information officials neither denied nor confirmed them.

**Ownership and Control of the Media in Ghana**

Media ownership in Ghana distinguishes between two main types: the state-owned media including the *Daily Graphic* and the privately owned media such as *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. While the country has had a long tradition of state ownership (and control) of the media (mainly the press) dating to pre-independence times, private ownership was sporadic until after the repeal of PNDC Law 211 (the newspaper licensing law) in 1992. For the most part of Ghana’s recent history until 1992, private media – both print and electronic – were
almost absent from the Ghanaian media landscape. Only a few private newspapers notably the *Pioneer* and the *Catholic Standard* were in circulation before the introduction of the newspaper licensing law in 1989 under the PNDC government (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Private broadcasting in the entire history of Ghana began only in 1995 after a physical confrontation and a legal battle between Rawlings’ NDC government and the owners of a “dissident” radio station, *Radio Eye* (*Media Monitor*, April-June 1996, p. 9). This was in spite of the fact that Ghana’s Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992, which provided for private print and electronic media, had already come into effect on January 7 1993. Radio and television broadcasting had been, and were still, since their introduction to Ghana in 1935 and 1965, respectively, a state monopoly (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998).

While the state media – both print and electronic such as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) – have been operated by people hired by the state, paid for and sustained at state expense (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998), the status of the private media, with regard to funding, has been difficult to establish. Apart from a few newspapers with perceived political support, it is extremely difficult to obtain any information relating to sources of funding or anything regarding publication details of private newspapers including even innocuous information regarding print copies (not circulation figures). The status of newspapers such as the *Daily Guide* (owned by the First Deputy Speaker of Ghana’s current Parliament, Honourable Freddie Blay, and edited by his wife, Gina Blay), the *Statesman* (until recently owned by Ghana’s Foreign Minister, Nana Akuffo-Addo), *The Palaver*, *Democrat*, *Lens*, and *Network Herald*, which all have obvious NDC connections and support, is fairly established. Although many Ghanaian private media have known owners, it is inconceivable that they are being sustained by such owners or solely by their print copies (in the case of the print media) and advertising revenue or simply by space and airtime alone.
Admittedly, media funding is an important contextualising factor that indicates potential sources of control and direction with possible effects on media content since “the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interests of those who pay the bills” (Altschull, 1997, p. 259). However, it is the kind of information that is presently impossible to obtain in Ghana’s private media, which could aptly be described as operating under “ghost ownership and funding”. While it is possible to ascertain and even describe the structure, ownership and funding of the state media such as the Daily Graphic, it is impossible to provide a definitive account in the case of the private media including The Ghanaian Chronicle. Although the present study did not explore the all-important triad of media ownership, funding and control beyond distinguishing between the Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Chronicle as examples of state and private media ownership types, it recognised the importance of their systematic study. The study, therefore, recommends that the subject be taken up by future scholarly research into the Ghanaian media. Such research could anchor contributions of advertising revenue (and copy sales) into content profiles comparing, perhaps, a month’s edition of media content under the PNDC and/or the NDC and a month under the NPP in addition to interviews on government policies on advertising in the private media.

*The “Culture of Silence”*

During the PNDC’s unconstitutional rule (1982-1992), the media lived under a regime characterised by a “culture of silence” with the promulgation of PNDC Law 211, which made journalistic work hazardous. “Culture of silence” was “anti-democratic and anti-freedom of expression communication” (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1999-2001, p.31), that curtailed the “cultivation and nurturing of free expression” (p. 33). It compared to “the stormy days of the Nkrumah era, when scholars were subdued into silence and fear” (Yankah, 1997, p. 15). The concept recalled Nkrumah’s (1963b, p 77) belief that the type of free expression “which
established democracies have taken generations to evolve" was beyond the reach of a young independent country (an emergent democracy) like Ghana. Yeboah-Afari (1987) gave a three-pronged explanation to the concept: 1) Culture of silence exists when members of the public are not talking or not contributing their views to national debates on social and political issues. 2) It exists when dissenting views are denied publication in the mainstream media thus ignoring the views of those who are talking but whose views are not in line with current government thinking. 3) It exists when such views are either misrepresented or distorted in media publications.

Silence can be either voluntary (such as Gandhi’s satyagraha or silent protest) or involuntary. Ghana’s silence was involuntary because it was coercive and imposed. “The communicator’s uncertainty about a government’s inclined negative reaction to an expressed view or pronouncement prevents communication from being initiated…” (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1999-2001, p. 32). Media practitioners suffered intimidation, coercion, repressive laws, detention and imprisonment while some newspapers (notably, the Catholic Standard, the Echo, and The Ghanaian Voice) were banned under the PNDC regime (Boafo, 1985/1988; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Perhaps “culture of silence” was Ghana’s version or enactment of Noelle-Neumann’s “spiral of silence” because under both conditions people with dissenting views could not publicly speak out. Chairman Rawlings’ PNDC directly applied the culture of silence in a widespread, almost institutionalised manner. It thus resulted from disempowerment rather than from disinterestedness or apathy of members of the public (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1999-2001). Caudill (1999) recounted in relation to Noelle-Neumann’s “spiral of silence”:

People’s willingness to speak out on an issue is heavily influenced by their perception of the prevailing climate of opinion. Those who perceive their opinion is a minority opinion will remain silent, and so become part of the growing “spiral of silence.” In
this way, a large number of people — even a majority — could erroneously perceive
themselves to be a minority and in danger of social isolation (pp. 14-15).

Noelle-Neumann (1974) blamed this situation on the powerful impact of the mass media in
shaping public opinion. In the case of Ghana, however, “culture of silence” was the result of
the powerfully overbearing presence of the political machinery, which disempowered the
public and the media through fear of political intolerance. The media were too moribund to
play any significant role given the rather intimidating and frightening environment within
which they had to operate. In Nazi Germany, the inability to speak out was for fear of being
ostracised, isolated or alienated from society, but under PNDC rule, it was for fear of being
abducted and tortured, framed up in a coup plot, jailed without trial, murdered and/or
declared missing as revelations from the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC)
indicate (NRC Report, 2004). Additionally, most journalists depended on government for
employment and would therefore not risk its displeasure. “With the major source of
employment for journalists being the government-controlled media establishments,
conformity, praise-singing and self-censorship constituted the only ticket to a job or career

Therefore, while western journalism contends with corporatism and its attendant
commoditisation or commodification of news (Hargreaves, 2003), Ghanaian media fight a
different kind of control, mainly political. The media empires of the Murdochs of the West
appear to be matched by the political empires of the dictators and the not-so-liberal political
leaders of the developing world resulting in journalists constantly battling for liberation. As
dissenting press forbidden in theory, criminal in law, and non-existent in practice” (p. 176).

Until the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law in 2001 under the Kufuor administration, freedom
of expression, especially for journalists, often came under serious threat and attack (Karikari, 2004). Politicians, particularly, used such laws to muzzle the press through heavy court fines and incarceration of journalists. Speech and media output were thus decriminalised with the abolition of the Criminal Libel Law.

Press restrictions and controls have varied in form and intensity (Anokwa, 1997). There are accounts of direct and self-imposed censorship, legal restrictions including prosecution and imprisonment arising out of libel and seditious charges, and illegal controls such as detention without trial, physical harassment, and intimidation (Asante, 1996). Repressive press laws, including the PDA and the Newspaper Licensing Law, have been used to curtail press freedom and free speech. There are reports of direct interference in the functioning of the media as well as indirect forms of control including the reduction of official advertisements and subscriptions, and the manipulation of the newsprint market through foreign exchange and import restrictions. Many of these were recorded under the PNDC (Boafo, 1985 & 1988), which, even after its transformation into the NDC, resorted to the use of thugs to suppress critical newspapers. Using The Legon Observer, a publication of the Legon Society for National Affairs, as an “index of the tensed interaction between Government and intellectuals over the years” Yankah (1997, p. 16) narrated:

The Legon Observer ... sailed through the National Liberation Council (NLC) and Progress Party governments from 1966 till 1972, and went through various types of censorship until August 1982, nearly a year after Rawlings’ second coming, when it finally disappeared from the newsstand after an extensive critical commentary on the mysterious murder of three high court judges and a retired army officer, a scandal the paper implied was government motivated.

President Rawlings’ media relations is comparable to that of America’s President Ronald Reagan who early in his presidency had been labelled “the great communicator” as a result of his lack of communication. As Hanson (1983) and Peterzell (1982) report, the label was more
in reference to the degree of control his administration exercised over communication to the public than to any other indicator. In terms of both the quality and quantity of communication, Reagan's White House compared with Rawlings' Osu Castle from where Rawlings exercised absolute control over the flow of information to the public. Similarly, and by contrast, President Kufuor's openness is comparable to that of President Jimmy Carter who predated President Reagan at the White House. Whereas Rawlings never called a press conference and only once attempted a radio interview during his 19-year rule, Kufuor called a press conference to discuss his stewardship during his first 100 days in office as Ghana's President. Furthermore, whereas the Osu Castle was accessible only to a handful of journalists from the state-owned media under Rawlings, Kufuor opened it up to all journalists irrespective of their ownership and ideological positions (Karikari, 2004).

**Media and Freedom of Expression in the 1992 Constitution**

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, like previous constitutions, declares that:

Ghana shall be a democratic state dedicated to the realisation of freedom and justice; and accordingly, sovereignty resides in the people of Ghana from whom Government derives all its powers and authority ... (Article 35 (1)).

In defining the democratic state, the Constitution guarantees the people's right to free speech, free expression, and freedom of thought, conscience, belief, worship, assembly, association, information, and free movement (Article 21 (1)). These rights and freedoms are necessary for maintaining a conducive and participatory environment for democratic pluralism.

Press freedom is often recognised as the most fundamental of all fundamental rights of people. First among Saward's (1994, p. 16) "logically necessary conditions of democracy" and basic freedoms is "the right to freedom of speech and expression". Beetham (1994, p. 39)
also identifies open access to the media “from all sections of opinion and social groups”, and how this effectively promotes “a balanced forum for informed political debate” as one of thirty indices of democracy. However, Hagan (1993), citing Chapter 12 of the Constitution, indicates it has been erroneously assumed that whereas the rights to good health, food, and shelter are tangible and have a sense of immediacy and urgency attached to them, those of free expression, free speech and association were intangible and could, therefore, be held in abeyance. These latter rights have been perceived to engender strife, tension, dissent, and dissonance, which militate against development, growth and progress.

Among the main principles of the 1992 Constitution, which seek to enhance democracy, freedoms and rights is the “Freedom and Independence of the Media” (Chapter 12). The Chapter opens with Article 162 (1): “Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed” and 162 (2) “… there shall be no censorship in Ghana.” According to Drah (1996), provisions on civil society in the 1992 Constitution are aimed, among others, to strengthen the institutionalisation of channels of communication to improve monitoring of the performance of public officials as a societal obligation as required by Article 41 (f). Although many organs of State and civil society groups perform the important function of monitoring activities of people in power, it is the mass media, which have been specifically entrusted with this task. Chapter 12 specifically states:

All agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles, provisions and objectives of this Constitution, and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana (Article 162 (5)).

The 1992 Constitution, therefore, specifically guarantees freedom and independence of the media (Article 162 (1)) and eschews censorship (Article 162 (2), impediments (Article 162 (3)) and control, interference or harassment (Article 162 (4)). Chapter 12 of the Constitution,
while providing for the freedom and independence of the media, also advocates media responsibility. It sets up a National Media Commission whose task, among others, is to insulate the state-owned media from governmental control and to “ensure the highest journalistic standards”. It provides a definite role for the mass media as watchdogs of society and government to ensure the protection of people’s rights (Article 162 (5)).

Summary

The chapter focused on the study setting by providing the socio-political, legislative and constitutional context within which the study was situated. Providing an overview of the political and media history of Ghana, it traced the origins of the press and its various uses across different periods dovetailing its development into successive political administrations. It noted changes in the Ghanaian political and media environment indicating how such changes affected the press/media, their relationships with various governments and their vulnerability. It highlighted the use of the press as an instrument of, and a weapon against, colonial administration, a tool for political mobilisation and education, and a symbol of oppression and domination under the guise of promoting national development in independent states. It thereby discussed the environment in which newspapers operated in Ghana, the seminal roles they played during colonialism and the struggle for independence and described the historical background and context of their development. It highlighted the chequered history of the press and the uneasy partnership that characterised its relationship with political elites culminating in the “culture of silence” in the 1980s until the advent of the 1992 Constitution, which provided for media pluralism, freedom and independence.

It is within this Fourth Republican dispensation that the present study was conducted to assess effects of different government-media relationships on newspaper coverage of two
political regimes of the Republic. Given the PNDC’s record of media intolerance, abuse and misuse, and absolute control over what were almost entirely state-owned media (Boafo, 1985; 1988), characteristics largely bequeathed to and inherited by its successor, the NDC under the same leadership, a change in Ghanaian politics in 2001 was expected to relax government-media relations. Within this historical background and changing socio-political and legal/constitutional framework of the interface between politics and the media, the study explored how the contrasting media management strategies of Rawlings and Kufuor affected the amount and quality of the two newspapers’ coverage of their respective governments.
CHAPTER THREE

INFLUENCES ON NEWS-MAKING: FROM PRESS SYSTEMS THEORIES TO SOCIOLOGY OF NEWS PRODUCTION

Introduction

This chapter examines theories relating to the processes of news-making and various influences exerted on the media deemed necessary for a study essentially about newspaper reporting of politics. The chapter draws on and examines theoretical models of the sociology of news production within which the present study is grounded. It specifically explores the relevance of Schudson's (2000) three-typology theoretical approach1 to studying news production together with other approaches that discuss organisational, socio-political and personal influences on news selection and production. The chapter approaches the discussion from the perspective of Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1963) four-theory categorisations as an overarching theoretical background. It examines media influences resulting from press/media system types operating in given contexts using those typologies and the developmental concept advocated by Hachten (1981) and McQuail (1987/1994).

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) point out: “the study of mass communication suffers from an embarrassment of theoretical riches rather than from an insufficiency of explanatory formulations” (p. 297). They nonetheless admit: “this surfeit has been both helpful and problematic” especially with developments in the field of communications. In relation to the present study, as Schudson (2004, p. 271) indicates: “There is something tired and worn about the theoretical frameworks for the study of political communication” and this wealth of theoretical foundations manifests in the array of explanatory formulations on which the study

---

1 Schudson (2005) has since revised these approaches to four by separating “the political” from “the economic”. In the most recent review of his essay already three-times revised, he moved beyond acknowledging the dominance of “the economic” over “the political” by actually treating them as separate theoretical influences on news production.
rests. The conundrum, however, is the eclecticism that characterises such an approach since a selection of portions of various models is required to explore and explain issues involved.

**News-making**

The news-making model of mass media studies is one of the theories/models that focus on the role of the media in the representation of reality. These models depart from earlier notions of “linear, unidirectional communication to more complex models in which communication is not understood as a mere passing of information but refers to a staging of a world co-constructed by the interlocutors” (Colombo, 2004, p. 9). The process of news-making takes place under various institutional pressures in both the source and news media organizations. These pressures include organisational philosophies, freedom to access and distribute information, and material and technical constraints. McQuail and Windahl (1993) mention “demands and pressures for access and attention, favourable treatment, or advertiser-friendly content” (p. 162) and recognise several other forms and sources of potential pressure on media work.

The model indicates that the selection of events making news follows certain laid-down criteria discussed to include factors and procedures dictated by journalistic and organisational routines. According to Schlesinger (1978, p. 47): “The routines of production have definite consequences in structuring news”. News-making processes yield to newsroom cultures and practices involving “newsroom division of labour, corporate hierarchy and professional cultural milieu” (Cottle, 2003, p. 14) that base the selection criteria and ways of presenting news events on news values. These include the importance and interest the event has; its relevance and proximity to the audience; its timeliness and place in the overall philosophy and professional routines of the particular news organisation and the latter’s perception of
intended audiences. According to el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001), the selection of news events “is done in accordance with news factors such as timeliness, professional values and organizational interests, media outlets, ability to give an account that satisfies news media criteria of rational acceptability, and other elements common to both sources and journalists as news makers” (p. 94).

In Roshco’s (1975) view “the term “news-making” is intended to indicate that news content, overall, is the end-product of a social process that results in some information being published while other information is ignored or discarded. By viewing news as a social phenomenon, one is led to examine the routine procedures underlying news-media performance” (p. 4). Roshco believed that any news published had a “dual origin”: it was both a social product and an organisational product. The former reflected events in the society from which the news was taken while the latter reflected the internal workings of the organisation that gathered and disseminated news. “Together, these intermingled conditions constitute the sociology of news” (Roshco, 1975, p. 5).

News-making is seen as a reality-constructing activity that is governed by elites mainly political and governmental (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Schudson, 2000). Government officials provide a reliable and continuous supply of events and flow of information, which constitute the raw material for the production of news (Gandy, 1982; Schudson, 2000). As primary definers of important events making news (Hall et al., 1978), official sources are granted routine access to the news media, a privilege usually bestowed through routinising news production processes (Tuchman, 1978) that emphasise reliance on official sources to achieve objectivity. Studies on news production indicate: “the bureaucratic and organisational expediency of ‘routine’”, among others, accounts for the “generally
ideological nature of news and its orientation towards social and political elites and the endorsement of the capitalist social system” (Cottle, 2003, p. 15). According to Cottle, various studies contend:

...the organisational requirements of news combine with the professional ideology of objectivity to routinely privilege the voices of the powerful, and this further reinforces the tendency towards the standardised and ideological nature of news (p. 15).

Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987) indicate there are many processes through which a “source organization eventually transforms the occurrence into an event which is potentially available to the reporter as news” (p. 40). They nonetheless admit: “It is the organisation of news, not events in the world, that creates news” (p. 345). Schlesinger (1978) explains: “The doings of the world are tamed to meet the needs of a production system in many respects bureaucratically organised” (p. 47). Tuchman (1978) concludes: “In news, verification of facts is both a political and a professional accomplishment” (p. 83). News organisations must, therefore, establish and maintain relations with various bodies and institutions including sources, audiences, media owners, advertisers, and political and regulatory institutions (McQuail, 1987).

Important aspects of media studies are examinations of the political and regulatory regimes as well as relations between the media and their news sources. Such examination unearths demands and influences exerted on the media and the latter’s ability or inability to maintain some degree of autonomy. The chapter subsequently focuses on normative theories of the press using Siebert et al.’s four theories and other theoretical approaches to news production and influences on media organisations.
Normative Theories: *Four Theories of the Press*

Media systems all over the world impact on news and are themselves shaped by a combination of factors foremost among which are the history, culture, ideology, politics, and economics of the countries within which they operate (McQuail, 2000; Altschull, 1984). The four theories of the press – authoritarianism, libertarianism, social responsibility and soviet communism – are part of the body of theories that focus on press systems arising out of philosophies of the nature of the human being, society and the state (Siebert *et al.*, 1963). Siebert *et al.* created their well-known classifications of press systems of the world as a yardstick for measuring press freedom and press performances (Severin & Tankard, 1992).

Generally referred to as “normative theories” because they are “derived from observation, not from hypothesis testing and replication using social science methods” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 285), these theories provide and describe the socio-political context of government-media relations indicating how journalists and governments interact within given environments. Their central thesis is that “the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted” (Siebert *et al.*, 1963, pp. 1-2). Although the four theories of the press are temporally, spatially and contextually dated, they still provide useful insights into the socio-political environment within which the mass media operate.

**Authoritarianism**

Historically, authoritarianism operated in a world “under authoritarian rule by monarchs with absolute power” and, as a theory, subordinated the mass media to the state and the interests of government. It functioned as “a press supporting and advancing the policies of the
government in power and serving the state” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 285) or as Siebert et al. (1963) put it, to “support and advance the policies of the government in power; and to service the state” (p. 7). The ruling elite either directly operated the press or controlled it by dictating the actions of journalists since authoritarianism recognised both private and state ownership. Today, this elitist and authoritarian philosophy describes many of the developing world’s media systems (McQuail, 2000, p. 155). Authoritarianism “furnishes the basis for the press systems in many modern societies; even where it has been abandoned, it has continued to influence the practices of a number of governments which theoretically adhere to libertarian principles” (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 9).

**Libertarianism**

The libertarian theory of the press (sometimes referred to as the free press theory or the western concept) reflects the press system that emerged out of the long constitutional struggles in Britain and North America, especially England and the American colonies of the 17th century (Hachten, 1981). It emerged out of the Enlightenment and the general theories of rationalism and of natural rights with the notion that the press was to serve to discover truth and to check on government (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Libertarianism operates predominantly in capitalist, free enterprise systems where media ownership is mainly private and the media operate under relatively free environments to report, comment on, criticise, and publish news about government and/or its officials and their activities.

Capitalist systems have: 1) a system of law that provides meaningful protection to individual civil liberties; 2) high average levels of per capita income, education and literacy; 3) multiparty and parliamentary democratic systems of government in which there are legitimate political oppositions; 4) sufficient capital or private enterprise to support media of

The media are controlled in two ways. With a multiplicity of voices, the “self-righting process of truth” in the “free market place of ideas” would enable individuals to differentiate between truth and falsehood. Also, the legal system makes provision for the prosecution of defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition.

Social Responsibility

Social responsibility, like libertarianism, is based on the Anglo-American tradition and is essentially a product of mid-twentieth century America (Hachten, 1981). The theory evolved from “media practitioners, media codes, and the work of the Commission on Freedom of the Press (Hutchins Commission)” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 289). Although Peterson (1963) believes it is “largely a grafting of new ideas onto traditional theory” (p. 75) and “only a modification of the Libertarian theory” (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 2), it places some responsibility on the rights and liberties of the media. Combining elements of authoritarianism and libertarianism, it “holds that while the media inform, entertain, and sell (as in the libertarian theory) they must also raise conflict to the plane of discussion” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 289).

Peterson (1963, p. 74) captures the theory’s emphasis on media responsibility thus:

The theory has this major premise: Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under [our] government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society. To the extent that the press recognizes its responsibilities and makes them the basis of operational policies, the libertarian system will satisfy the needs of society. To the extent that the press does not assume its responsibilities, some other agency must see that the essential functions of mass communication are carried out.
There was, therefore, the need for a watchdog on press performance or laws limiting the
operations and ownership of the mass media to avoid monopoly and possible encroachment
on freedom of expression of the less privileged in society. These concerns gave rise to the
Hutchins Commission, which in 1947 published the report – *A Free and Responsible Press* –
highlighting the importance of the press in modern society and the need to impose an
obligation of social responsibility on it.

**Soviet Communism**

The Soviet-Communist theory of the press is a modification of the authoritarian theory
adapted to concerns of the former Soviet Union with strong emphases on the dominant role
of the party, and support for the existing social order (Siebert *et al.*, 1963; Severin &
Tankard, 1992). The media were state owned, operated, and controlled, existing solely as an
arm of the state to further its cause and contribute “to the success and continuance of the
Soviet system (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 290). This was in consonance with the
Communist definition of news as information that was constructive and capable of serving
the interest of the party, the state and of advancing the goals and policies of the state
machinery. In order for the media to stay within given prescriptions, they were structurally
centralised, censored, and placed in the hands of the Politburo and party leadership for whom
they acted as mouthpiece. This system changed under Mikhail Gorbachev’s concepts of
*Glasnost* (openness) and *Perestroika* (reconstruction), and has almost completely phased out
with the collapse of Communism and the introduction of western-type democracy (Gulyás,
2003). Gorbachev’s reforms, which transformed Soviet political, social and economic life,
also culminated in the new Soviet press law that legislated for greater freedom of the press
and of information (McNair, 1991).
Criticism of the Four Theories of the Press

Categorisation of national press systems in the past has been grounded in these four theories despite strong criticisms of their idealistic and empirically poor nature (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Democratic changes in most parts of the world have made authoritarianism outdated especially because “virtually every constitution in the world has guaranteed freedom of the press” (Ogbondah, 1994, p. 9). Altschull (1984) contends that all press systems are based on a belief in free expression although each system defines the term “free expression” differently. For its part, the libertarian theory has had its foundations questioned by modern psychology and discussions of the “rational man” philosophies upon which it is based because human beings do not always deal with information rationally (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 289). Besides, libertarian theory thrives on freedom to publish and the right of access to government information by journalists, an endeavour that is difficult in most developing countries, particularly in Africa, where concerns of state secrecy, security and other such considerations override freedom to know and often deny journalists such rights.

Similarly, the social responsibility theory has been challenged. Altschull (1984) contends that all press systems endorse the principle of social responsibility and indicate their commitment to the needs and interests of society and to the provision of access to all. And, with the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the dismantling of its rigid media structure (Gulyás, 2003; McNair, 1991), soviet-communism has failed to exist as a theory for discussing influences on the media. Altschull (1984) challenges the relevance of the four-theory typologies in today’s world during which the hostilities of the cold war (which produced those theories) have been attenuated by dramatic global changes. Severin and Tankard (1992) capture some of these changes as follows:
Since *Four Theories of the Press* was written there have been many changes in the socialist countries. In the People’s Republic of China private ownership of newspapers was allowed on a limited scale during the 1980s. More criticism has been tolerated, especially if it is criticism of individuals or local policies that undermine the goals of the nation’s “four modernizations” program (p. 290).

The fact that some private ownership of newspapers is allowed in China today, and that there is some tolerance of criticism of both individuals and local policies has been widely reported (Schudson, 2000; Winfield, Mizuno & Beaudoin, 2000). Keller (1989a &b) and Kimelman (1986) report of attempts to broaden press freedom and of specific changes in the mass media of the former Soviet Union such as media criticisms and attacks on the political elite including the Communist Party and President Gorbachev and special privileges they enjoyed. McNair (1991) focused extensively on changes in the Soviet media arising out of Gorbachev’s *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*. Even the Communist Party daily newspaper, *Pravda*, and the government newspaper, *Izvestia*, had become critical.

Altschull (1984) questions attempts to pigeonhole individual press systems since there are commonalities in press practices across various systems noting that press practices always differ from theory. He challenges particularly the notion that there exists an independent press contending that the mass media in every socio-political system are agents of those who wield economic, political and social power. Among others, Altschull (1984) believes that because the mass media are agents of those who wield power, they are not independent actors (although they could exercise independent power) and that news media content is a reflection of the interests of media financiers. Other researchers have noted such media conformism resulting from support the media receive from their patrons especially corporate business (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Lazarsfeld and Merton (1960) had earlier pointed out that the media reciprocate external support through advertising and media content especially through what they refuse to say or publish and essential questions they fail to raise about society.
Ostini and Fung (2002) believe that although journalism is contextualised and constrained by press structure and state policies, it is also a relatively autonomous cultural production involving journalists negotiating between professionalism and state control. Consequently, journalistic variations cannot be clearly revealed by simply using state policy/press model considerations alone. There is the need for an understanding of the background of given journalistic practices and state policies of a particular country to fully appreciate the right categorisation of a press system. Supporting this view, McQuail (2000) suggests the impracticality of formulating consistent and coherent press theories based on the original four press theory categorisations. In his view, the failure to achieve any such classification is due not only to "the ideological content of all such theory and the bias (whether open or unwitting) of all commentators" but also to "the complexity and incoherence of media systems and thus the impossibility of matching a theory with a type of society" (p. 155). For instance, the new media environment of media and channel diversity and changing media technologies is beyond the scope of explanatory formulations of press system typologies using the four theories approach (McQuail, 2000; William & Delli Carpini, 2000; Katz, 1992). Ostini and Fung (2002), therefore, proposed a new model that incorporates autonomy of individual journalism practices into political and social structural factors: the communitarian model, or the developmental concept.

**Developmental Media Concept**

Known variously as the developmental concept of the press, development press model (Hachten, 1981), the developmental media theory (McQuail, 1994/2000), or communitarianism (Ostini & Fung, 2002; Dixon, 1997), the developmental media concept is still trying to define itself in spite of its unique characteristics. It is an attempt at evolving an appropriate system to classify the media situation of developing countries owing to the
unsuitability and inapplicability of the four earlier theories and other western models. Hachten’s (1981) description of the development press model is one in which all instruments of mass communication/media “aid in the great tasks of nation building”. They are used in “building a political consciousness” and in “assisting in economic development” without accommodating dissent or criticism in a system where individual rights and freedoms are “somewhat irrelevant” (p. 73). The media under the developmental concept are expected to adopt a didactic role and become instruments for ideological education and cultural promotion with restrictions on freedom according to economic priority and the developmental needs of society (Hachten, 1981; McQuail, 1987/1994/2000).

The concept is a variant of the liberal and Marxist approaches to media that incorporate variations of authoritarianism with streaks of communism and libertarianism. It recognises “the fact that societies undergoing a transition from underdevelopment and colonialism to independence often lack the money, infrastructure, skills and audiences to sustain an extensive free-market media system” (McQuail, 2000, p. 155). Hachten (1981) identifies the following characteristics:

- Government control of instruments of mass communication for nation building through building a political consciousness, fighting illiteracy and poverty, assisting in socio-economic development and national integration to achieve developmental goals.

- Information as a state property and not a marketable item requires government to provide and distribute it as a social service to further national goals, thus, recalling the top-down approach of the flow of power and information in traditional authoritarianism.
- Implied, though not often explicitly articulated, is that due to the many problems of nation building – poverty, disease, illiteracy and ethnicity – individual freedom of expression is a luxury that must be relegated to make way for requirements of food, shelter, clothing rather than abstract freedoms of expression and other civil liberties.

- Implied also is control of the flow of news from the outside implying restricted freedom of movement by foreign correspondents.

The theory has raised a lot of controversy generating both proponents and opponents. Hachten sees the concept of a developmental press (a euphemism for a guided media system) as the brainchild of political, especially un-elected, leaders and government representatives who advocate for government-controlled media as a rejection of the western model. While some critics contend it is no theory at all (Ogan, 1982), others believe because developing countries are still in the process of evolving, the media must cooperate with government by providing information that is geared towards development, implying some control of news and information. According to McQuail (2000), “it may be legitimate for government to allocate resources selectively and to restrict journalistic freedom in some ways. Social responsibility comes before media rights and freedoms” (p. 155).

Mytton (1983) gave a glimpse of the developing world situation through three Tanzanian journalists he overheard discussing how they would “deal with a story which was beginning to come through” about the failure of a village settlement scheme (a pilot of the Ujamaa project) in Tanzania “involving the loss of large sums of money” (p. 144). The first would not report it and urged his colleagues not to for fear of discouraging both the government and the people especially since the policy of Ujamaa had only recently been launched. “To report the failure of an earlier attempt at village settlement would not help in persuading peasants
that moving to new village settlements was a good idea” ... He argued that the duty of journalists to report important events should always be tempered with concern for the effects likely to be produced by certain kinds of information” (p. 144).

The second disagreed “saying it was not the business of the press to protect the government from the effects of its own policies, nor to abuse the people’s trust in the press. They expected it to report fully and accurately what was going on. The government and the press each had a different task to accomplish: if the government had a duty to serve the people in whatever way it thought best, then the press also had a duty to go out and investigate impartially exactly how the government was performing its role” (p. 145). He was, therefore, going to report it as it was giving all the facts and blaming the government for the failure of the scheme. The third journalist tried to strike a balance between the two extreme positions. “He agreed that the press had to say something about the failure ... because it would lose credibility if it ignored stories when things went wrong ... If bad news were not reported, it would encourage misinformation and rumour, which were worse. Moreover, the press had a duty to report the facts so that lessons would be learned from mistakes” (p. 145). He, however, thought journalists should be cautious in their reportage in order not to be seen to be campaigning against elected governments and their programmes. They must explain these programmes to the people for their understanding and support.

Obviously, a single theory appears inadequate to capture these three divergent approaches to news reporting, which are the realities of developing countries. Even in countries with long traditions of press freedom, journalism could develop in completely different directions, depending on the political, legal and historical settings, which together constitute and determine the journalistic operational environment (Köcher, 1986). Attempts at other
classifications of press theory and performance have either used earlier typologies such as Merrill’s (1974) concepts of “equal contenders”, “co-operating servant”, and “forced slave”, or sought to give them new names such as Lowenstein’s (1966) “social-centralist” and “social-libertarian” concepts.

The developmental concept is based on press needs and performances of developing countries that also recognise that the concept comprises an amorphous and curious mix of ideas, rhetoric, influences, and grievances of these countries. Though tenets of the concept are deductions from the social, political and economic conditions of developing countries and their press performances, owing to their wide diversity and problems encountered at developing a uniform classification, categorising these countries into one model is indeed problematic. The developing world comprises countries at various stages of development with a variety of economic, political, social and cultural conditions and needs, as well as constantly changing and varying situations that defy uniform categorisation. Since the press in these countries cuts across various categorisations in consonance with prevailing socio-economic and political conditions, it is useful to consider other approaches to news production that focus on interactions between specific environments and processes of news-making. These constitute the focus of the rest of this chapter.

**Theories of Influences on the Media**

That the mass media are influenced by political, economic and socio-cultural elements in society including many institutional and organisational pressures from various sources of power both internally and externally has been widely noted (Shoemaker, 1991; Severin & Tankard, 1992; McNair, 1999; Street, 2001). According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), some of these influential forces exist within mass media organisations themselves where the
chain of gatekeeping affects the final item published. Others are found outside the organisation but their relationships with the reporter/journalist are so significant as to affect what is reported as news and how it is reported. These outside forces include sources of news, audiences, media owners, investors, and suppliers of newsprint or other news production materials. Others are clients, or competitors and political and legal authorities, all of whom could exert pressures on newsgathering, processing and distribution (Gerbner, 1969). Some of these may have dual power owing to the positions they occupy and the authority and influence they wield as well as the possibility of serving as sources of news.

Gerbner (1972) further indicates that sources of pressure on media work include “the authorities who issue licenses and administer the law; the patrons who invest in or subsidize the operation; organizations, institutions and loose aggregations of publics that require attention and cultivation; and the managements that set policies and supervise operation” (pp. 156-7). Severin and Tankard (1992) enumerate factors that influence the functioning of the mass media to include the type of political and economic system prevailing in the country, stage of development of the society, and the interests and needs of specific individuals. Equally important are the technological development of the media, their human resource base and their logistical support, among others. Other studies see media constraints in the form of bureaucratic institutional structures (Gieber, 1964).

Gitlin (1980) discussed major factors that shaped political news coverage and drew attention to three fundamental theories of sources of media influence: 1) influences from journalists or media workers; 2) influences due to particular news media organisational structures; and 3) influences exerted by extra-media factors. Gitlin (1980) defined this latter category of influences to include “institutions or social conditions outside the news organization”;
"technological factors"; "national culture"; "economics"; "the audience"; "the most powerful news sources"; and/or "the ideologies of the dominant social powers" (pp. 249-251). Oliver and Myers (1999) identified the determinants of news coverage as: 1) journalistic predispositions; 2) news values; and 3) news routines, all of which they described as key "systematic factors" that "determine the likelihood that an event will receive news coverage" (pp. 45-46). Schudson (2000), for his part, categorised influences on news production into: 1) political economy of the society; 2) the social organisation of news work; and 3) cultural influences and constraints.

Examining various approaches to the sociology of news notably by Gitlin (1980) and Schudson (2000), Benson (2004) re-categorised key influences shaping political news coverage/production into three main factors: 1) the commercial or economic; 2) political; and 3) the inter-organizational field of journalism (p. 280). Benson explained:

This recategorization entails the analytical separation of "political economy" (a and b) and the subsumption of individual organizational and journalistic factors into the broader organizational and professional field (c). Broad national culture would no longer be considered as a distinct, alternative variable. However, historical and cultural analysis would necessarily precede and accompany examination of these three broad structural variables, helping to explain the origin and solidity (or lack thereof) of the journalistic field's relation to political and economic power (Benson, 2004, p. 280).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identified a "hierarchy of influences": five main categories of influences on news extending from the individual journalist/reporter at the most micro level to ideological considerations at the most macro. These were:

1) Influences from individual media workers (their characteristics, backgrounds, attitudes and roles);

2) Influences of media organisational routines involving the organisation itself, audiences and suppliers or sources of media raw material (day-to-day practices,
deadlines, requirements of space, objectivity, fairness and other news values, and reliance on official sources of information);

3) Influences exerted by organisational goals;

4) Influences exerted from outside the organisation by interest or pressure groups, sources of information, sources of revenue including advertisers and audiences, legal and regulatory regimes and other social institutions including government, business and the economic environment and technology (extra-media influences);

5) Influences of ideology (operating on the level of the entire society) defined as “a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrating force in society” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 221).

The last two influences, though originate outside the organisational set-up, constitute the most powerful upon which the other categories of influences are based. All these theories of influences examine the mass media as organisations operating within specific social, cultural, political and economic milieus, each of which has the potential to influence the media’s news selection, processing and production decisions. As Shoemaker and Reese (1996) point out, “media content – both news and entertainment – is shaped, pounded, constrained, encouraged by a multitude of forces” (p. ix). In recognition of these pressures and constraints, Gandy (1982) stated that studies into media output should examine “peculiarities of the media production process” (p. ix). Important are “decisions made by individual journalists, editors, and producers” as well as professional and organisational constraints that confront media people, and “activities of the primary sources of media content” (p. x).

In addition to gatekeeping, the present study considered Schudson’s (2000) three-typology distinction of approaches to studying the social construction or “manufacture of news” (p.
175) - political economy; social organisation of news work; and cultural approaches. Though in this version of his essay thrice revisited, revised and updated, Schudson believed these three approaches might work better than the gatekeeping concept for understanding news production, he was sceptical about their absolute utility. Discussing their strengths and weaknesses, he warned that “even taken together”, all three “have so far fallen short of providing adequate comparative and historical perspectives on news production” (p. 177).

The three perspectives have their weaknesses, too. They are typically ahistorical, and ignore possibilities for change in the nature of news. They tend to be indifferent to comparative as well as to historical viewpoints. ...None of the three perspectives, by itself, can account for all that we might want to know (Schudson, 2000, pp. 194-195).

Overall, however, there was the recognition that news as a cultural product had political economic, social and cultural dimensions to its production and understanding. As a result, focusing only on news organisations without studying their relationships and interactions with other social institutions was narrow and prevented a fuller understanding of the processes of news production. The rest of this chapter is devoted to discussions of approaches to the sociology of news using Schudson’s (2000) three-dimensional categorisation and beginning with the gatekeeping concept.

Approaches to the Sociology of News Production

Media sociology is a term used in reference to studies that examine influences on media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 5). According to Cottle (2003, p. 13), the sociological study of news production has been informed by “the ideas of Émile Durkheim with respect to processes of professional socialisation and the establishment of group norms, and Max Weber with respect to the nature of modern bureaucracies and views of social action”. Schudson (2000/2005) traces the sociology of news production to Max Weber, Robert Park and Helen MacGill Hughes. However, like many others including Shoemaker and Reese
(1996), he traces the formal study of how news organisations produce news to gatekeeper studies of the 1950s. In Schudson's account, Kurt Lewin coined the term “gatekeeper” that was later applied to journalism by several social scientists including White (1950) and Gieber (1964). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) report that modern studies into media content began with White’s suggestion that journalists act as gatekeepers of media messages and with Breed’s (1955) description of how journalists become socialised into their jobs (p. 5).

Earlier Approaches

Early studies into news production, including White (1950) and Breed (1955) “focused on particular news processes” and “pointed to the explanatory potential of attending to aspects of the news production process and becoming familiar with the journalist’s working environment” (Cottle, 2003, p. 14). Since these studies, there have been large numbers of studies focusing on ways in which journalists, media employers, organisational structures and society have influenced media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In the following sections, the chapter discusses one earlier approach to understanding news production – the gatekeeping concept – and some of its revisions geared towards extending its explanatory potential beyond the individual subjective level to the collective organisational and institutional plane.

Gatekeeping

The gatekeeping concept is discussed as an explanation to the selection of news within the framework of news production. It is used metaphorically in mass communication and media studies to describe selection processes involved in media work “especially decisions whether or not to admit a particular news report through the ‘gates’ of a news medium into the news channels” (McQuail, 2000, p. 276). White (1950) is credited with the first and most
important use of the concept in media studies (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). White took advantage of a comparison Kurt Lewin made between his work and news flow to experiment with the concept in mass communication focusing on the “work of journalists, reporters, and editors as they operate the gates of the capitalist press” (Gandy, 1982, p. 9).

The gatekeeping metaphor indicates the terrain a news item traverses from the point at which the event is noticed through a series of “gates” until it finally makes its way to the columns of newspapers or sections of the news file (White, 1950; Shoemaker, 1991). At each stage during this journey, news can be altered in both substance and emphasis by being “edited, discarded, distorted, reorganized, or changed” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 44). According to Stone, Singletary, & Richmond (1999):

Gatekeeping addresses the day-to-day work of reporters, writers, editors and news room managers. It assesses the logistical struggles and professional decisions these people make under deadline pressures, and it provides a theoretical basis for how news organizations process...information (p. 177).

Traditionally, gatekeeping research emphasised the subjectivity involved in news selection decisions (McQuail, 2000) viewing news content as the result of individual actions of news people and seeking to understand those actions by understanding the background and personality of individual journalists (Gandy, 1982, pp. 9-10). Subjective factors identified to influence news decision-making included the editor’s own prejudices, concept of the target audience of news and “specific tests of subject matter or style that may enter into the selection of stories” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 31). As a result, those earlier studies focused attention on the large numbers of possible news items that were excluded by editors and the reasons provided for their exclusion (White, 1950; Gieber, 1964). The concept in its original form, therefore, bestowed much authority and power on handlers of news and their organisations as the determinants of news content. In a subsequent study, for example, White
(1964) observed, “the community shall hear as a fact only those events which the newsman, as the representative of his culture, believes to be true” (p. 171). As Severin and Tankard (1992) explained:

A gatekeeper determines what information is passed along the chain and how faithfully it is reproduced. This principle applies to reporters, photographers, editors, commentators, and all others who decide what information to use in the media from the vast array of information available. How much do they filter out? How much emphasis is changed? How much distortion is there, both systematic distortion through bias and random distortion through ignorance or carelessness (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 43)?

**Criticism of Gatekeeping**

The gatekeeping concept has evoked opposing perspectives among communication researchers and media practitioners. While some ascribe great importance to the role of the news editor in deciding what makes it through the news gate, others identify certain mitigating factors that attenuate (and in the most extreme perspective, eliminate) such importance (Katz, 1992; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000). As a basic model of news sifting and adjusting, gatekeeping has come under intense critique for its obvious simplicity, which makes the rather complex phenomenon of news selection in the news production process overly simplistic (McQuail, 2000). “The gatekeeper metaphor minimizes the complexity of news-making. It tries to fix news-making at one point along a circuit of interactions and does not examine the circuit as a whole” (Schudson, 2000, p. 177).

Although the concept is still useful and relevant providing a “handy metaphor for the relation of news organizations to news products”, Schudson believes it is still inadequate basically because it “leaves ‘information’ or ‘news’ sociologically untouched” (2000, p. 177). For instance, it does not indicate who becomes a gatekeeper and how the person gets to be so designated; who writes the news story that gets to the gatekeeper and in what manner,
under what constraints or with what expectations. The concept has also been criticised for being “not well controlled”, and for not dealing with “a broad theory of how mass communication works (Stone et al., 1999, p. 25).

McQuail and Windahl (1993) identified three major flaws with White’s (1950) original concept. Firstly, the model relied on personalised interpretations of activities involved in news selection and ignored organisational factors that constrained and directed the process. Secondly, White’s model suggested that the process of gatekeeping involved only one gate area. In reality, however, there are several gate areas each of which could affect news sifting and news selection. Finally, “the model implies a rather passive activity as far as the flow of news is concerned. There is an impression...that there is a continuous and free flow of a wide range of news which has only to be tapped in ways which suit a particular newspaper” (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 167). McQuail (2000, p. 277) outlined the model’s three weaknesses as: 1) the implication that there is only one initial gate and one main set of news selection criteria; 2) the concept’s simple view of the supply of news; and 3) the tendency to individualize news selection decision-making.

Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1972) broadened the gatekeeping concept to embrace all aspects of information control beside news selection. They suggested a redefinition of the concept to take account of the totality of message transmission from a sender to a receiver. According to Shoemaker (1991), this meant looking at “not just selection but also withholding, transmission, shaping, display, repetition, and timing of information” (p. 1). In other words, “the gatekeeping process involves every aspect of message selection, handling, and control, whether the message is communicated through mass media or interpersonal channels”. Contending that gatekeeping of an activity or event took place in more than one
organisation Shoemaker (1991) noted that the process was multi-stage and involved multiple acts of selection that transcended individual levels to encompass established organisational routines and selection criteria. She envisioned gatekeeping as an activity that spanned the entire process of news production and involved group rather than individual decision-making. She also saw it as a function of communication in general and not just news production thus departing significantly from White’s (1950) original idea and moving in tandem with several others including Stone et al. (1999) and Donohue et al. (1972).

Hirsch (1977), like Gieber (1964), subsumed the supposed independent power and preferences of the individual editor under the institutional arrangement or structure of the organisation whose requirements superseded any individual preferences. In spite of the many personal reasons and justifications the pseudonymous Mr “Gates” had for selecting particular stories, Hirsch (1977) believed he was operating within a given structural requirement. Mr “Gates” was “exercising discretion only within the latitude permitted for selecting particular stories to fit standard, widely agreed-upon categories, in the usual proportions that characterize a medium-sized, Midwestern daily with a predominately conservative readership” (p. 23). Westley and MacLean (1957) similarly emphasised the system context within which gatekeeping occurred.

Later studies conducted within the gatekeeping concept including Schlesinger (1978), Tuchman (1978), Gans (1979), Fishman (1980), Gitlin (1980) and Ericson et al. (1987) examined influences of the organisational, bureaucratic and professional dictates of news production. These studies focused on influences exerted by the organisational contexts and news production practices or routines on the news product and, according to Cottle (2003, p. 73).
14), highlighted the “ideological consequences of the organisational character of news production”.

In contrast to earlier studies of news gatekeepers, with their tendency towards individualist and subjectivist explanations of news selection ... these studies collectively emphasised how news was an organisational accomplishment guaranteeing that sufficient amounts of news were produced on time and to a predetermined form ...” (Cottle, 2003, p. 15).

Some much later studies (Berkowitz, 1990; Shoemaker, 1991) also focused attention on systemic influences on news selection. McQuail (2000) referred to these as organizational factors, mainly bureaucratic routines, or ideological, implying “values and cultural influences which are not purely individual and personal but which stem also from the social (and national) setting of news activity” (p. 277).

The present study reckons that gatekeeping is a multifaceted activity that involves many gatekeepers and spans both the source and media organisations operating within wider systems with both institutional and normative controls. Therefore, like Kwansah-Aidoo (2005), it maintains the relevance of the gatekeeping concept and also agrees with McQuail and Windahl (1993) that news selection is an important part of gatekeeping. By focusing on the production side of news, however, it falls short of Severin and Tankard’s (1992, p. 43) extension of the concept to both the media and the audience as gatekeepers:

A newspaper or a broadcasting station is a gatekeeper, deciding what to present to its audience. It must select from all of the local, state, national, and international news available. The human destination (reader, viewer, or listener) also acts as a gatekeeper by selecting and interpreting material according to his or her own individual needs.

According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), issues regarding the criteria used in selecting or rejecting news are usually either neglected or treated only in general terms by models other than gatekeeping. In order to treat such issues specifically, therefore, gatekeeping still offers
the best opportunity. The study borrows from the definition of gatekeeping advanced by Stone et al. (1999, p. 174) that “a gatekeeper is a person who can open or close the information “gates”; a person with enough influence or authority to affect information flow in a way that might reflect personal bias”. This person, from the perspective of the present study, is as much the politician who serves as the source of news as the journalist/editor who decides what, and how much of the politician’s activities to consider news and how to report it. Beside individual psychological and organisational structural factors, the study examines other contextual factors that might affect news choices/decisions at both the source and media organisations looking at Schudson’s (2000) three approaches to the sociology of news.

Political Economy Approach

The political economy approach is one of two dominant traditions for the study of news examining the effects of political and economic forces on news production (Garnham, 1979; Golding & Murdock, 1997). The approach, according to Schudson (2000, p. 177), “relates the outcome of the news process to the structure of the state and the economy, and to the economic foundation of the news organization”. Mosco (1996) indicates that the political economy approach studies the social relationships, particularly power relations, involved in the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication. He identifies three features of the approach: 1) the study of historical transformation and social change; 2) a comprehensive study of social relations focusing on the political, economic, social and cultural; and 3) a study of social values and moral principles. These features highlight, among others, the role of the state in the business of communication, the link between the private/commercial and state sectors, and that between the political economy of communication and the larger political economy framed within class or institutional power relations.
The approach is typically Anglo-American and leans more towards the economic than the political thereby vesting too much power in market forces.

The political economy perspective in Anglo-American media studies has generally taken liberal democracy for granted and so has been insensitive to political and legal determinants of news production. In a sense, it has been far more ‘economic’ than ‘political’ (Schudson, 2000, p. 181).

The approach thus thrives in advanced economies where media tend to be concentrated in a few business hands. In Boyd-Barrett’s (1995) estimation, political economy addresses wider and far-reaching questions of media ownership and control, and the interaction of media institutions with other organisations as well as with the political economic and social sectors. It examines the effects on media practice and news production of factors such as media concentration and/or conglomerations, diversification, and commercialisation with its focus on the profit margin and advertising revenue. Corporatism and commercialisation either compromise or undermine democracy by controlling the media and preventing diversity and multiplicity of views (Hargreaves, 2003; McChesney, 1997) resulting in media concentration and standardisation of media output (Cottle, 2003). In Schudson’s view, where the media are not controlled by conglomerates, they are controlled by the state either of which stifle radical or critical thought and limit free expression.

The Ghanaian media are neither state-dominated nor market-dominated; neither controlled by the state nor by conglomerates, and radical/critical thought including dissent is freely expressed. State ownership has been superseded by private-commercial ownership, which functions far below the capacity of corporate ownership and commercial organisational types of the west. Ghana operates an uneven blend of state, private, independent and commercial ownership types of media with neither press barons nor media moguls. It has no corporate mergers, takeovers or media conglomerates to make discussion of the explanatory power of
the political economy approach fit into its media context. The relevance of the political economy approach is, therefore, as uncertain as is contestable given Ghana’s feeble independent media structures. Thus, when Murdock (1973, p. 158) describes the link between the larger societal political economy and daily journalistic practices as “oblique”, he is most likely referring to media in western industrialised countries. In countries such as Ghana, the link is direct and explicit mainly because of the rudimentary political economy of the media and the fact that media practitioners largely tailor content and its production to suit powers in that limited economy.

Similarly, when Schudson (2000) indicates it is “not easy to determine” the link between ownership of news organisations and news coverage, he speaks in reference to the west where “public and commercial systems of ownership mix, blend and intersect” in many ways (p. 178). Patterns of media ownership are distinguishable in Ghana along the state – private dichotomy and are tied to specific ways of reporting (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001a & b; Ayee, 2001a; Aniawordor, 2001). Even within the private ownership subcategory, there are distinctions between the pro-government and pro-opposition/anti-government media (Smith & Temin, 2001). Also, whereas in developed countries the link between “ownership and market structure on the one hand and news content on the other is not apparent” (Schudson, 2000, p. 178), the lack of a well developed market in Ghana, appears to pose problems for the content and presentation of political news.

**Impact of New Media**

Schudson (2000) sees the relationship between news organisations and the new information technologies as “a feature of political economy” (p. 182) despite little research attention paid to it. Considerations of the political economy approach therefore include the impact of the
new media environment on organisational ability to gather, process and disseminate news (Ursell, 2001; Katz, 1992; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000).

Some recent critiques of the gatekeeping function have observed that the concept has become outdated and is fast losing its significance owing to the new media environment of modern technological developments with greater demand and capacity for instantaneous news transmission (Katz, 1992; Williams & Delli-Carpini, 2000). Katz noted that round-the-clock cable news outlets such as the CNN both gathered and broadcast news so rapidly as to eliminate the role of the editor (the traditional gatekeeper) in the process of news production describing it as representing “the beginning of the end of journalism” (p. 9). Similarly, Williams and Delli Carpini (2000) referred to the “collapse of the gatekeeping function” or “the virtual elimination of the gatekeeping role of the mainstream press” (p. 61) owing to the new media environment, which had provided virtually unlimited sources and types of political information with unimaginable speed. This had created “a multiplicity of gates” through which political information passed thereby undermining the idea of “discrete gates”. The researchers asserted that the new media environment had changed the traditional “gate” of the original gatekeeping concept into “gates” with several fluid gatekeepers: from a “single axis of influence” to a “multiaxiality” (p. 66). “Just as the new information environment created multiple axes of power within the media, it also created new axes among the political actors who operate to shape the media’s agenda” (p. 79).

Despite changing roles for journalists in the interaction between the media and politics, the problem with the conclusions of Williams and Delli Carpini (2000), and Katz (1992) is that they tend to assume that all societies are information resource-rich and/or technologically powerful. This, however, is a universally unsupported and untenable assumption,
particularly, in countries such as Ghana whose ability to access and use modern communication technologies is limited. Ghanaian media use of new communication technology, seen as an important factor in the political economy approach, is still low (Kwansah-Aidoo, 2004) and therefore of minimal benefit to, and effect on, news production. Besides, as Cottle (1999) earlier observed, the adoption of particular technologies is socially and culturally determined.

The adoption and use of new media technologies impact on newsgathering, processing, production, and output but effects vary according to several factors including levels of technological application, availability and accessibility, the ability to apply technologies, strategic perspectives, disposition of media executives, and extant political and legal regulations (Ursell, 2001). Undue emphasis on technology minimises the impact of other important factors. For instance, Ursell (2001) lays responsibility for compromising journalistic standards/media performance at the doorstep of political and corporate executives rather than at technology. She notes that the criteria of accuracy, factualness and completeness appear “compromised by the intensified pace and demands of the news manufacturing process, and the inability of journalists to find the time and resources properly to substantiate and develop their material” (p. 193). Ultimately, she finds competition (the result of a combination of political-regulatory change and the arrival of new media organizations and products) “to be the immediate cause of organizational and technological change” (p. 194).

The context for the present study is far from achieving any marked alterations in the media environment that renders the gatekeeping function redundant as suggested by Katz (1992), and Williams and Delli Carpini (2000). Although Schudson (2000) contends, “there has been
little academic attention to the concrete consequences of the technological transformation of news production, both in print and in television” (p. 182), the remit of this study does not extend to such exploration. The study does not seek to explore any influences the use of new information technology has on either the production of news or the final news product not least because the use of such technology by Ghanaian newspapers is still at its basic levels (Kwansah-Aidoo, 2004). Within the local Ghanaian context of undeveloped market structures, media pluralism and diminished state control, and low new media penetration, studying media from a political economy perspective is problematic. Consequently, the study did not consider political economy a viable theoretical perspective.

**Cultural Approach**

According to Schudson (2000), the “‘cultural’ approach emphasizes the constraining force of broad cultural traditions and symbolic systems, regardless of the structure of economic organization or the character of occupational routines” (p. 177). The cultural approach is the second dominant tradition to the study of media organisations and media output. It examines “cultural givens within which everyday interaction happens” described as “a part of culture—a given symbolic system within which and in relation to which reporters and officials go about their duties” (Schudson, 2000, p. 189). Schudson further explains:

> Where the organizational view finds interactional determinants of news in the relations between people, the cultural view finds symbolic determinants of news in the relations between ‘facts’ and symbols. A cultural account of news helps explain generalized images and stereotypes in the news media…that transcend structures of ownership or patterns of work relations (p. 189).

The cultural approach discusses “culture” in its broadest understanding to include the historical, political, social, cultural and organisational newsroom processes as the symbolic journalistic operational environment. It examines how journalists perceive of their roles vis-
à-vis the larger society and how this perception affects their ability to construct and produce news. Benson (2004, p. 279) argues, “the notion of culture clouds rather than elucidates our understanding of media and political communication”, especially because many of the examples Schudson cites “could also be accounted for by social structural factors”. These examples include findings of studies indicating differences between Soviet and Western media conceptions of newsworthiness (Remington, 1988; Gans, 1980); core values of American journalism (Gans, 1980) and US and Italian news conventions (Hallin & Mancini, 1984). Since these findings could be explained by the complex interplay of social structures and institutional cultures, the cultural approach should be considered as a “contextual” basis for such understanding rather than an “alternative hypothesis” (Benson, 2004, p. 279).

Both the political economy and cultural approaches borrow from the ideas of Karl Marx and the materialist perspective and, according to Cottle (2003), they are torn between explaining media communication using either ‘the economic determinants at work’ or ‘the cultural discourses at play’ (p. 7). While these two overarching traditions “have tended to dominate discussion of how we can best approach and explain the operations and output of media organisations” (p. 24), Cottle identifies a ‘middle ground’.

The cultural and political economy approaches were unsuitable for the present study because the study did not seek to explain newspaper reporting by either “the cultural discourses at play” or “the economic determinants at work”. Instead, it sought to explain reporting within organisational and institutional influences on journalistic activity and considered the importance of interactions involving news organisations, news sources and socio-political
institutions. Consequently, it focused on the social organisation of news work (Schudson, 2000/2005) discussed below.

**Social Organisation of News Work**

Social organisation of news work is a sociological approach to news production that examines news as a constructed social reality and defines it “by the way it comes to the awareness of a news organization” (Schudson, 2000, p. 183). According to Schudson (2000), it “comes primarily out of sociology ... the study of social organization, occupations and professions, and the social construction of ideology” and “tries to understand how journalists’ efforts on the job are constrained by organizational and occupational demands” (p. 177). It examines constraints to journalistic work looking at organisational and institutional influences exerted as a result of the interaction among news organisations, news sources, and other social institutions (McNair, 1999).

The sociological approach to news production, in Schudson’s (2000) estimation, is the perspective that requires special advocacy (p. 175) due to the neglect it often suffers subsumed under the two dominant traditions of political economy and cultural studies. Similarly, both Curran (2000) and Cottle (2003) believe studies of media organisations and media production, which constitute the sociology of news production, are relatively under theorised and unexplored. According to Schudson (2000):

The conventionalized opposition in media studies programmes between ‘political-economic’ and ‘cultural’ approaches has too often neglected the specific social realities that can be observed at the point of news production ... where news sources, news reporters, news organization editors and the competing demands of professionalism, the market-place and cultural traditions collect around specific choices of what news to report and how to report it (p. 175).
In Cottle's (2003, p. 13) view, studies focusing on such social contextual realities of news production lie between “the economic determinations of the marketplace and the cultural discourses within media representations”. The relationship between journalists/reporters and their news sources has been variously defined in social, economic and political terms (Gandy, 1982; Schudson, 2000). In Schudson’s (2000) view, “the reporter-official connection makes news an important tool of government and other established authorities” (p. 184). The last section of this chapter discusses the source-centred approach to news production within the perspective of social organisation of news work.

**The Source-Centred Approach**


Source-reporter relations are central to the news-making model as both sources and reporters contribute to news selection, also central to both gatekeeping and news-making. Many, including Gandy (1982), Fishman (1980) and Schudson (2000), have outlined advantages offered by such relationships. Interactions between a source and a reporter finally transform an occurrence or event into a published news item (Ericson et al, 1987; 1989). McQuail and Windahl (1993) contend that the source-reporter relationships model “applies to a not
untypical situation where routine reporting of news often leads to, sometimes depends on, a measure of collaboration between regular sources or ‘newsmakers’ on the one hand and reporters on the other hand” (p. 162).

News is perceived as the result of transactions between sources and reporters/journalists, which usually involve some negotiations that ultimately lead to some loss of independence on the part of both actors in order to co-operate with and accommodate each other. The interface between sources and reporters is necessary if news is considered to be the social construction of reality rather than a reflection of an objective social reality (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979). Tuchman (1978) contends that news is the outcome of negotiations between legitimated institutions – the news media and news source organisations - because “news institutions do not define politics any more than political structures fully determine the news: there is ongoing interaction” (Schudson, 2000, p. 175). Negotiations, interactions, and exchanges between sources and reporters usually result in some issues either being ignored in favour of others or being reported in ways agreeable to both.

News is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. The primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources, and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific newsbeat (Tuchman, 1991, p. 86).

Gieber and Johnson (1961) provide three alternative source-reporter role models that describe the degree of interaction and independence between reporters and news sources namely: separate source-reporter roles, partially assimilated source-reporter roles, and assimilated source-reporter roles. According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), sources and reporters “co-operate with each other and form a mutually agreed perception of their function” with “certain objectives in common, the one needing to get a particular story into a
newspaper, the other needing to get news to satisfy an editor” (p. 163). The difficulty, however, lies in determining whether, and at what stage co-operation and accommodation characteristic of their relationship remain mutually beneficial and respectful of their individual functions, objectives and roles or shade into complete or partial assimilation.

Williams and Delli Carpini (2000, p. 63) contend, whatever emerges as the ‘truth’ “about the social and political world” is the outcome of some managed socio-political reality. Similarly, Gandy (1982) believes although source-reporter relations involve negotiations and exchanges, they also involve “manipulation” and “influence” on the part of sources desiring to “influence the content of information flows”. He contends that sources “seek personal or collective advantage through their skilful manipulation of the mass media or other information channels” (p. x). The power of sources manifests in the fact that they decide what types of information should be revealed, how, in what detail and when (Ericson et al., 1987 & 1989). It is established gradually through the system of news beats, which Ericson et al. define as the “routine round of institutions and persons to be contacted at scheduled intervals for knowledge of events” (1987, p. 7). These source advantages disadvantage the media by making them pawns in the hands of sources (Dickson, 1995; Sumpter, 1999).

Ericson et al. (1987) saw some kind of assimilation or socialisation of journalists on beat to the organisational and occupational cultures of their sources leading to a certain level of convergence of the two sides’ understanding and values. This compared with Gieber and Johnson’s (1961) partially assimilated, and assimilated source-reporter roles. Although the process of assimilation could occur in either direction, reporters are more likely to be assimilated “since the supplier of information usually is in a stronger position in the relationship” (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 164). Gans (1979) saw the relationship more as
a dance or a tango because each side needed the other to achieve their individual goals. “The relationship between sources and journalists resembles a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading” (p 116). McQuail and Windahl (1993) explained why sources often led and assimilated reporters: “The giving or withholding of news is a more effective sanction in day-to-day affairs than the longer-term sanction of inadequate or unfavourable publicity” (p. 164). Furthermore, in some situations, “authorities are in a very strong position to control access to scarce information with a high news value, and news media become assimilated, by necessity or choice, to official policy” (p. 165).

Whatever the direction of assimilation, the little time journalists have to invest in news production and the time-consuming nature of the exercise make reliable news sources necessary. A more conciliatory view of the relationship between sources and reporters is that both benefit from the transaction or relationship of exchange. While the media benefit in the form of information subsidies (Gandy, 1982), source organisations benefit through real value as a result of their detachment from, and wide exposure for, information provided. Besides, decision makers rely on news and information available to them through the mass media to formulate state policies (McNair, 1999; el-Nawawy & Kelly, 2001). Similarly, the news media depend on official (including government) sources for news regarding policies and viewpoints on political, economic, social and other matters to disseminate to the public. Furthermore, while sources look for credible news channels, journalists also look for credible information sources to facilitate the desired exchange of value. According to McQuail (2000, p. 287), “Relations with news sources are essential to news media and they often constitute a
very active two-way process. The news media are always looking for suitable content, and content ... is always looking for an outlet in the news”.

Whereas the journalist selects from an array of sources and events on the basis of perceived utility in producing news that will meet organizational requirements, sources select from an even larger array of techniques on the basis of their perceived effectiveness in being covered, reported, and transmitted in the right form, at the right time, and in the right channel (Gandy, 1982, p. 14).

“Official bureaucracies, or bureaucratically organized institutions” according to Gandy (1982), “tend to be the most reliable, and as a result, bureaucratically supplied information comes to dominate mass media channels” (pp. 11-12). Fishman (1980) explained that bureaucratic/official sources did much of the work of journalists by providing them with reliable information in a form that was readily usable. These sources “provide a regular, credible, and ultimately usable flow of information, insight, and imagery with which to construct the news”. Consequently, “journalists and other gatekeepers benefit from the relationships they establish with sources best able to meet their needs” (Gandy, 1982, p. 13).

Summary

The chapter began with discussions of news-making and various perspectives on news selection to explain newspaper coverage. Using Siebert et al.’s four-theory typologies of the press as an overarching background of media influences, the chapter examined theoretical models of the sociology of news production and influences on the mass media. It discussed the gatekeeping concept as an explanation to news selection, production and placement tracing it from White’s (1950) seminal study into news selection, and some revisions and modifications of the concept until its comprehensive overview by Shoemaker (1991). The chapter noted the transformation of the concept from the individual to the organisational and institutional levels presenting and projecting it as an important concept in journalistic
practice and research as "the single mass media theory that focuses on what happens in the organizational structure of news rooms" (Stone et al., 1999, p. 177).

The chapter discussed other theoretical approaches to news production and media influences using Schudson's (2000) three-dimensional categorisation: political economy, cultural, and social organisation of news work approaches. It concentrated on the latter focusing on the source-centred approach using Gieber and Johnson's (1961) three-typology source-reporter relational role models: separate source-reporter roles, partially assimilated source-reporter roles, and assimilated source-reporter roles. Within the array of factors contained in Gitlin's (1980) and Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) extra-media influences, the chapter examined those exerted by sources of information, legal and regulatory regimes, and government. These theories explain influences exerted by socio-political factors and legal/legislative frameworks on news production, which forms the basis of the present study. The next chapter reviews studies conducted within the aforementioned theoretical frameworks.
CHAPTER FOUR

INFLUENCES ON MEDIA SYSTEMS AND NEWS PRODUCTION:
AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Chapter Four reviews studies undertaken within the framework of influences on the media, beginning with those on media/press systems and news production, which theoretically form the background to the study. It then discusses studies carried out within the gatekeeping concept and others establishing influences on political news content. The chapter reviews studies with particular emphasis on the social organisation of news work as the main theoretical perspective within which the study is grounded. It examines some studies that have investigated influences on news production focusing on socio-political, organisational and institutional factors especially source-reporter relationships. While some of these studies focused on particular contexts, others attempted comparative analyses of two or more cultures to highlight their commonalities and differences or to determine the extent of symmetry or asymmetry of the relationships between political news sources and journalists.

Press/Media System Influences

Social, economic and political environments affect media content since the news media are a reflection of a country's socio-economic and political power distribution (McQuail, 2000; Altschull, 1984). Kowalski (2000) made similar observations in his discussion of the Polish media system concluding that as a result of historical, ideological and political conditions, media systems varied in their levels of centralisation and decentralisation, public and private sector participation, as well as scope of spheres regulated and not regulated by law. He believed, however, that the development of a real media system was, first of all, a function of media structures and ownership relations, a conclusion that mirrored those of others
including Papathanassopoulos (2001) on Greek journalism and Avraham (2002) on Israeli news reporting. According to Kowalski, media structures and ownership relations are influenced and dictated to by considerations of history, economics, politics and ideology.

In Asia, studies have shown that changes in ideology, politics, economics and other factors shape journalistic practice. Winfield et al. (2000) discussed the press systems of China and Japan and observed that political events and ideologies in the twentieth century accounted for most of the features of the modern press systems in those countries. While the Maoist revolution and relatively recent economic reforms had shaped the controlled press system in China, the defeat in World War II and the adoption of democracy and capitalism accounted for the libertarian press system in Japan. Winfield et al. (2000) asserted that although the two countries were different in obvious ways, their press systems had similar tendencies that could be explained by centuries-old Confucian and Buddhist philosophies. According to the researchers, Asian notions of the importance of the group, group norms and fixed truth contrasted with western ideas that stressed individualism and the pursuit of truth. They believed the Asian philosophical emphases on collectivism, hierarchy and social harmony contributed to the kinds of overt information constraints in China and the more subtle self-imposed controls in Japan.

The effects of socio-political and ideological environments on the press of Singapore, another Asian country, were the subject of discussion by Bokhorst-Heng (2002). She examined the mass press in the daily lives of Singaporeans, its position, how that has been defined and practised, “various forms of control on the press, and how the government’s intervention is conditioned by the socio-political and ideological climate of the nation” (p. 559). She identified three spheres of government control: 1) the close relationship established
between the government and the press in which government officials built ties with journalists; 2) tendencies towards centralisation and media monopolies through mergers and closures of newspaper organisations; and 3) direct government legislation enabling government to control both "voice" and "content". Control over voice was effected through government control of management shareholding and the appointment of management and editorial staff of newspapers. Content was controlled through both direct (legislation) and indirect means (government officials' refusal to clearly define 'out of bounds' (OB) markers for journalists to enable them realise their operational limits). This, according to Bokhorst-Heng, resulted in "a rigidly self-imposed censorship by journalists and editors attempting to avoid the invisible line" (p. 563). Finally, newspaper-licensing law, which required annual renewals "controls both voice and content" (p. 566).

Bokhorst-Heng (2002) compares the Singaporean model with the Western model epitomised by the US press system, which she finds untenable in her home country. "In contrast to the US press model, which guarantees free speech and a press free from government subversion, in Singapore, the press model guarantees the effectiveness of the government, and protects it from being undermined and subverted by the press" (p. 561). The Singaporean model, she believes, compares to the Japanese, which "reflects the Asian values of consensus as opposed to confrontation, co-operation rather than conflict, and responsibility to the community and nation rather than individualism" (p. 561). "The Western model, wherein the press is seen as a 'fourth estate' and watchdog of the government, is strongly rejected in favour of a 'responsible' press that works together with the government for the 'national good' (usually defined by the government)" (p. 560). Bokhorst-Heng defines the role of the Singaporean press as a "tutor and advocate of government policy" and a tool for fostering social and
political stability among Singapore’s multilingual, multiracial, and multi-religious populations (p. 561).

In Europe’s variable historical, social, political and legal regimes where fundamental changes have occurred, particularly in the East with the collapse of communism and socialism, studies find variable impact of such changes on mass media systems. Gulyás (2003) analysed changes and development of the print media in three post-Communist East Central European countries — Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland — during the 1990s and observed complete shifts in their individual media profiles. The study examined and discussed changes in the functions of the print media, production, media control, and in the role of the state, providing an overview of the general political, economic, social, and cultural environment driving such changes. Gulyás contends that the print media in these countries did not only go through general changes that affected the print media in other societies but also system changes in their respective countries. Comparing some features of the print media under Communism with those of the post-Communist era, she observed that the “transformation involved fundamental changes” in “production, organization, management, distribution and consumption” (p. 82).

The reduced role of the state and the extent of press control resulting in a relaxed state power over the print media was one major change found in Gulyás’ (2003) study. “There was a significant move from the overwhelming presence of the state during the Communist era to more limited state interventions” (p. 85). “All the former Communist titles went through significant changes in terms of content, ownership and appearance” (p. 93). The resultant effect of these changes has been much more critical media than politicians have been used to under Communism bringing in its wake sometimes strained relations between the media and
those in power. Political change has had enormous effects on print media production, content and affected the dynamics of print media ownership and readership patterns in the three countries thereby destroying their traditional press system categorisations.

Contrary to Gulyás’ (2003) conclusions, however, Hagan (1997) observed that changes in the operational environment of journalists did not always produce the expected effect. He studied the transformation of the media system of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) after the reunification and its effects on the political content of newspapers examining such content before and after the reunification through a content analysis of ten newspapers from West and East Germany. Hagan found that the local and regional press after reunification closely resembled that of the former GDR with only minor differences in their general outlook. More importantly, he discovered that journalists and larger newspapers had not changed after the reunification because journalists still did not state their opinions. In his estimation, the only thing that had changed was the number of political evaluations found in the various newspapers. Such findings blur the boundaries of media system types thereby defying neat classifications.

The variable outcomes or influences of political change on the mass media could be explained by the magnitude of change and its proximity to the period of study. In other words, how radical that political change is and its closeness to the study period could determine the extent of reaction and/or degree of impact that change generates in the particular media system. Malinkina and McLeod (2000) content analysed the New York Times and Izvestia’s coverage of conflicts in Afghanistan and Chechnya to examine the impact of political change on news coverage. Their analysis pointed to a third outcome of such impact between the findings of Gulyás (2003) and the conclusions of Hagan (1997): a
qualified impact. It revealed that whereas changes to the media system in Russia as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union had a profound impact on *Izvestia*’s coverage, political changes in the US arising from the ending of the Cold War, which changed that country’s foreign policy, had little impact on *New York Times*’ coverage.

Many studies, especially of the developing world, cite governments and politicians as formidable sources of constraint, pressure and difficulty on the mass media, and raise ethical questions regarding relationships between the state and the media (Ekwelie, 1978; Mytton, 1983; Boafo, 1988; Faringer, 1991; Anokwa, 1997; Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997; Tettey, 2001). In Africa where the 1990s produced remarkable socio-political changes resulting in multi-party democracy, media pluralism and economic diversification and liberalisation in many countries, several studies have pointed to the slow pace of change in the media, which are still struggling to liberate themselves from traditional mindsets. Studies conducted by Ramaprasad (2001/2003) on Tanzanian journalists, and Mwesige (2004) on Ugandan journalists point to difficulties faced by African journalism and the dilemma of African journalists caught between the western and development journalism models.

In Ebo’s (1994) view, the conflicting expectations between the two philosophies – western libertarian and development journalism – create a clash of loyalties that ultimately result in an ethical dilemma for African journalists. Ebo examined the nature and consequences of the ethical dilemma facing African journalists as a result of conflicting obligations to their profession and socio-political environments. He observed that professional skills and codes of conduct of African journalists were adapted from the western libertarian media philosophy that prescribes independence from governments. He noted, however, that African governments were inclined towards the development journalism philosophy that called for
close working relationships between the news media and government to stem political instability and to support national development objectives.

Dixon (1997) examined ethical arguments presented for various press models during the 1996 discussions on proposed press laws in Kenya. He found that arguments presented were geared more towards gaining political advantage/power than for moral purposes. According to him, so far as African governments were concerned, it was a question of which model/philosophy could potentially deliver political power thus corroborating Ebo’s (1994) findings. Dixon (1997), like Ostini and Fung (2002), proposed communitarianism as a viable alternative capable of escaping the “false” dilemma between the libertarian and development journalism models. In his view, communitarianism had the capacity to preserve the concept of independence from government that was so central to the libertarian philosophy and at the same time, provide a basis for “activist” journalism. The present study adds a Ghanaian perspective to the above studies of press system influences and journalism practice. Before then, it examines other studies of influences on news production beginning with the gatekeeping concept.

Gatekeeping Studies

In the original gatekeeper study, White (1950) studied the news selection of “Mr Gates” to discover why the wire editor selected only 10% of stories available to him in a given week. He attributed Mr Gates’ selection criteria – news judgements – to subjectivity originating from his personal experiences, attitudes and expectations based on what was of interest to him. According to Gandy (1982), White:

noted with particular interest the ideological character of many of the editor’s comments. Stories were rejected because they were “propaganda” or “too red”, and occasionally, because they were probably false, as indicated by the “B.S.” label applied
by Mr Gates. Most important of all, however, was the limitation of space. Stories that made their way past other more personal filters were rejected because there was not enough space for their publication (p. 10).

Some studies departing from the individualistic view of gatekeeping, have taken a more structuralist view of an all-powerful media institution. Gieber (1964) replicated White’s (1950) study using 16 Wisconsin news wire editors and found institutional factors rather than an individual subjective activity involved in their news selection. In Gieber’s study, all 16 wire editors were concerned with “goals of production, bureaucratic routine and interpersonal relations within the newsroom” (p. 175), criteria they used to select news. According to Gieber (1964), “the fate of the local news story is not determined by the needs of the audience or even by the values of the symbols it contains. The news story is controlled by the frame of reference created by the bureaucratic structure of which the communicator is a member” (p. 178).

Berkowitz (1990) refined the gatekeeping metaphor in his study of local television news selection. He worked with journalists in the newsroom coding a total of 391 potential stories during a period of four weeks and found that news selection decisions were based on several factors beside news values. These included: a) information that was easy to explain; b) information that would draw audiences; and c) information that could be assembled with efficiency. Berkowitz realised, after 220 hours of newsroom observation and interviews that news workers depended on their instincts rather than textbook news values and selected stories based on interest, importance, and visual impact or appeal. He also observed that the newscast format, which called for an approximate quota of stories from various categories, was a function of both story selection and the news merits of potential stories. Conclusions drawn from Berkowitz’s (1990) study question original notions of the single gatekeeper manning a single-axis news gate, and widen the perspectives of gatekeeping:
...this study found that decision-making didn’t fit the traditional mold of a lone wire editor sitting next to a pile of stories and making decisions based on either newsworthiness or personal preferences... First, decision-making seemed to be a group process; content, therefore, was shaped by group dynamics. ... Second, the keys to the lock – interest, importance, visual quality – were different than the keys searched for by past studies of newspaper wire editors or those taught in journalism classes. Whether these keys could even be used was partly dictated by organizational demands such as resource constraints and newscast formats. ... Stories that passed through one gate faced still other gates on their way toward being broadcast. Spot news closed the gate on planned event stories. Resource constraints and logistical problems sometimes closed the gate on spot news stories (Berkowitz, 1990, p. 66).

Many other gatekeeping studies have challenged and indeed debunked the notion of a single editor selecting news based on his/her personal biases and idiosyncrasies (Shoemaker, 1991; Katz, 1992; Williams & Delli-Carpini, 2000). Since reviews and revisions of gatekeeping recognise the importance of contextual factors including institutional structural and environmental as well as relations between news sources and journalists, the study now turns attention to studies focusing on such journalistic operational environmental and relational influences.

Political Economic Influences

The political economy approach to news production stresses social, economic and political influences as well as effects of the new media of information and communication technology. Although the present study was not grounded in that approach, a few studies served to illustrate that theoretical perspective’s limited applicability to the Ghanaian context owing to its reliance on the economic and on new media both of which are in their rudimentary stages of development.

Gilens and Hertzman (2000) found commercial and financial interests of media owners to be major determinants of news decisions. They examined newspaper coverage of an aspect of America’s 1996 Telecommunications Act, which dealt with the loosening of restrictions on
television ownership comparing its coverage by newspapers whose owners had substantial investments in television and, therefore, stood to gain from it, to those who had little or no financial interests in television. In all, 14 media owners and 27 newspapers were covered in the study, which found 397 relevant stories focusing on the implications of loosening television ownership caps. The researchers found “substantial differences in how newspapers reported on these proposed regulatory changes depending on the financial interests of their corporate owners” (Gilens & Hertzman, 2000, p. 369).

Newspapers that stood to gain from the proposed loosening of TV ownership caps offered their readers favorable coverage of the proposed changes, with positive consequences outnumbering negative consequences by over two to one. But the coverage of this issue in newspapers owned by companies that did not stand to gain was overwhelmingly unfavorable, with negative consequences appearing over three times as often as positive consequences (Gilens & Hertzman, 2000, p. 383).

Papathanassopoulos (2001) used findings of a survey of 239 journalists within the Athenian media on their characteristics, working conditions and perceptions conducted by the V-PRC Institute in 1998 to assess effects of commercialisation on journalistic values, the professional status and culture of journalists, among others. The study found, inter alia, that Greek journalists felt financially insecure and dependent on media owners, overwhelmingly (74.3%) believed to determine “the image and politics of the mass media” (p. 516) indicating their influence over journalists and suggesting that bias in reporting might originate from owners rather than journalists. Using the case of Greece, Papathanassopoulos argued that in spite of similarities that exist among various media systems, “each national system still differs in many respects when compared to others” (p. 506), an assertion that conforms to many others (including Gulyás, 2003; Pfetsch, 2001; Esser et al., 2001).
Impact of New Media

While some studies of the impact of new media on journalistic activity and news reporting have alluded to minimised power of news editors in controlling what goes through the news gates, others contend that in spite of whatever technologies available for news gathering, processing and distribution, traditional media still retain their eminent position. Studying CNN’s coverage of the Gulf War of 1990 and its use of satellite technology to collect news and to distribute it as quickly as possible to news outlets throughout the world, Katz (1992) observed the elimination of the editor in the entire process through “simultaneous, almost-live editing, or better yet, no editing at all” (p. 9). Similarly, Williams and Delli Carpini (2000) examined what they termed the collapse of media gatekeeping using the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal as a case study within social responsibility theory to illustrate a fundamental change in contemporary American media environment. The researchers found new ways through which politics; political elites, the media and the public interacted within the new media environment of multiple axes of power and access thus presenting “a challenge to mainstream journalists in their gatekeeping role as agenda-setter and issue-framer” (p. 78).

Despite the conclusions of Katz (1992), and Williams and Delli Carpini (2000), a study of three television stations in the United Kingdom conducted by Ursell (2001) qualified the impact of technology on news-making and media performance. The researcher used data from news-making activities of the BBC, ITN and the Yorkshire Television to demonstrate different uses and effects of technology. The study sought “to track their respective adoptions of new technologies in news production, the strategic perspectives and political factors informing their different practices, and the consequences for the journalists they employ and the news they produce” (p. 178). It found variations in the extent and intensity of
technological adoption, which were greatest at the BBC, followed by the ITN with relatively modest changes in the Yorkshire Television. Based on the findings of the study, therefore, Ursell asserted that “any suggestions of technological determinism” should be substantially qualified (p. 175). Indeed, neither the availability, accessibility (or otherwise) nor use of information and communication technologies in the news production process should necessarily limit the gatekeeping potential or capabilities of news people.

Cultural Influences

Despite the fact that the study was not situated in the cultural approach to news production, a review of a couple of studies conducted within that approach was deemed necessary to show why it could not explain news decision-making in Ghana. Extending influences on the production of news, Zaharopoulos (1990) explored the notion of cultural proximity as additional to other influences on news choices and placement. He recognised influences exerted by economic, social, political and geographic values on news selection but believed that cultural proximity also played an important role in such decisions. A content analysis of a liberal and a conservative Greek newspaper during the final three months of the 1988 United States Presidential campaign showed this latter influence. Although the two newspapers were as ideologically opposed to each other as the two candidates in the campaign, Democrat Michael Dukakis, a Greek-American, was given more space and more favourable reports in both newspapers than Republican George Bush. According to Zaharopoulos (1990), despite their strong ideological differences, the two newspapers differed little in overall United States campaign coverage indicating the crucial role played by cultural proximity.
Other studies have found influences and biases resulting from gender. A study by List (1985) found gender-related influences on political coverage in spite of ideological differences of newspapers. In a comparative analysis of political coverage of women in two party newspapers, List discovered that despite usually taking completely different positions on every political issue, the two newspapers converged in their support for women as being active political actors capable of wielding political power. Ghanaian media are neither structured along such cultural/ethnic lines (despite the country’s multi-ethnic composition) as those in Zaharopoulos’ (1990) study nor according to gender to engender any such biases. In fact, with very few women at the top echelons of Ghanaian politics, political coverage is generally focused on men.

Social and Institutional Influences

Many studies of news production examine relationships between journalists and identifiable influential factors in the media environment especially influences exerted by news sources. Most of these studies have focused on newsgathering rather than news processing in the newsroom where “writing, rewriting and “play” in the press” take place (Schudson, 2000, p. 185) and underscore the centrality of source-reporter relationships to news production. In the following sections, the chapter examines and discusses some studies conducted within the source-centred approach to news production.

Source-Reporter Relationships

Much source-reporter research has focused on the heavyweights of politics as well as the interface between press/public relations practitioners and spin-doctors as main organisational sources of official information and reporters/journalists, and the power dynamics of their relationships. Studying the effects of the President on coverage patterns of three major
United States networks during his first eight weeks in office, Wanta and Foote (1994) found that President Bush had a dramatic impact on coverage. They found that coverage of those issues he either focused on or for which he was a central source of information was consistently high and extensive. The researchers also observed some reciprocity in the relationship between source and reporter in that the President sometimes followed the media’s lead when deciding whether and to what extent he should respond to more general social problems.

el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001) examined power relations between sources and journalists investigating power dynamics involved in the relationship between western correspondents in Egypt and Israel and those two countries’ official sources of government information (press relations practitioners). They investigated “how access to information about the Middle East conflict ... is affected by differing professional role perceptions held by those in the government’s information delivery systems and by the correspondents themselves” (pp. 90-91). el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001) conducted surveys and interviews to determine the role perceptions of western correspondents and government press relations directors “within the context of two theoretical models: the news-making model and the public relations two-way asymmetrical model” (p. 90). Findings of the study showed that while correspondents believed analyses of complex issues were their primary role, press relations officials found the provision of information to correspondents to be their primary function. Government “officials viewed themselves as conveyors of government information and mediators between the government and foreign news media” (p. 100). The study found Israeli officials more accessible and much easier to work with than their Egyptian counterparts although correspondents were more sceptical of information provided by Israeli than Egyptian officials.
Butler (1999), examining the power relations between news sources and reporters, had doubted the professionalism of sources in managing news and challenged the usefulness of Gandy’s information subsidies in reducing costs. She analysed all media releases received by a metropolitan television station during the fourth week of the five-week long 1998 federal election campaign in Australia and found that the so-called information subsidies entailed costs for news organisations. This was, not least, in view of the amount of time and effort spent organising such items to make them meet the requirements of news value and news worthiness. Butler (1999) was of the opinion that the doubtful professionalism of news sources in the management of news reduced their status as powerful sources in the estimation of news professionals making them less useful as cost reduction measures.

Indeed, some studies have suggested that the media have the upper hand in their relations with sources (Hess, 1984). In a study of the gatekeeping function of the media from the perspective of the public relations practitioner, Nicolai and Riley (1972) noted that editorial gatekeepers were more powerful than public relations practitioners because the latter’s “livelihoods depend on the decision-making power of editors to use their material” (p. 371). Similarly, Newsom (1983), in a study of why some people or groups received more media attention than others saw the combined forces of pressure groups and the media as having an edge over traditional sources of information - public relations practitioners. Such findings tilt the balance of power between sources and reporters in favour of the latter notwithstanding any benefits of their interactions.

Other researchers have indicated that sources have an edge over reporters (Gans, 1979; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). Notwithstanding instances of media edge over sources and observations of interactions, negotiations and mutual exchanges in source-reporter
transactions, certain situations and exigencies generate difficulties and lopsidedness in the relationship that disadvantage journalists. These difficulties are particularly observed during periods of crises, which usually demand certain types of media coverage. Dickson (1995) studied the relationship between journalists and official news sources in times of crises using the New York Times coverage of the US invasion of Panama and found that although the New York Times provided a forum for criticism of government policies and actions, the US government defined the parameters of the debate. Sometimes, such disadvantages to the mass media are self-inflicted and manifest in the form of self-censorship rather than any externally imposed interventionist mechanisms by news sources. Sumpter (1999) reappraised press censorship during a period of crisis: the Spanish-American War of 1898 and found that correspondents constituted the war’s most effective censors. This trait manifested most as they competed for stories that did not pose security risks and also as they faced conflicting priorities of military and political leaders.

Some studies have examined the use and effects of routine bureaucratic sources and/or channels of information on media coverage. A study conducted by Fishman and reported by Gandy (1982) indicated that journalists would rather “go along with the trend than to risk criticism or to invest in producing a more attractive alternative” (Gandy, 1982, p. 13). Fishman (1980) observed the impact of information subsidies on the credibility of media reports and noted that in spite of the cost-effectiveness and attractiveness of such subsidies, they incapacitated journalists’ ability to investigate stories they received. Fishman studied attempts by a newly created police unit to seek publicity using the media. The unit did this by leaking stories about a supposed increased crime wave involving attacks on poor elderly Whites by Black and Hispanic youths. Although police statistics showed an actual decrease in such crimes, Fishman observed that journalists still published the “non-story” mainly
because other journalists and media channels were covering and publishing each new story the police unit issued. The overall effect of the information subsidy given by the police, in this case, was the publication of stories that were not statistically true thus undermining the credibility of both the media and their coverage.

Sigal (1973) content analysed about 1,200 stories that appeared on the front-page of The New York Times and The Washington Post and found that nearly 60 percent of those stories came from bureaucratic sources including press/news releases, official proceedings, official spokespersons, press conferences, and planned, special or non-spontaneous events. The study found that only about 26 percent of front-page stories in the two elite newspapers were the result of investigative or enterprise journalism, which incidentally included interviews with bureaucratic spokespersons and thus reduced their investigative stance. Similarly, a study by Lo, Cheng, and Lee (1994) on patterns of television news source selection and presentation in Taiwan concluded that television news was government news. The authors content analysed evening newscasts by the three television stations in Taiwan, and found that television news relied heavily on government officials based primarily in Taipei. Their findings suggested that central government officials in Taipei appeared to be the primary definers of social reality. They concluded that, with both management and content tightly controlled by the state, Taiwan’s television news consisted mainly of official rituals. This was consistent with a study conducted by Lo et al. (1996) on Taiwan’s first presidential elections, which found that state-owned television had a preponderance of using ruling party officials as principal news sources.
Journalistic Role Perceptions, Norms and Profiles

Source-reporter literature has frequently focused on the routines and values of reporters rather than other aspects of the relationship (el-Nawawy & Kelly, 2001, p. 90). Some of these studies have examined journalistic roles, norms, objectives and traits of media professionals in given geographical contexts. Pfetsch (2001) studied the interaction between political spokespersons and journalists across two cultures – United States and Germany – in an attempt to debunk ‘the “Americanization” of political communication cultures in European countries’ (p. 46). She analysed the norms and communication roles governing such interaction using data from an exploratory study of political spokespersons and journalists to reconstruct communication actors’ attitudes. The study aimed to identify commonalities and differences in communication roles and orientations of political communication actors in the two countries. The comparison was achieved through a content analysis of statements made earlier in 112 semi structured focused interviews with journalists and political spokespersons that allowed for an empirical reconstruction of actors’ attitudes.

The study found that orientations of political spokespersons and journalists pointed to “a media-driven political communication culture in the United States and a politically motivated political communication culture in Germany” (Pfetsch, 2001, pp. 47-48) in line with their different political and media systems. Consequently, whereas in Germany communication focused on political goals, in the United States, it was marketing oriented geared toward attracting media attention with a view to influencing the media. American political communication actors referred more to professional journalistic norms – professionalism, high quality reporting, objectivity, impartiality, balance – in the interaction between journalists and political spokesperson, while their German counterparts gave priority to social norms such as code of ethics, credibility, trustworthiness, openness, honesty and truth.
According to Pfetsch, the “findings permit the conclusion that there are national differences in the perceived scope for action and distance and in the proximity of opinion makers and journalists” (p. 55). While there was greater distance between journalists and political spokespersons in the United States than in Germany, both countries saw interaction as an exchange relationship. Their different communication cultures, according to Pfetsch, found expression in both interaction norm patterns and in the relationship between journalists and spokespeople.

Wilke and Reinemann (2001) in a study focusing on Germany alone and using some of that country’s quality newspapers, like Pfetsch (2001), also questioned whether the assumption that western democracies shared some common long-term trends of election coverage was supported by empirical data. The researchers used results from a content analysis of campaign coverage of four German quality newspapers to disprove this assumption. The study focused on all previous national elections in Germany conducted from 1949 to 1998 and investigated the amount, personalisation, tone and manner of interpreting of campaign coverage in general and the portrayal of candidates for the position of Chancellor in particular. Debunking the assumption that there were some shared long-term trends in campaign coverage, the study found that there were no overall trends towards more or less campaign coverage, more personalisation, or negative coverage (negativism). It, however, found a trend towards more interpretive coverage in the four newspapers analysed.

Esser et al. (2001) moved beyond issue and strategy coverage to what they termed “a new, third stage in election coverage”: Metacommunication, which they defined as “the news media’s self-referential reflections on the nature of the interplay between political public relations and political journalism” (p. 16). Their study focused on process news involving
strategies, stage crafting and spin-doctors employed by candidates to control information.
The researchers examined the quantity/amount of metadiscursive process news in campaign
coverage of Britain, Germany, and the United States focusing on “the media’s evaluation of
this new force of news making” (p. 27). They sought to answer the bigger question of how
the press in the three countries saw their own role as political institutions:

Given the changing conditions of the modern political publicity process, what
techniques do the news media employ in their coverage to come to terms with a new
force in news making on the campaign stage – and what does this tell us about the news
media’s role ... (pp. 27-28)?

Esser et al. (2001) content analysed the three countries’ leading national quality newspapers
over a period of six months prior to their respective election days in order to compare
coverage of metadiscursive process news distinguishing between media-related and non-
media-related activities/tasks of spin-doctors. They found different profiles of metacoverage
in the United States, Great Britain and Germany, which, as was the case in the study
conducted by Pfetsch (2001), they explained as the result of the different media and political
PR cultures in those countries. German newspapers published 169 articles in which campaign
strategists and spin-doctors were mentioned or referred to 217 times. British newspapers
carried 444 articles in which spin doctors were referred to 527 times while the US papers
carried 464 articles, which had 647 references to spin-doctors.

According to the researchers, the enormous variations in the amount of metadiscursive
process news carried in the newspapers indicated that, “this new reporting style is least
developed in Germany and most common in the United States” (p. 29). They attributed the
higher amount of process coverage in America to its “longer tradition of political consultants
during which journalists have started to appreciate those consultants as interesting and
reliable sources of information. ... It also reflects the fact that, in a U.S. general election,
more campaign operatives and spin doctors are involved and play more important roles than in Great Britain and Germany” (p. 29). The study found that 47 percent in the United States and 42 percent in Britain of all spin-doctor activities covered in the study referred to their interaction with journalists whereas only 30 percent did so in Germany.

In a further attempt to determine whether journalists in the three countries treated spin-doctors as ordinary sources of news or as phenomena to be explained to readers, the researchers found that American journalists related to spin-doctors as sources of news in a less detached manner whereas those of Britain and Germany saw them as phenomena to be explained to their readers in a more detached manner. There was therefore a high number of “sourced information” in the American press, reflecting the American “journalistic norm to avoid anonymous sources, which is an important difference from British and German journalism” (p. 32). Additionally, American journalists were more prepared than their British and German counterparts to “accept spin doctors as a legitimate source of information and comment” owing to their long tradition of association with them (p. 32). The low German figure for using spin doctors as sources was attributed not only to the recency of the phenomenon in that country but also to “the fact that word-by-word citations are not as common a feature in German as in Anglo-American press journalism” (p. 32).

Ramaprasad (2003) used Tanzania’s media history as a backdrop for an empirical opinion profiling of that country’s journalists. She traced the evolution of Tanzania’s political, economic and media systems from the period of control to the period of liberation examining private and government media traits from indigenous government and party control to private ownership. Using a survey of 139 convenience sample of Tanzanian journalists, the study assessed the extent to which Tanzania’s collectivist African tradition (the concept of
ujamaa), reinforced by its communitarian societal organisation (the concept of villagization) and socialist press ideology reflected in journalists' assignment of roles and traits to the private and state media. It examined how journalists from private, party and government-owned media viewed “private and government media in terms of such journalistic traits as credibility, accuracy, and competence and such roles as unify the country and contribute to the country’s development” (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 14).

The study found a greater percentage of respondents considering government media as likely to help unify the country (76%); contribute to national development (67%); and focus on cultural and intellectual issues (61%). Conversely, the private media were widely considered to be vocal critics of government policy, and to support political pluralism. They were also considered to be the ones to reflect the views of the wealthy, focus on sensational news, and to stir up ethnic and religious conflict in society. There was no significant difference in the percentage of respondents who attributed high credibility, professional competence, accuracy and ability to provide generally positive coverage to the government and private media. However, more respondents considered the private media to be more analytical, to provide more balanced political coverage, and to reflect more views of the public than the government media.

Overall, the study found that whereas traits generally associated with development journalism – unifying the country, contributing to national development, and focusing on cultural issues – were assigned to the government media, those associated with free press – vocal critic of government policy, and support for political pluralism – were assigned to the private media. In addition, unwanted journalistic traits such as sensationalism, commercialism and reflecting views of the rich and powerful, and stirring up conflict and
sectionalism in society were also assigned to the private media. Ramaprasad (2003) concluded: “to a large extent Tanzanian journalists align a socialist journalistic ideology with the government press and a libertarian journalistic ideology with the private press” (p. 21).

In a similar study of Ugandan journalists, Mwesige (2004) explored their demographic and job conditions, “their role perceptions, professional attitudes and beliefs, as well as the major constraints on journalistic freedoms in Uganda” (p. 69). The study examined Ugandan journalists’ sociological portrait looking at how they perceived “their roles within an African context that is informed by pre-colonial traditions, colonialism, the post-colonial crisis and recent global trends” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 75). The researcher used primary data from a national survey of Ugandan journalists he had earlier conducted to draw a systematic sample of 140 out of a population of 550. Among other things, the study found that Ugandan journalists enjoyed “a modest amount of professional autonomy and freedom” within their respective media organisations. However, more than half of the respondents “cited official laws such as sedition and criminal libel as the most significant limits to their journalistic freedoms”. Other significant limitations were identified as “self-censorship due to government ownership of some media, lack of access to information as well as political interference” (Mwesige, 2004, p.79).

On media functions, Mwesige found that just as their counterparts in the west, Ugandan journalists tended “to support both the disseminator and interpretive roles of the news media” (p. 84). Additionally, Ugandan journalists, more than their western colleagues, showed support for the advocacy role of journalism or what Weaver and Wilhoit (1996, p. 140) called the populist mobiliser role. Majority of respondents rated highest the functions of getting information out quickly to the public (86%), giving ordinary people a chance to
express themselves (80%), and investigating claims and statements made by government (75%). Many rated the following functions above average: providing analysis and interpretation of complex problems (63%); concentrating on news that is of interest to the widest possible audience (55%); and discussing national policy while it is still being developed (50%). “However, Ugandan journalists were less likely to support the adversarial role of the news media. Consequently, only 14 percent of the respondents thought it was ‘extremely important’ that the news media should be an adversary of public officials by being constantly sceptical of their actions and only 11 percent felt journalists should be an adversary, in the same sense, of business” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 84). Overall, the study found overwhelming endorsement of western journalistic functions/roles and values although journalistic practice did not match those conceptualisations.

**Organisational Influences**

Professional or occupational journalistic roles fit into the organisational or bureaucratic theory of the sociology of news in contrast to the symbolic interactionist or social constructionist views of society contained within source-reporter relationships. Studies reviewed under these influences related to the impact of media ideology, bias and negativity on news-making decisions.

*Media Ideology and News Decision-Making*

Many studies especially in the west have examined the ideological positions or orientations of media organisations and their effects on gatekeeping and news reporting. Gans (1979) contended that “news does not limit itself to reality judgments; it also contains values, or preference statements” (p. 40). Complementing participant observations and interviews with quantitative content analyses, Gans observed some general characteristics of news reports
and American values. He referred to these as enduring values that combined news values and ideology. Gans referred to the professional and political attitudes of reporters/journalists as their para-ideology, that is, the “aggregate of values and the reality judgments associated with it” (p. 45) – which underlay their concept of, and what they produced as news. He concluded that news reports were more likely to focus on people who were “knowns” than people who were “unknowns” (pp 84-5).

Patterson and Donsbach (1996) found “substantial evidence that partisan beliefs intrude on news decisions” (p. 465). In a survey to document partisan bias in journalists, the researchers asked journalists to indicate their political positions as well as their opinions on how certain hypothetical stories should be covered by the mass media. They described hypothetical situations and some reactions to those initiatives and asked journalists in the study to rate the newsworthiness of those issues, the angles to be taken on the stories, headlines to be used, and the types of photographs to use in those stories. Matching these with the stated political leanings of the journalists, which revealed that the majority were Democrats, the researchers found evidence of political bias in reporting. They found that the majority of journalists sympathised with the liberal (Democratic Party) perspectives on issues and that Democratically-inclined journalists tended to emphasise, for instance, the pro-environmental angle of issues presented while conservative (Republican Party) journalists emphasised the business side. The researchers, therefore, concluded that journalists’ political leanings largely affected their news choices or decision-making.

Bias and Negativity in News Reporting

Bias in news reporting, usually seen as a result of ideological and political influences on the mass media, has often been a charge levelled against journalists and media organisations in
both the developed and developing countries. The mass media are accused of not only being biased but also of concentrating on negativity in news reporting (McKinney et al., 1999; Patterson and Donsbach, 1996; King, 1995; Lichter and Noyes, 1995; Gans, 1979). Different researchers have identified different types of bias. Denis McQuail (1992), for instance, identified four types of bias, namely: partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias and ideological bias. Merrill (1965) discussed six types of bias, which could be found in various news reports identified as: attribution bias; adjective bias; adverbial bias; contextual bias; outright opinion; and photographic bias. Klein and Maccoby (1954) catalogued a general set of categories for assessing bias in newspapers to include: space, placement, and lexical devices for slanting coverage and treatment of political campaigns (news).

Many researchers have investigated inaccuracies and biases in political news coverage although Niven (2001) contends that most studies do not use “a fair baseline for coverage” (p. 36). Benoit and Currie (2001) compared data from content analysis of the 1996 and 2000 presidential debates in the United States with news coverage of those debates. Debates and news coverage were content analysed for what the authors called functions – acclaims or self-praise, attacks or criticism, and defences or refutations of attacks – and topics – policy and character. Discrepancies between the two were observed in both periods of the study but in different variables. The researchers reported that in 1996, news stories stressed character more than did the debates (and policy less than the debates), but in 2000 news coverage accurately reflected the proportion of policy and character in the debates themselves. The study of 1996 found scant reporting of the debates in evening television news, compared with newspapers. The 2000 study found that there were more reports of Gore’s than Bush’s remarks. The researchers also observed that in both campaigns, news coverage over-represented attacks and defences but under-represented acclaims. Finally, the average
newspaper story in 2000 only reported seven percent of what the candidates said in a debate indicating wide discrepancies between debates and coverage.

Lo, King, Chen, and Huang (1996) examined political bias in television news coverage of the campaign and candidates in Taiwan's first presidential elections. In a content analysis of evening news coverage of six television stations, the authors found that state-owned television stations were far more likely than privately owned cable television stations to give a greater amount of coverage and sound bites to the ruling party presidential and vice presidential candidates. They also observed that the three state-owned television stations' coverage contained more news favourable to the ruling party candidates than to other candidates. Esaiasson and Moring (1994) similarly content analysed live television interviews in Finland and Sweden to reveal the correlation between two codes of professionalism: between journalists and politicians. They, unlike Niven (2001), D'Alessio and Allen (2000), and others found evidence of two forms of media bias. Like List (1985), they found evidence of gender-related bias and like Patterson and Donsbach (1996), found evidence of bias against particular political parties: right-wing parties in the conduct of journalists.

Such findings recall considerations of fairness, balanced news reporting, and media freedom from governmental control. Fico and Cote (1999) studied fairness and balance in newspaper stories on the 1996 American presidential election through an analysis of how Michigan's nine largest daily newspapers covered the campaign. The content analysis focused on structural characteristics of news stories that could influence readers to judge reporting as fair or biased. The findings indicated that stories were structurally significantly imbalanced and that regardless of the candidate concerned, chances were nearly even that any story
encountered was one sided and that even two-sided stories were likely to be significantly imbalanced as well.

Some studies have, however, debunked the incidence of bias. As Niven (2001) illustrates, although there is overwhelming “support for the notion that the media are biased, little research has subjected these beliefs to meaningful tests” (p. 31). Niven studied “media coverage of the unemployment rate to make comparisons in objectively equivalent situations” in order to test “whether real evidence exists to support frequently heard allegations of partisan bias and negativity in the media” (pp. 31-32). Using monthly federal unemployment figures, the study compared coverage of Republican President George Bush and Democratic President Bill Clinton at periods “when their unemployment outcomes were equal” (p. 36) over a period of 128 months: February 1989 - September 1999. The study included coverage by 150 newspapers nationwide with at least two newspapers from every state yielding a total of 99,430 articles on unemployment “defined as use of the word unemployment in the headline or first three paragraphs of the story” (p. 37).

Comparing coverage during months when the two presidents had the same unemployment rates (62 months), the study found “little real difference in the number of stories, the length and placement of coverage, mention of the president, or tone of coverage” (p. 38). It, thus, failed to find support for accusations of partisan bias in contrast to the findings of researchers like Patterson and Donsbach (1996). What it found was that where the two presidents produced the same results, they received very similar coverage from the newspapers indicating “coverage of unemployment was driven by the total size of the unemployment situation and not the party of the White House occupant” and “that party is not a significant
factor in unemployment coverage” (p. 40). While evidence of partisan bias proved controversial, allegations of negativity bias tended to be supported. Niven (2001) found:

“the higher unemployment months received 45 percent more coverage, had 13 percent longer articles, were almost three times as likely to appear on the front page, were almost four times as likely to prominently mention the president, and were decidedly negative in tone to the president” (p. 39).

Many studies have also found negative coverage of government and its officials (Lichter and Noyes, 1995; Kerbel, 1995). According to Niven (2001), “the prominence and play of negative stories about government and government figures is found to predominate over positive stories in study after study” (p. 35). His study indeed finds “strong evidence that bad times merit more attention than equally rare good times” (p. 41).

D’Alessio and Allen (2000), like Niven (2001), also debunked the assumption of media bias in political reporting. The researchers examined media bias in presidential elections through a meta-analysis of 59 quantitative studies containing data concerned with partisan media bias in presidential election campaigns since 1948. They considered: gatekeeping bias (defined as the preference for selecting stories from one party or another); coverage bias (the relative amounts of coverage each party received); and statement bias (concerned with favourable coverage toward one party or another). On the whole, their findings were consistent with Niven (2001): there were no significant biases in newspapers and biases in newsmagazines were virtually non-existent. However, meta-analysis of studies of television network news showed small, measurable, but probably insubstantial coverage and statement biases.

Esser et al.’s (2001) cross-country content analysis of “spin doctors in the press” (earlier reviewed in relation to the media’s own assessments of their roles), like Niven (2001), found evidence of negativity bias or negative coverage of spin-doctors and/or campaign strategists
and their activities. Although overall the researchers found “all three countries’ media institutions portrayed campaign strategists overwhelmingly negatively”, there were variations in the degree of negativity bias from country to country. They found “the highest degree of adversarial process news in Great Britain, where journalists presented the information-control methods and the people responsible for them in the most negative – and partly sinister – light”. British journalists judged spin-doctors and their activities as threats to “freedom of the press” and the “political culture”, the German press judged them as “neither competent nor effective” while the American press judged them as “competent” and “useful for campaign success”. The media’s overall assessment, however, was that “political PR experts and communication strategists are a problematic addition to the political publicity process” (pp. 37-38).

In a study of the coverage of minorities in the marginal or development cities of Israel, Avraham (2002) found overwhelming evidence of negativity bias against minorities. The study examined the production of news about these cities combining content analysis and in-depth interviews with about 26 editors and journalists described as “actors interacting to construct minority portrayals” (p. 69). It focused mainly on “the structures and routines journalists use to collect information and construct stories” about Israel’s marginal cities (p. 75) and analysed 1,411 articles on different subjects about 41 cities in the sample found in the coverage of two widely read national dailies. The study found that what has been classified as “crisis news” or “negative-disorder events” (Gans, 1979) predominated coverage of those cities. “Crimes and Trials”, “Standard of Living Problems (poverty, unemployment, housing and education problems, etc)”, and “Accidents and Disasters” (p. 76) constituted the three most covered topics accounting for 59 percent of total coverage.
On the whole, Avraham found that many factors conspired to perpetuate negative coverage of Israel's development cities inhabited by Israeli minority groups. These factors were mainly contained in the social and political environment in which the media worked and the power distribution therein, which affected media content. In his view, the media image of a group, which reflected in both the quantity and quality of coverage, was formed by these factors including the concept of news and the choice of news sources. Also important were newspapers' perceptions of their target audiences, and the proximity of the event to those audiences, the reporter and the national centre. Total coverage of these marginal cities was not only low but also excessively focused on negative societal tendencies using stereotyped generalisations and stereotypical language.

Summary

This chapter surveyed research grounded in the theoretical perspectives discussed in the previous chapter. It examined some studies relating to influences on journalists' ability to function autonomously as media content producers looking at their socio-political environments, role perceptions and working relationships. The chapter, thereby, examined journalists' relationships with their environment as well as some peculiarities of the political communication system and structure as reflected in different cultures. Schudson's (2000) three-dimensional categorisation: political economy, cultural, and social organisation of news work approaches were discussed using some studies that either sought to explain such influences or indicate other factors for such explanations. The review dwelt largely on the socio-political and institutional influences on news production focusing principally on
source-reporter relationships and some journalistic and organisational influences including ideology and bias.

Key conclusions from studies reviewed included the fact that media studies could proceed from diverse perspectives and produce variable outcomes reflecting local socio-economic, cultural, political and legislative conditions. Different conditions produce different media systems, which reflect in news coverage. The implications of these conclusions for the sociology of news production adopted for the present study are that coverage is shaped and directed by local conditions some of which are shared with other contexts. The review was thus meant to show the extent to which specific variables examined in various studies reflected the Ghanaian situation considering its uniqueness and commonness with the contexts within which those studies were conducted. Theories and studies discussed provide for a better understanding of newspaper coverage and processes adopted for its study, its findings and conclusions as presented in subsequent chapters.
CHAPTER FIVE
METHODOLOGY

Introduction
This chapter discusses the methodology of the study by describing and explaining research methods and approaches used in gathering and processing data. It first discusses content analysis; the method used to study the two newspapers selected for their relevance and salience and then discusses document analysis used to study some important documents relating generally to the media and government, and their legal/constitutional frameworks. The chapter gives details of the conduct of the research by describing ways in which the two research methodologies were applied in the thesis and indicating how the research was undertaken, steps taken and why, in order to enable replication of the study. It indicates the strengths and weaknesses of the two methods and the rationale for their use. The chapter also describes and explains the rationale for selecting the newspapers and documents used as the main sources of data for the study.

Methodological Considerations
Studies have shown that content analysis is the most popular method of data gathering used in research published in major mass communication journals. Of all mass communication studies conducted within the quantitative approach from 1965 to 1989, Cooper, Potter, and Dupagne (1994) found that 25% used content analysis. Similarly, Riffe and Freitag (1997) found about 25% (486 studies) of 1,977 articles published in Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly between 1971 and 1995 used content analysis, while Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) reported the popularity of the method in articles published in major mass communication journals between 1995 and 1999. While many of these studies have used only content analysis, others have integrated content analysis and other research methods.
Studies that combine methods are, however, few as observed from Riffe and Freitag's (1997) study in which only 10% of the 25% of content analytical studies published in 25 years of Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly combined it with another research method.

Nonetheless, some studies testing certain well-known communication concepts and models have been conducted using a combination of content analyses and other research methods. McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda-setting hypothesis, for instance, was tested with a study that combined a survey of undecided voters with a content analysis of campaign coverage. Similarly, Gerbner's cultivation research integrated content analysis with survey research (Gerbner et al., 1994). Delli Carpini, Keeter, and Kennamer (1994) studied the effects of the new media environment on citizen knowledge of state politics and government by conducting two analyses: a multivariate analysis of residents of Richmond, Virginia and residents of Washington D.C., with a content analysis of newspapers in those two areas. Berkowitz's (1990) gatekeeper case study combined observational research with content analysis to examine the selection of local news items for a television station in Indianapolis.

Holst (1969) indicates using content analysis in conjunction with other methods provides the opportunity to independently validate data/results obtained through other research methods.

According to Hansen et al. (1998, p. 91):

... content analysis is and should be enriched by the theoretical framework offered by other more qualitative approaches, while bringing to these a methodological rigour, prescriptions for use, and systematicity rarely found in many of the more qualitative approaches.
The present study availed itself of the opportunity and benefits of using two research methods that combined a quantitative and a qualitative approach. It used findings of document analysis to describe the socio-political and legislative environments within which findings of the content analysis obtained through data from two newspapers are explained. By combining the two methods, the study hoped to be able to examine “content as an unobtrusive indicator of antecedent conditions or behaviours” (Riffe et al, 1998, p. 13) and assess what those antecedent conditions and behaviours were. By and large, while content analysis provided a picture of newspaper reporting, document analysis provided information for in-depth descriptions and analyses of the environment within which journalists operated during the two periods of the study. Furthermore, document analysis also provided an indication of the rationale for journalists’ choices of events and themes covered, of actors, sources, and labels used in political news reports, and for the prominence given to them. Ultimately, the two research methods were expected to jointly help outline the working conditions and performances of the two newspapers under the two political administrations in the study.

**Study Design**

The study incorporated a longitudinal and a comparative design. Longitudinally, it assessed trends and changes in newspaper reporting of two political administrations over two time periods: 1993/1994 and 2001/2002. It was comparative in four different ways assessing: 1) differences or similarities in newspaper reporting of Rawlings and Kufuor’s regimes; 2) differences or similarities in coverage between two newspapers; 3) differences or similarities in coverage within the same newspaper over time; and 4) two different sources of data. The study thus compared political coverage of two newspapers at two different points in time.
used to compare the impact of time (with its intervening variables) on political coverage through comparative analyses of the following:

- Rawlings (NDC) and Kufuor’s (NPP) administrations
- The Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Chronicle

“Trend inventories”, according to Holsti (1969), “can be useful for identifying major changes across long periods of time…” (p. 48). The study thus hoped to tap into this usefulness to identify and analyse any changes in newspaper coverage of the activities of the two political regimes. It examined relationships among variables using mainly content analysis to compare two data points and to compare within and across two newspapers combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Content analysis was used largely quantitatively to examine newspaper content for its manifest communication from, and about, the two political administrations and their activities during the two periods of study while document analysis was used largely qualitatively to situate the study in its appropriate socio-political and legislative context.

Methods of Data Collection

The study complemented content analysis, its principal method of data collection, with document analysis to assess the political communication of two regimes – the NDC and the NPP. Content analysis focused on two major Ghanaian newspapers – the state-owned Daily Graphic and the privately owned The Ghanaian Chronicle – while document analysis was carried out using some important materials relating to the interface between the mass media and politics in Ghana, and their legislative and constitutional frameworks. The main sources
of data were the two newspapers and their contents and documents of selected state and
government organisations selected for their relevance and salience to the investigation.

Content Analysis

Definitions

“There are many definitions of content analysis” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 150).
Holsti (1969, p. 2) noted: “Definitions of content analysis have tended to change over time
with developments in technique and with application of the tool itself to new problems and
types of materials”. However, in spite of their diversity, these definitions have tended to
agree on certain requirements of the content analytical technique, namely: objectivity,
systematicity and generality arising out of its quantitative nature. According to Holsti,
objectivity requires that “each step in the research process must be carried out on the basis of
explicitly formulated rules and procedures” (p. 3). The aim is to avoid researcher biases,
idiosyncrasies and subjectivity when studying communication content, reporting findings and
interpreting results (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

Ultimately, findings of studies should reflect the content of whatever document or material
was analysed and inferences drawn should be based on those findings. The requirement of
“objectivity” has, however, been the subject of controversy and disagreement in later studies
(Krippendorff, 1980; Hansen et al., 1998) owing to its positivist value-free denotation and
connotation, what Van den Bulck (2002, p. 80) referred to as “its number-crunching,
positivist approach”. According to Hansen et al., “it is perhaps symptomatic that later
definitions of content analysis have omitted references to ‘objectivity’, requiring simply that
content analysis be ‘systematic’ (Holsti, 1969) or ‘replicable’ (Krippendorff, 1980)” (p. 95).
The requirement that content analysis should be “systematic” was explained by the fact that the decision to include or exclude some content or category of content should be made in accordance with consistently applied rules. This was to eliminate situations where the researcher only used materials that supported his or her hypotheses and also to ensure that categories were well defined and suited to consistently applied rules. The third requirement, the criterion of generality, “requires that the findings must have theoretical relevance” because merely describing content without relating it to “other attributes of documents or to the characteristics of the sender or recipient of the message, is of little value” (Holsti, 1969, p. 5). For results of content analyses to be meaningful, therefore, they must be presented in the form of comparisons dictated by the researcher’s theory.

Uses

The fact that quantitative content analysis is used for a variety of research problems has been widely noted (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorf, 1980; Hansen et al., 1998; Neuendorf, 2002; Van den Bulck, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Hansen et al. (1998) indicate that the widest use of the method is in the social sciences and humanities since most social processes are transacted through symbols. It has been used extensively “for monitoring the ‘cultural temperature’ of society, for establishing long-term cultural indicators comparable to the indicators used by economists and politicians in the monitoring of the economy” (p. 92).

According to Van den Bulck (2002, p. 79), among many others, content analysis:

- can also be sender/production-oriented to study the influence of ownership, organizational routines and rules when it becomes integrated into studies of international media flows, media organizations, professionals, production of media content.
- Conversely, it can be receiver/consumption related in order to analyse the influence of media content on individuals’ opinions or on wider socio-cultural, economic or political processes.
Wimmer and Dominick (2006), though admitting the difficulty in classifying and categorising “studies as varied and diverse as those using content analysis” (p. 152) list and illustrate five aims and purposes. These are: describing communication content; testing hypotheses of message characteristics; comparing media content to the real world; assessing the image of particular societal groups; and establishing a starting point for studies of media effects. Content analysis is used in the present study because media content is the principal object of study. Although the method usually enables questions about such content to be answered by merely examining it, the present study has used content analysis to infer something about Government-media relations contrary to Holsti’s (1969) observation below.

Content analysis has been used most frequently for research problems in which the question can be answered directly from a description of the attributes of content. ... the content data serve as a direct answer to the research question, rather than as indicators from which characteristics of the sources or audience are to be inferred (p. 43).

The study used content data as indicators from which characteristics of the political-media relationship could be inferred aided by documentary analysis, which provided information about the media operational context/environment. It used content analysis because of its “nonreactive” and “unobtrusive” (Webb et al., 1966) nature. Neither the people who generated the content nor those about whom it was made were aware they were being studied to materially or otherwise alter the communication under analysis. Secondly, since it involved communication from and about Presidents and officials within their administrations access to whom is usually difficult, it could not use more direct techniques of observation such as the questionnaire, or the interview as its main method of data gathering. Furthermore, the study consisted of two politically and spatially differentiated regimes studied over time and separated by an interval of nearly a decade. Content analysis, by its very nature of studying documented messages and symbols, helped overcome any recall lapses usually
encountered with longitudinal studies as a Chinese proverb succinctly captures: "The palest ink is clearer than the best memory" (Webb et al., 1966, p. 111).

Advantages

Content analysis has several advantages, which explain its popularity in mass communication research including the fact that it is "nonreactive" and "unobtrusive" (Krippendorf, 1980; Webb et al., 1966) thus enabling objects and subjects to be studied without exerting any influences and biases on the research. Additionally, the method is capable of dealing with relatively unstructured symbolic forms of communication, and of processing and analysing data from unobserved phenomena (Krippendorf, 1980). One important inherent characteristic of content analysis, which is beneficial to major phases of social science research, in Krippendorf's estimation, is its ability to cope with large amounts of data. Others have equally observed this advantage. "Systematic quantification analysis allows for large-scale research. So large bodies of text (media content) can be analysed" (Van den Bulck, 2002, p. 80). The method is also suited to the study of both current and past phenomena thereby providing researchers with some latitude as regards subjects and objects to analyse. Berger (1991) acknowledged the advantage to the researcher of being able to analyse phenomena as they occurred and long after they have occurred. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006, p. 152): "One of the advantages of content analysis is its potential to identify developments over long time periods".

Many of the definitions of the method have stressed three important concepts - objectivity, systematicity, and quantification - all of which provide advantages for using content analysis. The method provides consistency and "uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures", as "one set of guidelines is used for evaluation throughout the study". The
criterion of objectivity strives to eliminate “the researcher’s personal idiosyncrasies and biases” while quantification helps achieve the goal of content analysis: “an accurate representation of a body of messages” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 151). The researchers provide further advantages of quantification:

Additionally, quantification allows researchers to summarize results and to report them succinctly. If measurements are made over intervals of time, comparisons of the numerical data from one time period to another can help simplify and standardize the evaluation procedure. Finally, quantification gives researchers additional statistical tools that can aid in interpretation and analysis (p. 151).

Disadvantages

In spite of its many uses and advantages, content analysis has some limitations. Although various stages of the method present with limitations, its main weakness relates to inferences and claims about content effects. Wimmer and Dominick (2006, p. 153) contend: “Content analysis alone cannot serve as the basis for making statements about the effects of content on an audience”. As if for emphasis, they again state: “Content analysis cannot serve as the sole basis for claims about media effects” (p. 154). The authors also took issue with the effect of quantification, which they had identified as an advantage of the method because there could be other ways of assessing the impact of content. “The fact that some item or behavior was the most frequently occurring element in a body of content does not necessarily make that element the most important” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 151).

Other limitations of content analysis identified by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) related to issues of the method’s generalisability and comparability because findings are usually limited to the framework of categories and definitions used in particular studies. “Different researchers may use varying definitions and category systems to measure a single concept … Researchers who use different tools of measurement naturally arrive at different conclusions”
The authors also mentioned "a lack of messages relevant to the research", and the fact that the method is laborious, tedious, time-consuming and expensive as potential limitations. Berger (1991) had identified problems with sampling, its appropriateness and representativeness. He believed questions as to how representative of the total population a particular sample was; the appropriate sample size and manner of sampling could be problematic.

In order to stem problems with the conduct of content analysis and to reduce its limitations, some suggestions have been made including applying the correct design (Hansen et al., 1998). Most importantly, content categories must be clearly defined in line with the objectives of the study. Categories must not only be functional, but must also be easy to manage within the context of the analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006; Holsti, 1969). Hansen et al. (1998) believe much of the criticism of content analysis relates to problems of its actual or potential misuse and abuse rather than to any inherent weaknesses of the method. The following sections discuss the processes and procedures of content analysis used in this study.

**Processes**

Researchers have outlined various steps or stages involved in content analyses. Krippendorff (1980) distinguished: 1) data making, which comprised unitisation, sampling and recording; 2) data reduction; 3) making inferences; and 4) analysis. He added the need for: direct validation; testing for correspondence with other methods; and testing hypotheses regarding other data (p. 52). Neuendorf (2002) outlined nine steps: 1) theory and rationale, that is, deciding what content to examine and why; 2) conceptual definition of variables; 3) operationalisations indicating measurement of units of analysis; 4) constructing or creating a
coding scheme; 5) sampling; 6) training of coders and piloting for reliability; 7) coding; 8) calculating for final reliability; and 9) tabulation and reporting of results.

Wimmer and Dominick (2006, p. 154) outlined 10 “discrete stages” and indicated that although they were listed sequentially, the order could be changed and that the initial stages could also be combined. These stages were: 1) formulating the research question or hypothesis; 2) defining the population in question; 3) selecting an appropriate sample from the population; 4) selecting and defining a unit of analysis; 5) constructing the categories of content to be analysed; 6) establishing a quantification system; 7) training coders and conducting a pilot study; 8) coding the content according to established definitions; 9) analysing data collected; and 10) drawing conclusions and searching for indications. Hansen et al. (1998) suggested: 1) defining the research problem; 2) selecting the media and sample; 3) defining analytical categories; 4) constructing a coding schedule; 5) piloting and checking for reliability; and 6) data preparation and analysis.

The present study combined the 10 stages outlined by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) with the six outlined by Hansen et al. (1998). The research problem and objectives have already been formulated and presented in the introductory chapter together with an indication of the media studied. The following sections provide the rationale for selecting those two newspapers and periods of study as well as discuss the other processes contained in the two outlines. It is worth noting that stages 2 – 4 in Wimmer and Dominick’s outline are contained in Hansen et al’s stage 2: selecting the media and sample. Also while stages 7 and 8 of Wimmer and Dominick (stage 5 of Hansen et al.) have not been recorded in the thesis, stages 9 and 10, that is, stage 6 of Hansen et al. have been reported in separate chapters as findings, discussions, and conclusion.
Selection of Media and Sampling

Defining the Population/Universe

Defining the universe of a study is “to specify the boundaries of the body of content to be considered, which requires an appropriate operational definition of the relevant population” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 155). According to the researchers:

Two dimensions are usually used to determine the appropriate universe for a content analysis – the topic area and the time period... By clearly specifying the topic area and the time period, the researcher is meeting a basic requirement of content analysis: a concise statement that spells out the parameters of the investigation (p. 156).

The universe for the present study was the general news Ghanaian newspaper which had been in existence since January 1993 and was still on the newsstands as of December 2002, and whose contents included, particularly, hard news and editorial. The universe contained eight newspapers:

**State Newspapers**
- The *Daily Graphic*
- The *Mirror*
- The *Ghanaian Times*
- The *Weekly Spectator*

**Private Newspapers**
- *The Pioneer*
- The *Ghanaian Chronicle*
- The *Daily Guide*
- The *Catholic Standard*

Considering the time frame, the population consisted of four years’ (1993, 1994, 2001 and 2002) total editions of the above-listed general news newspapers. Excluded from it were newspapers which were not in circulation during the study period of January 1993 – December 2002, and those predominantly in the domain of sports, entertainment, lotto, business/finance, religion and specialist newspapers such as those targeting women, students, children and the youth.
Selecting Samples

“Most content analysis in mass media involves multistage sampling” which “typically consists of two stages (although it may entail three). The first stage is usually to take a sampling of content sources” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 156). Thereafter, the authors identified the second stage as selecting the dates of issues to study from the time period, which is usually determined by the goal of the research. Van den Bulck (2002, pp. 80-81) discussed three stages of sampling: “The first step is the selection of media or titles depending on the research topic … The second selection consists of the sampling of issues or dates … The third step is the sampling of relevant content”. This followed Berelson (1952) who had also suggested three dimensions of sampling in relation to mediated content involving selecting from: titles or publications; issues or dates; and from relevant content within those issues.

According to Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (1998, p. 96), a “sampling procedure may be designed that addresses all these dimensions as stages of sampling. At each stage, a random sample must be taken to make inference to the population”. In the present study, this was achieved through multistage sampling involving:

- Stratification to ensure that both state and private newspapers were represented.
- Purposiveness to study the two most consequential newspapers and time periods based on the researcher’s knowledge and “the goal of the project” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 157).
- Stratification by constructed week (for dailies) and months (for weeklies) to determine dates or editions of the two newspapers to study.
Purposiveness to select stories/articles on the front pages, and editorials, which had political themes, to reflect the thrust of the study.

Multistage sampling was thus employed because of the various levels at which samples were drawn in line with literature (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006; Riffe et al., 1998; Berelson, 1952). The stages of sampling used in the thesis are discussed below.

**Media/Content Sources**

The thesis, though on media coverage of two political regimes in Ghana, focused on newspapers mainly because radio and television were still state monopolies during the first period of the study. Sampling of the two newspapers considered factors such as ownership, period of commencement of publication, organisational structure, size, frequency of publication and philosophy. The study population of all general news newspapers in circulation between January 1993 and December 2002 was stratified using the state-private newspaper ownership dichotomy from which the two newspapers were purposively selected based on their salience to the goals of the study and the researcher’s knowledge of their relevance as detailed below.

**The Daily Graphic**

The *Daily Graphic* is state-owned and has the widest circulation among Ghanaian newspapers. It has always been a daily newspaper. It was selected because it is the most authoritative state-owned newspaper in Ghana and, with the exception of the *Pioneer* (a private broadsheet), predates all other newspapers currently circulating in the country. The newspaper’s pre-eminence manifests in the fact that “Graphic” has for a long time been the euphemism for newspapers and the *Daily Graphic* has established itself as the pace-setter and standard by which others have been measured in the Ghanaian newspaper industry. More
importantly, its selection was as a result of the controversy surrounding its relationship with the Rawlings administration and charges of bias towards that regime. Its relationship with the Rawlings administration was illustrated by the fact that its immediate past editor, Elvis Aryeh (editor during the period of the study), was for many years the Press Officer in Rawlings’ PNDC government. Some Daily Graphic front-page main news stories and editorials were perceived to have either originated from the Castle or been doctored by the Castle Information Bureau during the Rawlings NDC regime. Daily Graphic was largely believed to be the masked mouthpiece of the regime, used to maintain its credibility. Although the Daily Graphic has a page specifically devoted to political news, its front-page has usually contained the most important political news.

The Ghanaian Chronicle

The Ghanaian Chronicle is a privately owned newspaper. It has a relatively smaller circulation compared to the Daily Graphic but is the widest circulating private newspaper in Ghana. Unlike the Daily Graphic, The Ghanaian Chronicle has presented varying periodicities. It started publication as a weekly newspaper and, later became a bi-weekly, but is currently published daily. In 1993 and most parts of 1994 (the first period of the present study), it was a weekly newspaper but by 2001 and 2002 (second period of the study) it had become a daily newspaper. Although The Ghanaian Chronicle was pre-dated by such newspapers as the Pioneer and the Catholic Standard in the private category, it early distinguished itself as a firebrand and an authoritative newspaper to provide the much-needed alternative voice. As soon as it introduced itself on the Ghanaian media scene in August 1991, The Ghanaian Chronicle showed its readiness to oppose what it saw as official ineptitude, corruption, lack of respect for the governed, lack of accountability, openness and
transparency. In a telephone interview, its current editor, Mr Omaboe\(^2\), indicated that the focus and philosophy of the newspaper had been consistently the same: “It was established as a political paper to keep government accountable to the governed”.

Calling itself the “Spear of the Nation” (*Umkonto We Sizwe* - from the Zulu language of South Africa), *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, through such columnists as the late Professor P. A. V. Ansah, then Director of the School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, and using hard-hitting front-page stories and headlines (see samples in Appendices 7 and 8), provided Ghanaian newspaper readers with what they would never have obtained from the *Daily Graphic* at the time. A read through the two newspapers appeared to suggest *The Ghanaian Chronicle* not only provided readers with an alternative (the other side of the story); but also scooped out what might never have been disclosed. *Chronicle* has persisted in this style of journalism from a 12-page weekly between 1991 and 1993 when all private weeklies were 8-page, through a bi-weekly from late 1993 to 1996 and a three-days-a-week newspaper between 1996 and 2000, to become a daily since October 17 2000 operating a six-day-a-week schedule like all daily newspapers in Ghana. By becoming a daily newspaper, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* matched what the *Daily Graphic* had always been but unlike the *Daily Graphic*, it has no specific political page. Its editor, Mr Omaboe, disclosed that, “the entire newspaper is meant to be political”, although “the front-page contains the most political news”.

\(^2\) The interview with Mr Omaboe was conducted by telephone in January 2003 and lasted for 20 minutes. It sought information and clarification on the status, intent and purpose of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, asking, among others, questions relating to its mission, vision, organisational structure, its date of establishment and commencement of business and sources of support. This was the only interview conducted throughout the study, and was meant solely to provide background information, which was otherwise unavailable.
The two newspapers were, therefore, selected based on their ownership types and periods of commencement of publication, considered important variables for achieving study goals, and on their salience to the development of Ghana’s critical press. It was in consideration of their contextual and background differences that the study designed to assess differences in media coverage of two different regimes over time intentionally selected them as ideal instruments for comparison. The selection was based on their suitability for investigating media coverage of the two regimes as a result of their longevity, different ownership and organisational structures, philosophies, and sizes. The two publications were considered particularly important and of interest because of the perceived docility of the state-owned newspaper (the Daily Graphic), and the perceived boldness of the private newspaper (The Ghanaian Chronicle). They also represent, albeit broadly, the structural, operational and philosophical diversity of the Ghanaian press. Their selection was thus based on conceptual considerations - a regard for the state-private dichotomy, and a quest for structural and philosophical/ideological diversity – as dictated by the nature of the research: a comparative study of two symmetrical time periods of Ghana’s recent political history.

**Study Period**

In the present study, just as in many others (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 157), the time period from which the issues analysed were selected was determined by the goal of the research. The two study periods: January 1993-December 1994, and January 2001-December 2002, were selected because they constituted a decade of political stability with unique comparative opportunities for assessing contrasting government-media philosophies. The two time periods were, therefore, selected because of their political symmetry. They marked the beginnings of two different but successive political administrations in the same republic thereby generating particular interest as a significant area of study.
As regards sampling editions of the two newspapers, two different approaches were adopted to reflect the different periodicities or publication frequencies of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic*. Sampling of the dailies was done through the constructed week approach using systematic sampling while that of the weeklies was done through stratifying by month and randomly selecting two issues per month. Subsequently, articles on the front-page and the editorials of selected editions of the two newspapers, which had political themes, were studied. The front-page and editorials were chosen because they represented the two most important pages of newspapers highlighting their selection biases and ideological positions. Similarly, political news stories were selected for analysis to reflect the theme of the study, which focused on politicians, their activities, and how these were covered in the two newspapers.

Lacy, Robinson, and Riffe (1995) studied sampling of weeklies to find whether sampling efficiency improved using stratification as it did in the case of daily newspapers. They compared the results of stratifying by month and season of the year with those of simple random samples and observed that stratified sampling was more efficient than simple random sampling. Riffe et al. (1998) noted that most studies concentrated on “efficiency of sampling for inference” and focused on the use of the “constructed week, which is created by randomly selecting an issue for each day of the week” (p. 97). Studies by Stempel (1952), Riffe, Aust, and Lacy (1993), and Lacy et al. (1995) advocated the appropriateness and efficiency of

---

3 Sampling of the two newspapers required the adoption of two different approaches because the *Ghanaian Chronicle* was a weekly Monday morning newspaper while the *Daily Graphic* was a daily during much of President Rawlings’ first two constitutional years in office (January 1993 - December 1994). While *Ghanaian Chronicle*’s periodicity changed again in the course of the study to a bi-weekly and then to a daily newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* remained a daily throughout.

4 The different sampling methods, reflecting the different publication frequencies of the two newspapers, were necessary only during the first period of the study when *Graphic* was a daily and *Chronicle* was a weekly.
drawing stratified samples to study daily and weekly newspapers. Stempel’s (1952) study of
sampling using the number of front-page photographs in a six-day-a-week Wisconsin
newspaper has been widely quoted (see Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 1980; Riffe et al., 1993;
Lacy et al., 1995; and Riffe et al., 1998; Neuendorf, 2002).

The dailies, in the present study, were stratified by days of the week, in line with the
constructed week approach, from which four issues (rather than two as suggested by
Stempel, 1952; Riffe et al., 1993; Lacy et al., 1995) were randomly (through systematic
sampling) selected per constructed week of a year’s editions. The constructed week approach
was thus used to sample the *Daily Graphic* (for both periods of the study) and *The Ghanaian
Chronicle* during the second period of the study (2001-2002) when it had become a daily
newspaper. A constructed week of six days (Monday – Saturday) was used for each year
during which the newspapers were dailies since Ghanaian newspapers, including the two in
the study, run a six-day-a-week schedule. During the first two years of the study (1993-1994)
when *The Ghanaian Chronicle* was predominantly a weekly newspaper, sampling followed
the recommendations of Lacy et al. (1995) using stratification by month rather than simple
random sampling. However, two issues (rather than one as they suggested) were randomly
selected from the editions of each month.

Same day samples/editions of the two newspapers were drawn during the second period of
the study in order to allow for inter-newspaper comparisons of issues that became news,
story prominence, salience and manner of presentation. Same day editions were, thus,
sampled to determine what activity or event each of them considered newsworthy to publish
from the political news tray of the day and to evaluate how that activity was published. The
editorials of all sampled editions of the two newspapers were content analysed to find how
much political content they contained and to determine whether there was a synergy or, at least, concordance between major front-page stories and editorial content. It was envisaged that these approaches would ensure some degree of uniformity in both sample selection and analysis of newspaper reporting of the two regimes, their principal officers or actors and their activities.

Sample Size

Using an interval of 13 weeks, four editions (issues) of each daily were selected per constructed week giving a total of 24 issues per daily per year. This brought the number of editions sampled for the *Daily Graphic* during the first period of the study to 48 editions and an equal number for the second period bringing that newspaper’s total for the entire period of the study to 96. As regards *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, since it was a weekly during the first two years of the study, two issues were randomly selected from the editions of each month of the year giving a total of 24 issues per year. During the second period of the study – 2001/2002 – sampling for *The Ghanaian Chronicle* followed the same pattern as that for the *Daily Graphic*: the constructed week approach. This gave a total of 48 sampled editions during each of the two periods of the study bringing the total sample size (of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*) for the entire period of the study to 96 editions. Therefore, both the first (1993-1994) and second (2001-2002) periods of the study generated 48 samples per newspaper per year making a total of 96 editions apiece. The grand total sample size of newspapers for the entire study, thus, stood at 192 editions of the two newspapers: 48 editions apiece of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic* per year.

Stempel’s (1952) study concluded that 12 days’ or two constructed weeks’ samples were sufficient for representing a year’s content of a newspaper since “increasing the sample
beyond 12 issues did not significantly improve sampling accuracy" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 157). Riffe et al. (1993) replicated Stempel’s study using six months’ editions of local news stories in a daily newspaper to compare the efficiency of three sampling methods: the simple random, constructed-week, and consecutive day sampling methods, and arrived at findings consistent with those of Stempel. They found that “for a population of six months of editions, one constructed week was as efficient as four, and its estimates exceeded what would be expected based on probability theory. By extension, two constructed weeks would allow reliable estimates of local stories in a year’s worth of newspaper entire issues …” (p. 139). Lacy et al. (1995) had concluded: “someone interested in studying weekly newspaper content should either randomly select fourteen issues from a year, or pick twelve issues, one from each month” (p. 344). Riffe et al. (1998) studied the most efficient stratified sampling methods for inferring to a year’s content and noted that for daily newspapers, two constructed weeks from the year drawn by randomly selecting two Mondays, two Tuesdays, two Wednesdays, etc. were sufficient. For weeklies, they indicated the random selection of one issue from each month in the year, thus supporting the findings of Lacy et al. (1995).

The present study, however, used a larger sample size of both the daily and weekly newspapers in order to reduce the level of bias of study results and to enhance generalizability since “a substantial sample size is needed to ensure a small confidence interval (e.g., plus or minus 2%)”. Besides, since large portions of the study dealt with “variables that are not simple dichotomies” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 89), there was greater need to increase the size of the sample. Furthermore, the large sample was also in recognition of the fact that acceptable sample sizes varied depending on the newspaper concerned and types of variables involved in the examination (Lacy et al., 1995). It was also to reduce effects of irrelevant and missing samples.
Out of the 192 editions, four could not be traced and 13 did not contain any political stories. Ten of these, which together carried 42 news stories and ten editorials, were from the *Daily Graphic* while three, with a total of 10 news stories and three editorials, were found in *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Therefore, the total number of front-page news stories (and stand-alone cartoons, etc.) which stood at 332 and editorial articles of 72 could have been much higher if all sampled editions had contained political news stories and politically relevant editorials. It must also be noted that only 72 editorials (out of the 192 samples) were coded political and that some editions, especially of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* had more than one editorial. This figure could also have been much higher if all samples had political editorials.

**Units of Analysis**

The unit of analysis, according to Gunter (2000), is the element or entity that is counted in content analytical studies. Van den Bulck (2002) describes it as the “recording unit – that is, the elements to count” (p. 81). Wimmer and Dominick (2006, p. 158) have indicated that the unit of analysis “is the smallest element of a content analysis but also one of the most important”. According to them, when analysing written content, it could be a single word or symbol, a theme or an entire story or article. Van den Bulck (2002) distinguished nine (incorporating audio-visual material): word; word sense (such as idioms); proper nouns; sentence; theme; paragraph; entire article or programme; individual character, actor or source; and scene or incident (p. 81). “Defining the recording unit is vital” (Van den Bulck, 2002, p. 81). The unit of analysis for the present study was the entire article/political news story, identified based on the following factors:

2) News stories that mentioned or referred to Ghanaian politicians in the headline, lead or within the first five paragraphs.

3) Stand-alone cartoons, photographs, letters/circulars that referred to Ghanaian politicians on the front-page of sampled editions⁵.

Political stories were identified, examined, counted, and their full lengths read and measured in relation to the space of the page they occupied to ascertain size and prominence. Among others, the study noted specific political themes/topics and/or news events reported; number of official spokespersons/sources cited/quoted; number of undisclosed and/or anonymous sources of news reported; the frequency of stories published from official and unofficial sources; placement of stories and the general prominence given to political stories. In sum, the study examined quantity and quality of coverage, placement, enhancements, attribution, differences in coverage between newspapers and changes in coverage of the same newspaper over time.

Content Analytical Categories

The study established content categories based on a combination of emergent coding and an *a priori* coding approaches - two ways identified for such an exercise (Neuendorf, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). This was because, while some categories emerged from a preliminary examination of the data and were therefore “constructed based on common factors or themes” emerging from that exercise, others were constructed before the data were collected “based on some theoretical or conceptual rationale” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 159). Neuendorf (2002, p. 11) found this latter option of “before the fact” content category

⁵ These images/visual materials usually appeared on the front-page of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (see Appendices 7 & 8). Besides, since the study limited itself to the front-page and editorials of sampled editions of the two newspapers, these constituted the pages of interest and focus.
construction a more preferable design. Whatever option adopted, content categories should be clearly defined to be useful and serviceable. Wimmer and Dominick (2006, pp. 159-160) suggested that “all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable”. In the present study, \textit{a priori} coding was based on press systems theories and the sociology of news production focusing on source-reporter relationships and gatekeeping while emergent coding resulted from the data.

Content analytical categories and variables created in the study were defined to achieve mutual exclusivity, exhaustiveness and reliability to enable replication of the study. They sought to respond to the four main areas of inquiry: amount/extent of coverage; quality/type of coverage; prominence; and prevailing journalistic/media environment. The categories were: number of stories; political party mentioned; actors and sources used; themes of coverage; tone and direction of coverage; use of qualitative labels; size/length of story; placement; type and size of story enhancements; use of by-lines; and occasion/event of coverage. These and their operational definitions, as well as those of thematic labels used have been explained in Appendix 1.

Political themes/topics were coded under predetermined categories of content such as “Presidential Visits”, “Political Appointments”, “Parliamentary Matters, Debates and Vetting”, “Bilateral and Multilateral Relations”, “Scandals” and “Corruption”. They included stories that revolved around Ghanaian politicians as actors and excluded those that principally centred on foreign politicians. For instance, Nelson Mandela’s swearing-in ceremony (\textit{Daily Graphic} of May 10 1994), and Tony Blair’s retention of political power (\textit{Daily Graphic} of June 9 2001) were not coded as political news stories because they neither named nor referred to any Ghanaian politician. Similarly excluded were stories that, though
carried photographs of Ghanaian politicians, did not involve them but technocrats in their sector ministries or issues about those sectors. Relevant stories in each sampled edition were coded and subsequently analysed. The two most important categories for the study: type of newspaper/publication and year/period of publication generated a four-dimensional axis for comparison: *Daily Graphic* 1993-1994; 2001-2002; *The Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993-1994; 2001-2002. All content categories were assessed/analysed along these axes to determine change over time both within the same newspaper and across the two newspapers.

Since ownership, publication period/year, and frequency/periodicity were important determinants of media selection and provided fundamental differences between the two newspapers, these distinctions have been extensively discussed in both the main Introduction and Selection of Media and Sampling. Ownership of the two newspapers looked at whether the newspaper under study was state-owned (*Daily Graphic*) or private (*The Ghanaian Chronicle*) and was a major basis for selecting the two newspapers in the study to reflect the state-private dichotomy. Sampling was thus stratified to ensure the representation of a state and a private newspaper for study. In terms of frequency/periodicity, the study noted the publication patterns of the two newspapers to document how regularly they were published: whether daily or weekly. These differences have extensively been explained in the thesis.

By and large, attempts were made to ensure a clear formulation and adaptability of categories to the research problem and content as Berelson (1952) warned: “Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well-adapted to the problem and the content” (p. 147). Indeed, the content analysis literature has indicated that the construction and definition of analytical categories should flow from, and be related to, the research problem and objectives (Neuendorf, 2002; Hansen *et al.*, 1998). “The most
important requirement of categories is that they must adequately reflect the investigator's research question" (Holsti, 1969, p. 95). The study has largely followed these suggestions.

**Coding Schedule**

Content analysis of the two newspapers: the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle* was carried out through a carefully constructed and pre-tested coding schedule on press coverage of the first two constitutional years of President Rawlings and President Kufuor (see Appendix 3). The coding schedule established guidelines and definitions for coding political stories in the study as suggested by Hansen *et al.* (1998). It contained variables for assessing amount/extent and quality/type of coverage; prominence and journalistic environment such as: number of stories, story type, by-line, placement, main and subsidiary themes of coverage, sources and actors of news, and political parties mentioned. It also contained some variables designed for more qualitative analyses such as: story headline, tone and direction of story, framing of political story, and list of qualitative labels. While "story headline" and "framing" were used for background information and appreciation, "tone", "direction" and "qualitative labels" have been explained and analysed in Appendix 1 and Chapter Six.

**Document Analysis**

Altheide (1996) defined document analysis as “an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analysing documents for their relevance, significance and meaning” (p. 2). The supplementary and complementary use of document analysis in the thesis helped examine the general socio-political and legislative atmosphere within which journalists operated during the two study periods. Document analysis sought to assess and compare the media environment under the two regimes, and how that influenced and shaped the selection, production and placement of
news. It thus aimed to answer questions relating to the second segment of the study, which sought to document and examine any antecedent factors, especially regarding sources of political news that might have influenced the newsgathering, selection and production process. Document analysis enabled some characteristics of political news sources, the mass media, and political environments to be inferred in order to put findings of the content analysis in context. It was, therefore, key to understanding characteristics of sources of political news, and those of the environment within which newspaper reporting of politics was carried out.

Documents Studied

According to Van den Bulck (2002), document analysis “is basically concerned with written sources” (p. 90). In this thesis, it involved important documents relating to the media, government and their operational and legal/constitutional frameworks. Documents were selected and obtained from the Ghanaian Parliament, the Supreme Court and the National Media Commission (NMC). They included the NMC’s Annual Reports, Complaints Settlement profiles, the Hansard, Sessional Addresses and Law reports:


Sourcing of Documents

The above documents were sourced based on the researcher’s knowledge of their usefulness and relevance to the thesis as well as their availability and accessibility. Accessing documents related to the media was facilitated by the researcher’s former membership of the NMC, and by the fact that most information officers of the above-mentioned institutions had been her students. They were accessed based on personal inquiry and study, and their availability in organisational libraries. Parliamentary debates of 1993, 1994, 2001, and 2002, as reported in the *Hansard*, were read to identify those that discussed the mass media. These were subsequently selected and purchased from Parliament for study. As regards other documents, a former student of the researcher working at the library of Parliament photocopied presidential sessional addresses of the same periods for the researcher. Similarly, two assistant librarians of the Faculty of Law of the University of Ghana photocopied law reports containing cases that involved the media and which had been previously identified by the researcher for study and analysis. Copies of NMC reports were obtained from the NMC archives through one of its two deputy executive secretaries.

Rationale

The study expected through these documents to examine news production carried out by journalists in their socio-political environment as created by each of the two governments as well as the general media context within which journalists worked. Of prime importance to the study was how the conditions, constraints and resources within news media organisations; and those of the external media environment, particularly the political, influenced the news production process. Consequently, the study did not only depend on newspaper content to draw conclusions, but also examined documents as another data source to enjoy the advantage of enriching it and making its conclusions more solidly grounded.
Data Analysis

Results of the content analysis were processed using the SPSS computer software programme while those of the document analysis were developed using the traditional qualitative method of writing out relevant portions of documents and incorporating them into the findings. The content analysis was basically quantitative, although some qualitative measures were used as reflected in some variables included on the content coding schedule. The document analysis was qualitative.
CHAPTER SIX
FINDINGS: THE NATURE, TYPE AND EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF TWO POLITICAL REGIMES IN GHANA

Introduction
Data collected using the methods described in Chapter Five are presented in this chapter. Basically, the presentation is descriptive and designed to provide grounding for the analytical discussion that follows in the next chapter. At certain stages, though, there are brief reflections on the relevant literature and theories in the context of the research objectives and questions. Graphical representations of data, in the form of tables and charts, are used to provide details and support. Frequency tables and cross-tabulations of variables are directly derived from the research questions. These variables include: number of news stories, types of news stories, themes and actors covered, and sources quoted. Others are political parties mentioned in news stories, use of by-lines, direction and tone of content items. In general, these variables help to determine the nature and extent of coverage of politics by the two newspapers over the two periods of governance. The term “content item” (implying that the units of analysis were front-page news stories and editorials) is interchangeably used with “news stories”.

Content Analysis: Key Variables
Certain variables were considered central to the study. Key among these were title of newspaper (to differentiate the two types of ownership systems in Ghana – private and state), year/period of publication of content item and political party mentioned or referred to. The last two variables were meant to distinguish between President Rawlings’ NDC and President Kufuor’s NPP regimes. Periods 1 and 2 are coterminous with the Rawlings and Kufuor administrations respectively. In addition to a political party being specifically mentioned in a
news report, distinguishing between years of publication of stories served to point out the regime in power at the time of coverage. These important variables served as the pivot around which others in the study revolved. As a result, they were kept constant in most cases of analysis while their likely associations with other variables in the study were examined. It was important, for example, to examine whether overall, there were noticeable changes in coverage between the two newspapers and also within the same newspaper over the two time periods especially with regard to stories that concerned the two main political parties.

Similarly, it was necessary to find out what pattern emerged when content categories such as: “type of news story”, “themes of coverage”, “sources most frequently quoted”, “actors often used”, “use of by-lines”, “tone” and “direction” of political news coverage, were introduced into the number of stories carried by each newspaper during each of the two periods. Findings in this case helped assess whether patterns that emerged gave an indication of the prevailing journalistic atmosphere, the degree of access to official actors and information, what was considered safe to publish and how, within types of stories and themes. The findings are broadly categorised into four main areas: 1) amount and extent of coverage; 2) quality/type of coverage; 3) prominence; and 4) prevailing journalistic/media environment.

Amount/Extent of Coverage

The amount and extent of coverage each political party received in each newspaper during each period of the study was assessed through the number of political stories carried, political party mentioned or referred to in those stories, actors and sources frequently used. These were assessed looking at the newspaper, which carried them, and the period within which they were carried. The examination also pitted the two newspapers against each other as regards their coverage of the two political parties to obtain differences in coverage between
1993-1994 and 2001-2002, which by inference compared coverage of President Rawlings’ administration to that of President Kufuor. The number of times each political party was mentioned by each newspaper and the two newspapers' total coverage of the two political parties during each period of the study were ultimately seen as important indicators of the prevailing journalistic atmosphere.

**Number of Political Stories**

A total of 404 stories were analysed in the study, which examined two newspapers’ coverage of political actors and their activities over a four-year period – the first two years of the NDC regime (1993-1994) and the first two years of the NPP regime (2001-2002). The study examined political news stories (including cartoons, photographs and document reprints with political undertones) on the front-page and editorials that focused on politics to the exclusion of all other topics and pages of the two newspapers.

Out of the total number of 404 news stories, the state-owned *Daily Graphic* published 193 (47.8%) while the privately owned *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published 211 (52.2%) over the two periods of the study as shown in Tables 1a and 1b, which provide details of the total number of stories published per newspaper per year and per period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Daily Graphic</th>
<th>The Ghanaian Chronicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1a shows that while the *Daily Graphic* published its highest number of stories in 2001 and the lowest in 1994, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published the highest number of stories in 1993 and the lowest in 2002. Between periods, more stories (220: 54.5%) were carried in Period 2 than in Period 1 (184: 45.5%).

Table 1b: Title of Newspaper by Political News Story per Period of Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDY PERIOD</th>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daily Graphic</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first period, 1993-1994, *Daily Graphic* carried the equivalent of 39.7% of the total number of 184 political news stories while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried 60.3%. In the second period, 2001-2002, out of a total of 220 political news stories, *Daily Graphic* coverage constituted 54.5% while *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, with 100 stories, made up 45.5% of the total, implying an exchange of roles between *Chronicle* and *Graphic* during the two study periods. Table 1b shows that *Graphic* published most of the stories in Period 2 while *Chronicle* did most of those in Period 1.

Table 1c: Title of Newspaper by Political News Stories per Period of Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDY PERIOD</th>
<th>NEWSPER</th>
<th>Daily Graphic</th>
<th>The Ghanaian Chronicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 1 (1993-1994)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2 (2001-2002)</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within newspapers, a greater number of *Chronicle* stories (52.6%) was published in Period 1 while that for *Graphic* (62.2%) was published in Period 2 as illustrated in Table 1c.
The Tables indicate a pattern of increased political coverage by the state-owned newspaper, Graphic, and a decreased coverage by the privately owned newspaper, Chronicle, between the two periods (and therefore under the two regimes). This is perhaps indicative of a greater opposition role played by the Chronicle in a less democratic environment where an official opposition was, in practice, non-existent in Parliament during Period 1; and a freer and more conducive environment for Graphic in Period 2 characterised by greater press freedom. The fact that the changed conditions did not lead to increases in political coverage across the board (in the two newspapers) is indicative of the different roles played by the state and the private media as exemplified by Graphic and Chronicle. It would seem to suggest that whereas the state newspaper felt liberated to perform its role, the private newspaper felt the “battle” (its opposition role) was over and, therefore, it was time “to call the truce”. While Graphic increased its editorials in relation to its front-page stories, Chronicle reduced its editorials in favour of front-page stories.

The breakdown of political content items analysed in the different categories (graphically presented in Chart 1) is as follows: 82.2% (332) political items consisting of 77.5% (313) front-page news stories and 4.7% (19) combination of stand-alone cartoons, photographs and/or photocopies of documents/letters reproduced on the front-page. Editorials made up 17.8% (72) items bringing the total to 4046.

6The majority of issues/editions of newspapers analysed had a total of either three (25.7%) or four (36.1%) stories on the front-page. Almost one-fifth (17.8%) of editions had at least one relevant stand-alone cartoon, photograph, document or letter on its front-page, which counted as bona fide political stories. All these were carried by the Ghanaian Chronicle alone with the majority appearing during the first period of the study. As regards types of stories carried by the two newspapers, straight news items had a commanding majority. Out of the 404 stories analysed, 303 (75%) were straight news stories while editorials took a distant second with the other three categories - government and opposition news releases, and stand-alone cartoons, photographs and letters - together constituting only 7%.
The choice of story types showed a greater use of straight news stories by the two newspapers with 75% (303) of total coverage. News releases, whether from the government in power (1.7%) or from the opposition (0.7%), were fewer than cartoons, photographs and others, which were only published by the privately owned independent newspaper: The Ghanaian Chronicle. Taking the four-year study period as a whole and looking at the two newspapers, Daily Graphic had slightly more straight news stories (50.8%) than The Ghanaian Chronicle (49.2%). This must, however, be explained by the fact that four (4) copies of the Chronicle could not be found after several attempts to trace them. It is probable that if all copies within the sample had been found, the private newspaper might have produced more front-page straight news stories than the state-owned Daily Graphic. Whereas The Ghanaian Chronicle alone produced all the stand-alone cartoons, photographs, and documents/letters (4.7%), Daily Graphic produced all the Government news releases/statements (1.7%). On a ratio of 2:1, the two newspapers published opposition news releases/statements: Daily Graphic (1.0%), The Ghanaian Chronicle (0.5%).
As regards type of political item, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more political editorials, (19.9%) than the *Daily Graphic* (15.5%). Whereas *Chronicle* published more of these in Period 1, *Graphic* published more in Period 2 as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Type of Political Content Item by Title of Newspaper and Period of Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM TYPE</th>
<th>NEwSPAPER</th>
<th>93/94</th>
<th>01/02</th>
<th>93/94</th>
<th>01/02</th>
<th>TOTAL TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daily Graphic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front-Page</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>84.9%</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cross-tabulating title of newspaper with type of political content item (front-page news story versus editorial) and controlling for period of publication, it was naturally (since there is usually one editorial per newspaper edition and more than one front-page story) observed that there were far fewer editorials (17.8%) than front-page political stories (82.2%) as shown in Table 2. *Graphic*’s coverage of political news on its front-page decreased slightly from 84.9% to 84.2% in favour of its editorials between the two periods while that of *Chronicle* increased from 77.5% in the first to 83% in the second period implying fewer editorials in *Chronicle* during the second period.

Most Mentioned Political Party

The study looked at the political party, which received the most mention in the two newspapers over the four-year study period to determine the political party that was most
projected. The significance of this variable lies in the fact that under the political dispensations studied, the party is synonymous with the regime. Political coverage is therefore linked to a party in power or in opposition. However, despite the fact that the concern of the study was with the two major political parties, which happened to have formed governments in the Republic under study, the NDC and the NPP, all registered political parties in Ghana were recognised and coded if they were explicitly mentioned or referred to in the news story. Even so, more than half of stories (50.2%) did not specifically mention any political party by name but focused on individual politicians (or politics) generally without alluding to their political affiliations.

**Chart 2: Political Party Mentioned in Political Item**

However, where political parties were mentioned, the NDC received the most mention (20%) followed by the NPP (13.1%). Both NDC and NPP were together mentioned in the same stories more times (7.2%) than any other political party in Ghana. While the NDC and its predecessor, the PNDC, were together mentioned in 5.2% of news stories, all other
categories received only 1.0% apiece except the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), which received 0.2% as illustrated in Chart 2.

Introducing the political party mentioned in the story to title of newspaper, type of news story and period of publication served to clarify which political party received what type of coverage in which newspaper during which period of the study. Table 3 shows the types of content items making references to either of the two main political parties in the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Front-Page</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial or Comment</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Front-Page</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial or Comment</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Period 1**

In the first period of the study, 1993-1994, NPP (as an opposition party) received minimal coverage from both newspapers in both quantity (amount) and quality (prominence). As Table 3 shows, the NDC was mentioned twice as many times as the NPP in Graphic stories of that period while in the case of the Chronicle, the NDC was mentioned nearly 10 times more than the NPP. The NDC government thus received several times more coverage than the opposition NPP.
In 1993, there was no straight news story carried by either newspaper on the opposition NPP although the *Daily Graphic* carried two editorials on the party. The NPP was also mentioned in only one straight news story in *Daily Graphic*’s “front-page main news” category and one editorial in 1994. Similarly, in the same year, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* mentioned the NPP in only three straight news stories, one as the “front-page main news story” and the other two as “front-page other news” stories. *Chronicle* also published one news release from the NPP.

**Period 2**

Coverage of the NPP, however, improved significantly during the second period (when it was the party in government) enjoying increases in levels of coverage by the two newspapers. In 2001, the *Daily Graphic* carried four (25%) straight “front-page main news” stories about the NPP and 10 (62.5%) “front-page other news” stories. On its part, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried two (16.7%) “front-page main news” stories and eight (66.7%) “front-page other news” stories within the straight news category that mentioned the NPP. Each of the two newspapers carried two editorials that focused on the NPP constituting 12.5% of *Daily Graphic* and 16.7% of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, content items respectively. In 2002, coverage of the NPP in the *Daily Graphic* took a downward turn compared to that of 2001 although not to the levels of the two years of the first study period. As straight news items making “front-page main news” stories in the *Daily Graphic*, the NPP had only four (44.4%) and five (55.6%) “front-page other news” stories with no editorials. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published a total of four straight news stories mentioning the NPP two apiece as “front-page main news” and “front-page other news” stories. It also published three editorials and one stand-alone letter from the NPP.
Graphic Coverage

The governing NDC only received slightly better coverage than its arch-rival, the NPP, in the first period of the study, during which the *Daily Graphic* mentioned it only four times in 1993 in the category of straight news items, once as a “front-page main news” story and three times as a “front-page other news” story. The paper also published three (42.9%) editorials on the NDC. In 1994, *Daily Graphic* carried only one straight news item as a “front-page other news” story about the NDC. In the second period, 2001-2002, *Daily Graphic* only marginally improved upon its mention of the NDC and the prominence given to it. In 2001, it carried a total of five straight news stories about the NDC, one as a “front-page main news” story and four as “front-page other news” stories while in 2002, it carried only two as “front-page other news” stories, two news releases and one editorial on the NDC bringing the total for the period to ten.

Chronicle Coverage

*The Ghanaian Chronicle*, on the contrary, gave the NDC a reasonable amount of coverage during both periods of the study. In 1993, it carried 13 straight news stories about the NDC (as the governing party), six (26.1%) as “front-page main news” stories and seven (30.4%) as “front-page other news” stories. There were also seven (30.4%) editorials and three (13%) stand-alone cartoons that focused on the NDC. In 1994, the paper carried 10 straight news items about the party, five (33.3%) each within the categories “front-page main news” and “front-page other news” stories. It also carried three (20%) editorials and two (13.3%) stand-alone cartoons about the NDC.

During the second period of the study, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* repeated its pattern of offering the NDC (now in opposition) extensive coverage. In 2001, it carried 10 straight
news stories about that party, seven (63.6%) as “front-page main news” and three (27.3%) as “front-page other news” stories, and also published one (9.1%) editorial on it. In 2002, it carried 12 straight news stories about the party, six (42.9%) apiece in the two front-page placement categories, and published two (14.3%) editorials on it.

*Items with Joint NPP/NDC Mentions*

Some news stories mentioned the two major political parties. While there was no such story in 1993, only *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published a cartoon that featured both the NDC (in government) and the NPP (in opposition) in 1994. However, in 2001, both newspapers joined the two political parties in a number of straight news stories. The *Daily Graphic* had a total of seven such stories, three “front-page main news” items (42.9%) and four “front-page other news” stories (57.1%) while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* had 10, five each (38.5%) in those two placement categories as well as three editorials (23.1%). Also, in 2002, only *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published news stories about the two political parties together: four straight news items, three as “front-page main news” stories (37.5%) and one “front-page other news” story (12.5%), as well as four editorials. The other political parties in Ghana, including former President Jerry Rawlings’ two entities, the AFRC and PNDC, received only scant mentions throughout the study period.

*Multi-Axial Comparisons*

In 1993-1994, the *Daily Graphic* mentioned the NDC in 11% of total political coverage while the NPP obtained only half of that (5.5%). For the same period, the difference in coverage between the two parties in *The Ghanaian Chronicle* was overwhelming: NDC 34.2% and the NPP 3.6%. Between the two newspapers, however, while *Chronicle* gave the
NDC total mention of 82.6%, *Graphic* gave it 17.4% although they both gave the NPP 50% total mention for the period.

During the second period, 2001-2002, the *Daily Graphic* increased its total coverage and shifted emphasis from the NDC to the NPP with 20.8% of its stories making references to the ruling NPP while only 8.3% mentioned the NDC. In 5.8% of stories, it mentioned both the NPP and the NDC. For its part, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* concentrated more on stories about the NDC (25%) than those involving both parties (21%) and the NPP (20%). However, comparing the two newspapers, while *Graphic* mentions of the NDC and the NPP constituted 28.6% and 55.6% respectively, corresponding *Chronicle* mentions for the two parties were 71.4% and 44.4% implying that the difference in coverage of the NPP between the two newspapers was smaller than that of the NDC for that period.

The NDC received the most mention in both newspapers (not just *Graphic*) over the two periods making it more prominent overall. Of the 49.8% political news stories that specifically mentioned names of political parties, the NDC was the most mentioned receiving 20% while the NPP followed with 13.1%. However, in relation to the two newspapers, *Graphic* gave more coverage to the NDC in the first period when it was in power, but its coverage of the NPP in the second period far outstripped that of the NDC of the first period. It thus did not show bias in terms of the amount of coverage in favour of Rawlings' government. Similarly, *Chronicle* did not show coverage bias in favour of Kufuor's government in either period of the study. Although it gave the NPP much-improved coverage in the second period compared to the first, its total coverage tilted more towards the NDC than the NPP.
Coverage of the first two years of the Kufuor regime (2001-2002) showed that the *Daily Graphic* actually reported it (NPP) much more (20.8%) than it reported the NDC (11%) during the first two years (1993-1994) of the Rawlings regime. Conversely, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, although with higher percentages of coverage, concentrated much more on the NDC in both periods of the study: 34.2% in the first period and 25% in the second. It only referred to President Kufuor’s NPP in 3.6% and 20% of cases in the first and second periods, respectively. Indeed, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried more stories making references to the NDC than the NPP. It produced more coverage of government and its activities than the *Daily Graphic* in the first study period when the NDC was in power but reversed the trend in the second period during the NPP administration mentioning the opposition NDC more times in its political stories than the ruling NPP.

**Actors in Political Stories**

Ministers of State (27%), political party functionaries (24.8%), the President and Vice-President (23.5%) in that order of prominence stood out as the most frequently reported actors in political stories. With the exception of non-party state officials such as directors of ministries and officers of state-owned corporations and boards who together constituted 11.4% of story actors, all other categories of actors received only marginal coverage totalling a little above 10%. Chart 3 shows actors frequently covered while Table 4 that follows explains the different permutations as regards each of the two newspapers, period of publication and the political party mentioned in those political stories.
Results of a cross-tabulation of the variable “actors in political news stories” with the other variables mentioned (political parties mentioned, newspaper concerned and period of publication) provide an indication of the period during which the media had greater access to politicians/political stories.
Table 4: Actors in Political Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>President/Vice-President</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministers of State</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Party Functionaries</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign/International</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Party State Officials</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| NPP                       | President/Vice-President | 0%                            | 28%                              | 0%                                | 45%                               |
|                           | Ministers of State    | 0%                            | 44%                              | 0%                                | 15%                               |
|                           | Political Party Functionaries | 100%              | 4%                                | 100%                              | 20%                               |
|                           | Foreign/International | 0%                            | 0%                              | 0%                                | 0%                               |
|                           | Non-Party State Officials | 0%                   | 12%                              | 0%                                | 10%                               |
|                           | *Other                | 0%                            | 12%                             | 0%                                | 10%                               |
| Total                     |                      | 100% (4)                       | 100% (25)                       | 100% (4)                          | 100% (20)                         |

*Other categories include: Socio-cultural personalities, businesspeople/Professional Representatives, Labour Movement Officials & Workers, Pressure groups.

Table 4 shows that major story actors - Ministers of State, political party functionaries, the President and Vice-President - acting in stories that mentioned the NDC received more coverage than those in stories referring to the NPP. In the first period, both newspapers covered more actors in news stories that mentioned the NDC than those that mentioned the NPP; The Ghanaian Chronicle more so than the Daily Graphic. While Chronicle continued this trend, though narrowing the gap substantially between coverage of the two parties during the second period, Graphic sharply reversed its coverage to be in sync with the ruling party, this time the NPP, coverage of which far outstripped that of the NDC which was ruling in the first period.

The political actor indicator thus showed the predominance of those quoted or referred to in stories that mentioned the NDC as opposed to the NPP. This was true of both study periods and not only when the NDC was in power. In both cases, Ministers of State, political party...
functionaries, the President and Vice-President were the most frequently reported actors in political stories but the levels of coverage showed differences in the two periods of the study that indicated the prominence of one government (political party) over the other. More of these actors were found in the first than the second period, thus pointing to the predominance of NDC political actors, although Graphic used more NPP actors in the second period.

Sources of Political News

With regard to sources of political news, journalistic sources predominated making a total of 61.4%. These included reporters attending functions and reporting from those functions (31.2%). Others were using other media sources such as the Ghana News Agency (GNA) (2.2%) or other newspapers (0.7%) and leaked or public documents (0.5%) or the newspaper’s own editorials (15.6%). They also included unnamed or anonymous sources, which constituted over 11% of cases. Political sources - the President, Vice-President, Ministers of State, opposition leaders and spokespeople, Members of Parliament and political party officers - together were sources for only about 29% of news stories as illustrated in Chart 4.
Key politicians did not constitute important news sources despite the importance of official news sources to journalists. Whether because they were inaccessible, unavailable or provided very little newsworthy information, they were used very sparingly as news sources throughout the study. Among the few that were used, the majority were in stories that referred to the NPP rather than the NDC. This could relate to the relative accessibility and/or credibility of NPP political sources to news people. By and large, using news sources as an indicator of extensive coverage did not provide much useful information especially since more journalistic/media sources were used in both periods.

Journalistic Sources

In both study periods and in the two newspapers, journalistic/media news sources were much more favoured than any other category of sources especially during the first period. In this period, 1993-1994, reliance on journalists’ ability to cover events/activities and gather news
was the source of news for 77.2% of coverage while for the second period, it constituted 48.2%. The only other single category worth mentioning was “ministers of state” which in *Graphic* of 2001-2002 was the source of 27.5% of news coverage though not necessarily mentioning any of the two political parties in the study.

Table 5: Types of News Sources by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Presidential/Vice-Presidential Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministers of State</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Party Sources</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Party State Officials</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-Cultural Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalistic/Media Sources</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TUC/Labour Movement Officials/Workers</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NGO/Civil Society Officials</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Presidential/Vice-Presidential Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministers of State</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Party Sources</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Party State Officials</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-Cultural Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign Sources</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalistic/Media Sources</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TUC/Labour Movement Officials/Workers</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NGO/Civil Society Officials</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s use of journalistic/media sources was remarkable in stories that mentioned the NDC particularly during the first period as shown in Table 5. Key politicians such as the President, Vice-President and Ministers of State were hardly used as news sources throughout the study especially in stories that referred to the NDC. Comparing the
two newspapers, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* used more journalistic/media sources than the *Daily Graphic* in both periods: 78.4% as against Graphic’s 75.3% in the first, and 66% to 33.3% in the second. Comparing newspapers across periods, each of them used more of these sources in coverage of the first than of the second period.

**Quality/Type of Coverage**

The study uses themes of coverage, tone, direction, and the use of qualitative labels in each newspaper to assess the type and/or quality of coverage of each regime. Findings and discussions relating to these variables are presented below both as individual variables and in relation to the key concepts of the study: political party mentioned or referred to, title of newspaper and period of publication.

**Major Themes of Political Coverage**

The main themes of coverage focused on activities of political parties and related issues including appointments and parliamentary vetting of political appointees, party rallies, congresses and conferences. Also included were defections and resignations, scandals, cover-up, conflicts and struggles, accusations, counteraccusations and rebuttals as well as threats and attacks on political opponents. These together constituted nearly a third of all political coverage (30.2%). Other themes such as finance and economics, media, human rights and constitutional matters, infrastructure development and provision of social services, though important, did not attract as much media attention as shown in Chart 5a and elaborated in Chart 5b.
Chart 5a: Main Themes of Coverage

- **Governmental Activities**: 30, 7.43%
- **Finance & Economic**: 71, 17.57%
- **Infrastructure & Social Services**: 48, 11.88%
- **Conflict, Crisis, Security & Defence**: 26, 6.44%
- **Media, Human Rights & Constitution**: 65, 16.09%
- **Employment & Labour Issues**: 9, 2.23%
- **Socio-Cultural, Support, etc.**: 31, 7.67%
- **Other Themes**: 2, 0.5%
Placing main themes of coverage within the general context of the study, that is, examining and comparing that category vis-à-vis the political party mentioned in the story, the period of publication and the newspaper concerned produced Table 6. In both newspapers and during both periods of study, activities of Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Ministers of State surprisingly received inconsequential media attention compared to activities of their political parties and even what was perceived to be their responsibilities as public officials as Table 6 shows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Presidential Activities</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Responsibilities</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Party Matters</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Politics</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finance/Economics, Trade, Business, &amp; Investments</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure, Environment, Utility, Service Provision</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health, Education &amp; Sports</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict, Strike/Demonstration</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defence &amp; Security</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Media Pluralism</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support/Award/Recognition for</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excellence; Celebration</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constitutional Matters</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment &amp; Labour Issues</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-Cultural Matters</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Themes</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Presidential Activities</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Responsibilities</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Party Matters</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Politics</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finance/Economics, Trade, Business, &amp; Investments</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure, Environment, Utility, Service Provision</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health, Education &amp; Sports</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict, Demonstration, Strike, Defence &amp; Security</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Media Pluralism</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support/Award/Recognition for</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excellence; Celebration</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constitutional Matters</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment &amp; Labour Issues</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Themes</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the prominent categories of political party activities; finance, economics, trade, business and investments; constitutional, human rights and media matters; and infrastructure development, the NDC had more stories referring to it than the NPP as the Table shows. Both by being specifically mentioned and also in terms of the period of coverage, the NDC was more prominent in coverage of such themes. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried more of these stories especially in the first period of the study than the *Daily Graphic*, which during the second period did far more stories about the NPP than the NDC.

**Positive (Supportive) and Negative (Critical) Themes**

Distinguishing main themes and categorising them into positive and negative coverage showed an appreciable level of coverage focusing on negative and violent themes particularly in *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. However, it also showed that overall, more positive themes were preferred and covered by the two newspapers especially the *Daily Graphic*. Themes such as political party activities; finance, economics, trade, business and investments; constitutional, human rights and media matters; and infrastructure development were, therefore, not prominently covered in the two newspapers only when they bordered on the negative but more so when they reported something positive.

Examining main themes within the subcategory “positive” and “negative” coverage showed that in the first period, out of 184 stories in the two newspapers 32.1% were negative and in the second, 27.2% of a total of 220 stories fell within that category. The two newspapers, therefore, published more negative news stories during the first period (under Rawlings’ NDC) than the second (under Kufuor’s NPP) although in both periods, coverage of positive news exceeded negative news. In both cases, the thematic focus was on activities of political parties and related issues (including political appointments and parliamentary vetting of
political appointees). Negative topics covered included scandals, corruption, fraud and misappropriation of funds, political defections, inter- and intra-party wrangling and power struggles as well as attacks or threats of attacks on political opponents.

Between the two newspapers, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried more critical (negative) stories (75.8%) - constituting 43.1% of its overall total - than the *Daily Graphic* (24.2%, making only 15% of its total) during both periods of the study. In 1993-1994, of a total of 59 such stories, *Chronicle* published 81.4% while *Graphic* published the remaining 18.6%. Similarly in 2001-2002, *Chronicle* carried 70.5% of that period’s total of 61 critical stories; *Graphic* did the remaining 29.5%. Negative (critical) stories were more in reference to the NDC than the NPP at both study periods but especially in 2001-2002 when the NDC was out of government (although fewer such stories were published in this period than the first).

In 2001-2002, 54.3% of the 35 stories that referred to the NDC were negative/critical of it while of the NPP’s total of 45 only 17.8% were of that description. In 1993-1994, out of a total of 46 stories that referred to the NDC, 39.1% were critical while for the same period; of the eight that referred to the NPP only 12.5% were critical. Interestingly, the only negative story about the NPP was published by the *Daily Graphic* and not *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. For both periods, however, *Chronicle* did most of the negative stories that mentioned the NDC: 88.9% in the first period constituting 42.1% of its total coverage for the period, and 78.9% in the second amounting to 60% of its total for that period. Overall, of 303 straight news stories, 30% were negative out of which the *Daily Graphic* published 23.1% (only 13.6% of its total straight news stories) and *Chronicle*, 76.9%, making 47% of its total.
Further subcategorised into “front-page main news” and “front-page other news” stories (for purposes of placement), straight news stories were more negative if they were “front-page main news” (37.2%) than if they were in the “front-page other news” subcategory (24.5%). Though the seven government releases (all published by Graphic) were supportive and positive, one of that newspaper’s two opposition news statements was negative while the only one in Chronicle was positive. Of the 72 editorials, 27.8% were on negative themes out of which Graphic did 35% (23.3% of its 30 editorials) and Chronicle the remaining 65% constituting 31% of its 42 editorials. Stand-alone cartoons, letters and photographs (all 19 published by Chronicle) were 42.1% negative/critical.

**Tone and Direction of Political Stories**

The study made a distinction between the tone and direction of stories analysed although both indicators measured the quality of coverage.

**Tone of Story**

Tone denoted civility/cordiality or belligerence/conflict in political stories. It was examined using seven measures: favourable or friendly tone; unfavourable or adversarial tone; neutral; exhortation or encouraging tone; admonition; flattery tone; and mocking/teasing or sarcastic tone.

Most news stories (38.1%) fell within the ‘neutral’ category and although ‘unfavourable or adversarial’ stories, with 22.5%, appeared second, combining ‘favourable/friendly’ stories (10.1%) with ‘exhortation or encouraging’ stories (15.6%) meant there were more news stories (25.7%) with favourable tones. The other categories received only minor scores: ‘admonition’ (6.4%), ‘sarcastic/teasing’ (6.2%), and ‘flattery’ (1.0%) as the chart shows.
Comparing the two newspapers on the variable ‘tone’, it was observed that in both periods, the highest number of stories – 31.5% in the first and 43.6% in the second period - was scored under the category ‘neutral’. As regards the other categories, during the first period of the study Graphic published more ‘favourable’ news stories (23.3%) than Chronicle (4.5%) while the latter published far more ‘unfavourable’ stories (32.4%) than Graphic (12.3%). Indeed, of the 22 “favourable” stories of that period, Chronicle published only 22.7%. The rest (77.3%) was published by Graphic. Conversely, of the 45 ‘unfavourable’ stories of the same period, Graphic published only 20% while Chronicle published the remaining 80%.

While most stories published by the Daily Graphic (38.4%) during this first period fell under the category ‘neutral’, followed by ‘favourable’ (23.3%) and ‘exhortation/encouraging’ tone (19.2%), the largest category in The Ghanaian Chronicle (32.4%) was ‘unfavourable’ followed by 27% ‘neutral’ and 16.2% ‘sarcastic/mocking’ tone.

In the second period, a different pattern emerged between the two newspapers. While ‘neutral’ stories in the Daily Graphic constituted 56.7% of its total coverage, the same category was only 28% of the coverage of The Ghanaian Chronicle of the same period. Favourable stories accounted for only 7.5% of Daily Graphic coverage, and constituted 10% of that of The Ghanaian Chronicle for the period. The three highest categories for each newspaper were: ‘neutral’, ‘exhortation/encouraging’ (18.3%) and ‘unfavourable’ (13.3%) for Graphic, and ‘unfavourable’ (30%), ‘neutral’ and ‘exhortation/encouraging’ (17%) for Chronicle. Indeed the highest percentage of ‘neutral’ stories during the entire study period appeared in the Daily Graphic while that of ‘unfavourable’ stories was found in The Ghanaian Chronicle.
Cross-tabulating 'tone of story' with the political party mentioned, title of newspaper and period in which such stories were published showed that those stories referring to the NPP fell mainly within the category 'neutral' while the NDC had more 'unfavourable' stories as Table 7 shows.

Table 7: Tone of News Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unfavourable/Stern/Adversarial</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admonition/Instructional</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| NPP                      | Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory | 0%                              | 8%                              | 25%                              | 20%                             |
|                          | Unfavourable/Stern/Adversarial   | 75%                             | 4%                              | 0%                                | 20%                             |
|                          | Neutral                         | 0%                              | 72%                             | 25%                              | 20%                             |
|                          | Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging  | 0%                              | 16%                             | 50%                              | 25%                             |
|                          | Admonition/Instructional        | 25%                             | 0%                              | 0%                                | 5%                              |
|                          | *Other                          | 0%                              | 0%                              | 0%                                | 10%                             |
| **Total**                |                                 | 100% (4)                        | 100% (25)                       | 100% (4)                         | 100% (20)                       |

*This category combines 'flattery/valedictory,' and 'sarcastic/teasing/mocking' and characterises The Ghanaian Chronicle stories only.

Interestingly, while Graphic stories referring to the NDC in the first period were largely 'favourable', 'neutral' and 'instructional', in the second period, they had become largely 'neutral' and 'unfavourable'. Out of four stories mentioning the NPP in the Daily Graphic
during the first period, three were ‘unfavourable’ to the NPP but of the same newspaper’s eight stories about the NDC in the same period, three were ‘favourable’. In the case of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, although it did most of the stories that mentioned the NDC overall, these were generally unfavourable to the party in both periods of the study. Its coverage of the NPP, however, had a largely ‘encouraging or urging’, ‘favourable or friendly’, or at least a ‘neutral’ tone overall.

*Graphic* tended to suit its tone to the ruling party. In the first period, 1993-1994, when the NDC was in power, *Graphic* stories that mentioned it were largely favourable while those that referred to the opposition NPP were generally unfavourable. During the second period when the NPP was in power, however, *Graphic* stories that referred to it became largely favourable while those that referred to the NDC had become unfavourable and at best neutral. *Chronicle* was, however, consistent in both periods publishing unfavourable stories about the NDC while it appeared sympathetic to the NPP referring to that party in encouraging and neutral stories.

*Direction of Story*

Direction of a news story was interpreted in terms of the positive, implying either a solution to a problem or a desired move while in the negative, it was seen as either a source of problems or a wrong move. As regards the direction of news stories, there was a relatively even spread among the three categories used in the study: positive news (31.9%); negative news (35.4%); and neutral (32.7%) in relation to the two newspapers and both study periods.

Chart 6 compares the two newspapers on the “direction of political items” over the entire study period and shows that while *Graphic* published most of the positive and neutral items overall, *Chronicle* did most of the negative ones.
Looking at each newspaper separately, it was observed that *Chronicle* carried most of the negative items in both periods: 81.9% in 1993-1994 and 67.6% in 2001-2002 representing 53.2% and 48% respectively of its total coverage for each period. Conversely, *Graphic* carried most of the positive items in both periods of the study: 59.2% in the first and 65% in the second. This meant that *Graphic* covered more positive stories in the second (43.3%) than the first (39.7%) period. It also had a higher percentage (42.5%) of 'neutral' stories in the first than the second period during which 'neutral' items made up 37.5% of its total coverage (though still higher than in *Chronicle*). Between the two newspapers, *Chronicle* carried more 'neutral' stories (50.8%) than *Graphic* (49.2%) in the first period while *Graphic* published far more 'neutral' stories (65.2%) than *Chronicle* (34.8%) in the second period.
Examining "direction of story" in relation to the two newspapers' coverage of the two political parties, Chronicle published most of the negative stories that mentioned the NDC and the NPP in both periods of the study although most of its positive stories referred to the NPP as Table 8 indicates.

Table 8: Direction of Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Positive News</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative News</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Positive News</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative News</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graphic again provided the most interesting case by matching the ‘direction’ of its news stories to ruling political parties. During the first period when the NDC was in political power, one half of Graphic stories that referred to it were positive with none for the then opposition NPP. However, in its coverage during the second period when the NPP was in power, Graphic stories that referred to it were 56% positive and, symmetrically, no positives for the NDC. Similarly, negative reports in which the two parties were mentioned had overwhelmingly high percentages when the parties were in opposition: 100% for the NPP in 1993-1994 and 70% for the NDC in 2001-2002.
On the whole, however, out of a total of 29 Graphic stories that referred to the NPP, 48.3% were positive, 34.5% neutral and only 17.2% negative. As regards its 18 stories mentioning the NDC, 50% were negative, 27.8% neutral and only 22.2% positive. In the case of the Chronicle, 50% of its 24 news stories that mentioned the NPP were positive while 25% apiece were negative and neutral. Chronicle’s 63 news stories that specifically mentioned the NDC were largely negative (58.7%), 28.6% neutral and only 12.7% positive.

Therefore, in terms of the “direction of political stories”, again the two newspapers acted characteristically: Chronicle carried most of the negative news stories about the NDC and the NPP in both periods of the study while Graphic carried most of the positive news stories. Chronicle also published most of the positive stories that referred to the NPP in the two periods while Graphic again vacillated matching the direction of its stories to the ruling government and its political party. Most of its stories in 1993-1994 were favourable towards the then ruling NDC government while in 2001-2002, they were favourable to the ruling NPP. On the whole, with reference to the two political parties, the two newspapers together published more neutral political stories than any other category in both study periods.

Overall, “direction of story” followed the pattern of “tone of story”. The Ghanaian Chronicle stories were, by and large, unfavourable to the NDC but encouraging to the NPP in both periods of the study, and Graphic stories in the first period were favourable to the NDC and unfavourable to the NPP but became favourable to the NPP and unfavourable to the NDC in the second. Similarly, with regard to the “direction of story”, while Graphic showed its lack of consistency by oscillating between the two parties, Chronicle maintained its negative stance towards Rawlings’ NDC government and somewhat positive but largely neutral stance towards Kufuor’s NPP administration. It is, therefore, appropriate to call it Graphic bias
towards ruling governments (rather than Rawlings’ government) and *Chronicle* bias against Rawlings’ NDC (rather than bias towards Kufuor’s NPP per se).

Use of Qualitative Labels

Some news stories, and especially editorials, made use of adjectives and other qualifiers sometimes intended to embellish and colour rather than elucidate or enhance the clarity and comprehension of those stories. The majority of political news stories and editorials in both periods of the study – 62% in 1993-1994, and 54.1% in 2001-2002 – contained qualitative labels (adjectives sometimes used in their superlative forms, adverbs and adverbial clauses). During the first period, only 38% of a total of 184 items did not contain any such labels, and although this increased during the second period to 45.9% out of 220 stories, it still fell below the percentage of stories that used qualifiers.

*The Ghanaian Chronicle* made the most use of qualifiers in both periods of the study. Overall, 77% of its total coverage of 211 stories contained qualitative labels while only 37% of *Daily Graphic* stories for the entire study period (193 stories) used labels. Out of 111 political items *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published in 1993-1994, only 23.4% (26 stories) did not contain any qualitative labels. The 76.6% (85 stories) that contained such labels often used them in many multiples. While all four (4) items referring to the NPP contained labels, as many as 73.7% (28) of the 38 that referred to the NDC contained such descriptions. For the same period, 1993-1994, 39.7% (29) of the 73 items published by the *Daily Graphic* contained such labels while 60.3% (44 stories) had none. As regards *Daily Graphic* stories mentioning the NPP and the NDC, an equal percentage: 5.5% (4 stories apiece) used qualitative labels, although the NDC was referred to in twice as many stories as the NPP. Similarly, during the second period (2001-2002), out of *Chronicle*’s total of 100 items, 77%
made abundant use of qualitative labels while 35% (42 stories) of the Daily Graphic's 120 contained such labels. Importantly, however, 65% (78 items) of total Graphic coverage for the period used no labels. Out of its 42 stories that used labels, 19% (8) referred to the NPP while 9.5% (4) mentioned the NDC. In The Ghanaian Chronicle of the same period, 19.5% (15) of stories with qualitative labels mentioned the NPP while 27.3% (21) referred to the NDC.

In some news stories of the first period, although Chronicle did not explicitly mention the NDC by name, enough references were made to identify it as the object of ridicule. For instance, Chronicle reports that Ghana's first Parliament has been “variously described as rubber stamp, Soviet style and even drab and uninventive” (Monday, March 8 – Sunday, March 14 1993, p. 8). And so in an article on the first Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, Chronicle describes some Members of Parliament as ‘dangerous misfits’, the situation as a ‘mistake’ and a ‘misfortune’ arising out of ‘most controversial elections’, which resulted in a ‘banana parliament’. Seats in the First Parliament were predominantly taken up by the Progressive Alliance comprising the NDC (189), NCP (8), and EGLE (1) with two independent members after opposition parties boycotted the elections of 1992.\footnote{In the parliamentary elections held on December 29 1992, the Progressive Alliance made up of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the National Convention Party (NCP) and the EGLE Party won 198 seats out of a total of 200, with the remaining 2 seats going to Independent candidates. Within the Progressive Alliance, the NDC won 189 seats, the NCP had 8, and the EGLE Party had one. Four political parties - the New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's National Convention (PNC), National Independent Party (NIP) and the People's Heritage Party (PHP) - boycotted the parliamentary elections, dissatisfied with the proposed election strategy and accusing the NDC of rigging the presidential elections held earlier.}

In an editorial that directly mentioned the NDC, Chronicle described it as having a ‘lopsided parliament’ whose executive is ‘contemptuous of a Constitution’, and referred to a ‘recycled minister’ who together had caused ‘blunders’ due to their ‘inexperience’ and thus generated
"open disenchantment" among a people who have to swallow the 'unpalatable ... bitter pill' (October 4 1993). In another editorial (December 13 1993), it used such words as a 'lethargic Parliament', which is engaged in 'politricks' over 'highly contentious' issues and 'surreptitiously' passing 'ill-intentioned, obnoxious laws' that serve as a 'noose' to 'strangle' political opponents. In direct reference to the leaders of the NDC who also happen to be the leaders of the erstwhile PNDC and leaders/supporters of its predecessor June 4 (AFRC), the Chronicle in its editorial of April 18 1994 uses such language as people with 'populist ideas, gratifying bloodletting as the only alleviatory way'. To the newspaper, these people are engaged in 'slash and burn', the result of their 'farrago of ill-conceived ideas', describing them as people who endorse 'heinous and bloody military offensives'.

*The Ghanaian Chronicle*, much more than the *Daily Graphic*, often contrasted activities and actions of the NDC and its leadership with those of the NPP. *Chronicle*’s flair for qualitative labels, indeed, showed through these comparisons and contrasts, and sometimes also, through its use of spin. In many stories, especially editorials, *Chronicle* compares the NPP with the NDC usually in an attempt to expose and/or highlight what the newspaper perceives to be characteristics Ghanaians generally abhor about the NDC and possible reasons for the party’s ouster. Several editorials of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* especially of 2001 tended to make comparisons between the NDC and the NPP in very direct ways. The editorial of Thursday, July 26 2001 (p. 4) headlined: "The Rambo-Style Seizure of a Cab: Is the Public Taking Note?" contains the following statements:

One of the bitterest charges against the Rawlings regime had to do with their sense and acts of arbitrariness. They always saw things only from their perspective and did what convened them alone. ... Men like Akwasi Agyeman and Dr Tony Aidoo, both of the former ruling government, fell out of favour with a decent chunk of the electorate ... just because of acts like the one perpetrated by the Honourable Minister ... Zero tolerance for corruption must not be made an empty slogan like those we have heard for the last twenty years.
The paper concludes with an indirect reference to the (P) NDC (combining the PNDC and the NDC governments) of Ex-President Jerry Rawlings, which altogether ruled Ghana for 19 years. Another vivid example is provided by the newspaper’s front-page story of Monday, September 10 2001 headlined: “Minister in Blackmail Tango...” in which it describes the two political parties as “vanquished NDC” and “victorious NPP”.

Some of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s stories also sometimes used sarcasm to drive home these comparisons much more forcefully than they would otherwise have been. These are usually seen in the conclusions to those stories as demonstrated by the concluding parts of its “We Are at War” story of October 18-24 1993, which reads as follows:

As things stand now, General Quainoo seems to prefer the cultural atmosphere of the commission to the dangers of peace-keeping in Monrovia, or the boredom of an army pensioner’s life, and is not about to rest his sword nor his case. Dr Abdallah on the other hand is not prepared to beat his retreat to life as a full-time teacher in the dusty Legon lecture rooms. Call it a stalemate.

*Chronicle* made abundant use of adjectives and other qualifiers to paint and depict scenes in many of its news stories thereby giving visual impressions of pictures it tried to convey. Even some otherwise neutral stories carried qualitative labels that tended to suggest specific tones. In its account of President Kufuor’s first visit to Kumasi as President of Ghana, *Chronicle* demonstrated its flair for manipulative language to convey the desired visual effect in the portrayal of events through news reports. Headlined: “Kufuor’s visit: What Happened …” *Chronicle*’s front-page main news story of February 20–21 2001 contained the following:

By the time the President hit the garden city (?), the motorcade had to slow down as he meandered his way through a mass of humanity with richly dressed men removing their shirts to clean his car, women carpeting the street with their cloths until the entourage finally arrived at Manhyia, the Otumfuo’s residence.
Furthermore, through the frequent use of qualifiers, *Chronicle* sometimes succeeded in putting a spin on some of its straight news stories thereby making them more or less favourable or unfavourable than they otherwise would be. Though the sample provided relatively fewer examples of cases of spin, these demonstrated the newspaper’s use of exaggerations through qualifiers. All examples of the use of spin are from 2002, which falls within the first administration of the NPP regime of President Kufuor. A “front-page other news story” of Tuesday, November 12 2002 headlined: *Kufuor Tells GIAC Delegates: “Be Blunt with Your Views”* begins:

President John Agyekum Kufuor yesterday demonstrated his administration’s willingness to accept positive criticisms that will help move the development of this nation forward when he told members of the Ghana Investment Advisory Council not to refine their opinions on current policy reform and their impact on investor climate into ‘official speak’.

Similarly, the front-page main news story of the same issue titled: “NPP Internal Violence Continues: MP and Delegate Exchange Blows ... Dan Botwe Intervenes” opens thus:

Last Saturday, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) experienced yet another wrangling when its Member of Parliament (MP) for Akwapim South, Seth Wiafe Danquah, engaged in blows with a delegate of the party, Kingsley Nyinah ... As readers would recall, several news reports have recently revealed the wrangling in the party ...

The Wednesday, December 18 2002 front-page story titled: “Owuraku Amofa Coming for NDC Congress” spins around the Amofa-Rawlings confrontations and uses several qualitative labels to announce a simple issue of the possible return of Owuraku Amofa, a former Minister in Rawlings’ NDC Government, from the United States for the impending NDC congress. The story also contains some comparisons between Owuraku Amofa and Nana Akufo Addo (Ghana’s current Minister of Foreign Affairs and occupant of Amofa’s former seat in Parliament) as well as some historical facts about events leading to Owuraku Amofa’s exit from Ghana.
It will be all surprises the array of personalities who will be converging in Accra to elect a flag bearer for Ghana’s leading opposition party, besides the shocks that could culminate in fufus, kenkeys and tuo zaafis going waste after the votes have been counted and the battle lost and won. Blockbuster politician, Owuraku Amofa, the man who physically stood up to the tantrums of Mr Jerry John Rawlings on the eve of the Kufuor victory and flew out of the country unceremoniously, will be crash-landing at the Kotoka International Airport ... the swash buckling EGLE man will be leading a pack of US-based faithful to do what he Owuraku Amofa is good at – stirring controversy – and, ultimately ‘putting sand into the gari of ex-President Rawlings’ ... Owuraku Amofa lost in the 1996 parliamentary elections to Nana Akufo Addo in an electoral drama that involved an alleged attempt to spirit away ballot boxes and a resultant sabre-rattling between the two smooth talking, extrovert Okyeman lawyers. ... Peeved and angry, Owuraku Amofa, with tail tucked between his legs, vanished from the country amidst speculation, melodrama and controversy, as party people kept denying ...

Assessed on the quality (positive nature) of qualitative labels used in items referring to the two political parties, there were differences between the two newspapers and the two periods. The Daily Graphic’s labels tended to be generally civil and neutral in tone throughout the study thus giving none of the two parties/regimes an edge over the other in its overall coverage. However, The Ghanaian Chronicle’s coverage of Rawlings’ regime (evident in its coverage of 1993-1994, when Rawlings was in power), and of the NDC as a political party, was more critical and contained more strident labels. Therefore, in the use of qualitative labels, both Graphic and Chronicle again acted in character, consistent at both periods of the study and not necessarily to the benefit of any ruling government and its party. On this score, it could be said that Graphic gave generally positive and favourable coverage to governments and their activities but the reverse is not entirely true of the Chronicle.

Overall, none of the two regimes/parties - the NDC and the NPP – had an edge over the other in terms of the number of qualifiers from either the Daily Graphic or The Ghanaian Chronicle. Although, during the second period, Graphic used more labels in stories that referred to the NPP than the NDC, in The Ghanaian Chronicle of the same period, the ruling NPP had fewer labels than the opposition NDC. Generally, however, The Ghanaian...
Chronicle showed a lot of bias against the NDC in both periods of the study through the many negative and unfavourable qualifiers it used in reference to that party.

Prominence of Political Stories

The prominence newspapers gave to particular regimes (political parties) and their activities was assessed through: size/length of the story, placement, story enhancement (especially photographs), and the size/length of the enhancement. These, together with indicators that measured the amount/extent of coverage (number of stories, political party mentioned, actors and sources used), and those measuring quality of coverage (theme, tone, direction and qualitative labels) also showed newspaper biases and priorities.

Size/Length of Story

Using the “size or length of story” variable, it was observed that there were shorter news stories for the NDC and longer ones for the NPP in the two newspapers in both periods of the study. Measurement of the lengths of stories showed that the highest percentage of 17.1% was of stories “between a full page and half-a-page” as one category although nearly three quarters (72%) of all items analysed were of a quarter-page and above. Overall, however, story sizes were evenly spread among the various measures used in the study except for “full page” stories, which constituted less than three per cent of the total.

As regards lengths of news stories/items carried by the two newspapers in which the two main political parties were either mentioned or referred to, Table 9 provides some insights.
Table 9: Size/Length of Political Story/Item by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Graphic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half to Full</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/3 to Half</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/4 to 1/3</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/8 to 1/4</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 1/8</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Graphic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half to Full</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/3 to Half</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/4 to 1/3</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/8 to 1/4</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 1/8</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total P</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows that during the first period of the study, political news stories/items tended to be generally shorter (less than a quarter-page in size) than the second period. Shorter stories constituted 37% of items analysed in 1993-1994 and 20.4% in 2001-2002. The two newspapers' coverage of the two political parties over the two study periods showed 74.2% lengthier stories measuring a quarter page and above while 25.8% were shorter in 1993-1994. In 2001-2002, 81.1% were lengthier and 18.9% shorter. Lengthier stories, some of which ran over a page were more elaborate, expansive and often tackled issues reported from various angles and/or perspectives. Both newspapers carried more political stories with lengthier sizes (quarter-page and above) in 2001-2002 (when the NPP was in power) than in 1993-

---

5Through the sheer length of coverage of individual stories and the prominence given to them, the Ghanaian Chronicle sometimes showed its interest in politics. Some Chronicle news stories covered more than one page in length meaning that those stories were sometimes the only ones on the front-page or if there were others, those occupied very little space while the main stories took substantial portions of subsequent pages. Examples of these lengthy stories were:

- August 1 1994: “Kwesi Botchwey has Child with Canadian High Commissioner ...”
- September 10 2001: “Minister in Blackmail Tango ...”
- August 30 2002: “Blay-Miezah’s Billions: $950m Traced to Swiss-Dutch Banks ... PNDC Missed $50m in ‘84” (a story of about one-and-a-half pages).
1994 (when the NDC was in power). For *Chronicle*, it was 81% of lengthier stories in 2001-2002 and 61.2% in 1993-1994; and for *Graphic*, 78.4% lengthier stories in 2001-2002 and 65.8% in 1993-1994. Whereas *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more of the lengthier stories (81%) than the *Daily Graphic* (78.4%) in 2001-2002, the latter published more such stories (65.8%) in 1993-1994 than the former with 61.2%.

With reference to the two political parties, *Chronicle* stories that mentioned the NDC were longer than both its stories that mentioned the NPP and *Graphic* stories that referred to the NDC implying that *Chronicle* (not *Graphic*) did lengthier stories on Rawlings’ government and party. In fact, *Graphic* stories that mentioned the NPP were generally longer than those that referred to the NDC. Stories in which the NDC was mentioned tended to be relatively shorter than those in which the NPP was mentioned during both periods of the study.

In the first period, 39.1% of all stories that referred to the NDC measured less than a quarter of a page while only 12.5% of those that mentioned the NPP were of that size. Similarly, during the second period, though the gap had narrowed between the two parties, the NDC still had 20% of stories that made references to it measuring less than a quarter of a page while 17.8% of NPP stories were of that measurement. Consequently, being the most mentioned political party did not translate into longer news stories/items for the NDC, which did not enjoy much prominence on the variable “size of news story”. There was, indeed, a higher percentage of shorter stories (37%) in 1993-1994 (when it was in power) than in 2001-2002 (20.4%).
Story Placement

Placement of front-page stories distinguished mainly between “front-page main news story” and “front-page other news story”, which were both straight news stories. Other categories were: stand-alone cartoons, photographs, letters or circulars, and editorials, which usually appeared on specific pages of the two newspapers. Most front-page political items (47.5%) belonged to the category, “front-page other news” stories, which were more predominant than any other in both newspapers in all four years of the study. Slightly less than one third of all stories analysed (30%) fell within the “front-page main news” category. Editorials constituted 17.8% while cartoons and photocopies of letters, documents and circulars made up 4.7%. Straight news stories (“front-page main news story” and “front-page other news story”), therefore, had much higher percentages than all other categories.

Examining the two newspapers across the two study periods, the Daily Graphic published slightly more straight news stories (‘main news’ and ‘other news’ categories taken together) than The Ghanaian Chronicle. Chart 7 provides a comparison of the two newspapers on the variable “story placement”.

---

9 In 1993 and 1994, Ghanaian Chronicle editorials frequently appeared on page 5 with the exception of its May 17-23 1993 edition in which the editorial was on page 6. However, in both 2001 and 2002, Chronicle's editorial pages were most inconsistent vacillating among pages 2, 3, 4 and 5. For its part, Daily Graphic, which in 1993 was called People's Daily Graphic, referred to its editorial as "Comment" and published it on page 2. By 1994, the newspaper had reverted to its former name of Daily Graphic, renamed its “Comment” “Editorial” and published it on page 5. In both 2001 and 2002, Graphic editorial was consistently published on page 7.
As regards specific details, whereas Chronicle did more “front-page main news stories” (57%) than Graphic with 43%, the latter did more in the “front-page other news” category (57.8%) than the former (42.2%). The two newspapers together published more front-page news stories during the second period of the study (82.3%) than the first (71.8%) although in the specific case of the Daily Graphic, more “front-page main news” stories (28.8%) were published in the first period than the second during which it published 25.8% in that category. Chronicle also published 58.3% of all editorials while Graphic published the remaining 41.7%.

Comparing newspapers and political parties on “story placement”, it was observed that overall; the NDC was mentioned in more front-page stories, both in the “main news” and
“other news” categories, than the NPP. However, in the second period, *Graphic* published more front-page stories that referred to the NPP than the NDC as Table 10 shows. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more political items that mentioned the two political parties on its front-page than the *Daily Graphic*.

Table 10: Story Placement by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N DC</td>
<td>Front-Page Main News Story</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front-Page Other News Story</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial/Comment Page/Column</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front-Page Cartoon, Circular Letter/Photograph/Rejoinder</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>Front-Page Main News Story</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front-Page Other News Story</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial/Comment Page/Column</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front-Page Cartoon, Circular Letter/Photograph/Rejoinder</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study showed that, overall, the NDC was mentioned in more front-page items than the NPP. *Chronicle* published more of these stories than *Graphic* except in the second period when *Graphic* published more front-page stories that referred to the NPP than the NDC. *Graphic*, characteristically, provided evidence of bias for ruling governments using “story placement” as an indicator while *Chronicle* showed no bias, not even towards the NPP.
Story Enhancements

The majority of news stories (61.9%) had no enhancements. Among those that had, more than a third (33.7%) used photographs. Cartoons, coded either as stand-alone political stories or enhancements constituted only 4.0% while photocopies of documents/letters made up 0.5% of total story enhancements.

Table 11: Type of Story Enhancement by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Photographs</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cartoons</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Photocopy of Letter, Circular, or Document</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Photographs</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cartoons</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Photocopy of Letter, Circular, or Document</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cross-tabulating type of story enhancement with title of newspaper, period of publication and political party mentioned in the story as contained in Table 11 helped to direct the focus of story prominence since enhancements served to highlight stories. Table 11 shows that The Ghanaian Chronicle used more enhancements than the Daily Graphic or that Graphic used fewer enhancements, on the whole, than Chronicle at both periods of the study. Although
more enhancements were used in the second period by both newspapers, within newspapers there was not much change in their use between periods so far as it related to the same political party. Most enhancements in both newspapers accompanied stories that referred to the NDC during both study periods totalling 41.3% in 1993-1994, and 51.5% in 2001-2002. Conversely, only 25% (1993-1994) and 31.1% (2001-2002) of enhancements were used in stories that referred to the NPP. However, the fact that more enhancements were used in the second period suggests some level of projection of the NPP government.

As regards the direction of enhancements, 35.3% of all photographs accompanied negative news stories: 89.6% published by *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and only 10.4% by the *Daily Graphic*. Cartoons, all 16 of which were in the *Chronicle*, were 31.3% negative portrayals of people, places and events just as the two photocopied documents in the *Chronicle* were also both critical and accompanied negative news items. Finally, of all 250 stories that had no enhancements, 26% were negative: 36.9% published by the *Daily Graphic* (representing 16.8% of its total of 143) while 63.1% was published by the *Chronicle* and constituted 38.3% of its total of 107 items without enhancements.

In relation to the size of enhancements, there was not much to compare either within the same newspaper or between the two newspapers over the two study periods. Out of the 154 enhancements used, 61% measured less than one-eighth of a page. In fact, over 90% of all enhancements measured less than a quarter of a page.

**Prevailing Journalistic/Media Environment**

The level of media freedom and of expression, and government-media relationships were important components of this study. Looking closely at Ghanaian realities, it was expected
that Kufuor's NPP government would relate more positively with the media and thereby provide a more congenial and liberal media environment with greater access to information sources than Rawlings' NDC government. The environment within which journalists operated during the study period was examined through both document and content analyses. Content analysis examined the use of by-lines in news stories, and the event or occasion of coverage.

Use of Story By-lines

In a libertarian environment, one expects a higher degree of disclosure of the identity of journalists along with the stories they write. The use of by-lines in news stories was, thus, studied to determine whether journalists or reporters identified themselves with stories they wrote. The variable was assessed using three values: "personal names" of reporters, "non-personal names", and "no by-lines".

On the whole, 62.1% of political news stories studied bore the personal names of reporters as by-lines although as many as 35.6% had no by-lines. Non-personal name by-lines recorded only 2.2% of total coverage. Chart 8 illustrates the two newspapers' use of by-lines. Non-personal names included tags such as "Our Economic Desk/Staff", "Our Political Desk", "Our Political Reporter", "Graphic Reporter", or "Chronicle Reporter" and others such as "Our Swat Team", or "Deep-Throat Sources". The high percentage use of personal name by-lines indicates that reporters largely identified themselves with news stories they wrote thereby suggesting either an enabling media environment or boldness of journalists.
Since the use of by-lines was one crucial way of determining the prevailing media atmosphere, it was important to establish, through it, which of the two political administrations under study provided a more congenial atmosphere for media work. It was, indeed, important to find out under which regime personal names more frequently were used as by-lines in order to estimate how free or otherwise reporters/journalists felt. Consequently, the “use of by-lines” variable was cross-tabulated with the three key variables of the study: political party mentioned in the story, title of newspaper and the period of publication. Table 12 provides such details.
Table 12: Types of By-lines used in News Stories by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Personal Name of Reporter</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not Personal Name</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No By-line</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Personal Name of Reporter</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not Personal Name</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No By-line</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table indicates that more personal name by-lines were used during the second period of the study (2001-2002) than the first (1993-1994). Between the two newspapers, *Chronicle* had more stories that used personal names of reporters as by-lines. This was consistent in both periods of the study despite its equally high percentage incidence of “no by-lines” and the fact that its use of personal name by-lines equalled that of the *Daily Graphic* in the second period.

In relation to each political party over the two study periods, more personal name by-lines (for the two periods collectively) were in reference to the NDC. However, during the second period, stories that referred to the NPP were more directly identified by personal names than those mentioning the NDC. The *Chronicle* was largely consistent in its use of personal name by-lines. It used 31.6% and 25.4% in stories referring to the NDC in the first and second periods respectively, and 3.5% in the first and 15.5% in the second in stories that mentioned 198
the NPP. In both periods, therefore, it used fewer personal name by-lines in stories that mentioned the NPP and more in those mentioning the NDC.

The *Daily Graphic*, for its part, published more stories with personal name by-lines in relation to ruling parties though a lot more in the case of the NPP: 7.9% in reference to the NDC in 1993-1994 with none for the NPP and 25.9% for the NPP and 8.2% for the NDC during the second period. Evidently, this picture of the use of by-lines does little to substantiate the theory of fear of some political parties and their regimes. Also, it does not indicate much of the prevailing media climate.

**Occasion or Event of Coverage**

The study looked at the occasions or events featured in news stories to find out whether coverage was as a result of planned or unplanned events (Molotch & Lester, 1974), a distinction considered relevant in estimating the degree of independence or autonomy journalists have (Bennett & Livingston, 2003; Livingston & Bennett, 2003; Schudson, 2000). The study assessed this variable using five main values: information subsidies (borrowing from Gandy, 1982), journalists in official entourage, journalistic newsgathering, social/religious ceremonies, and other/miscellaneous occasions.

Information subsidies constituted 25.2% of coverage. Included in this category were press conferences, press interviews or briefings, press releases or statements, conference or workshop resolutions, and other statements made directly available to the media. The rest of the values, though subdivided into four categories, constituted coverage resulting from reporters' own newsgathering efforts whether in official entourage or attending state organised or any other official function. These subdivisions were: journalists in official
entourage (8.2%), journalistic newsgathering (52.5%), social or religious events coverage (3.2%) and miscellaneous occasions (10.9%).

Overall, journalists/reporters on their own gathered more news than was given to them as information subsidies, which formed a little over a quarter of all news items carried by the two newspapers. Chart 9 graphically illustrates the occasions/events reported by the two newspapers.

Chart 9: Occasion or Event of Political Coverage by the Two Newspapers

In relation to events or occasions covered in each period by each newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* used more information subsidies in the second period (34.2%) than the first (19.2%) although in both periods, its use of “journalistic newsgathering” surpassed that of subsidies: 61.6% in 1993-1994 and 47.5% in 2001-2002. Similarly, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s use of “journalistic newsgathering” in both study periods was remarkable: 45.9% in the first period
and 59% in the second thereby sharply contrasting with its use of “information subsidies” for the two periods: 22.5% in 1993-1994 and 22% in 2001-2002. This means that Chronicle used slightly more subsidies during the first than the second period, in contrast to Graphic, which used more in the second than the first.

Table 13: Occasions or Events Covered by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Information Subsidies</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalists in Official Entourage</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalistic Newsgathering</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous Occasions</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Information Subsidies</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalists in Official Entourage</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalistic Newsgathering</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous Occasions</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards events or occasions of coverage that involved each political party, it was observed that while Graphic used more information subsidies from the NPP, Chronicle used more from the NDC. Out of a total of 17 information subsidies referring to the NPP, Graphic published 76.5% while the Chronicle published 73.7% of 19 subsidies that mentioned the NDC. Of Graphic’s 29 stories referring to the NPP, 44.8% were information subsidies.
whereas of Chronicle’s 24, only 16.7% constituted subsidies from the NPP. Conversely, of
Graphic’s total of 18 news stories referring to the NDC, only 27.8% constituted information
subsidies. The greater percentage of 72.2% was from the newspaper’s own journalistic
newsgathering.

Similarly, of 63 news stories mentioning the NDC, The Ghanaian Chronicle used only
22.2% subsidy while the remaining 77.8% constituted news from its journalistic activity.
Total NPP subsidy in the two newspapers amounted to 32.1%, and 23.5% for the NDC. The
NPP was thus mentioned in more stories published as a result of information subsidies than
the NDC. Chronicle used more subsidies in stories about the NDC than the NPP (especially
in 1993-1994) while Graphic used more subsidies in stories that mentioned the NPP than the
NDC (especially in 2001-2002). Overall, Graphic used more information subsidies (53.9%)
than Chronicle (46.1%).

The Daily Graphic published more political stories generated through its reporters’ inclusion
in select press teams accompanying government officials in overall coverage (78.8%) than
The Ghanaian Chronicle with only 21.2%. This was a rather revealing category because
during the first period, which fell under President Rawlings’ administration, private
journalists were hardly invited on official trips. The situation, however, changed under
President Kufuor, to allow journalists from the private media to accompany the President and
his appointees on official trips. Examining this category within the same newspaper in a
period-specific manner, revealed that while in the case of Graphic there was only a marginal
change – 46.2% during the first period and 53.8% during the second – the change was huge
in the case of The Ghanaian Chronicle - 14.3% in the first period and 85.7% in the second.
**Document Analyses**

Documents studied: parliamentary proceedings, court records, NMC reports, Sessional Addresses and Ghanaian political and media studies by researchers including Asante (1996) and Anokwa (1997), provide indications of different government-media relationships.

**Different Government Attitudes towards the Media**

Table 14 lists Ghanaian political regimes since independence and provides a summary of their relationships with the media based on the authoritarian-libertarian theoretical model as indicated by the documents studied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Regime Type</th>
<th>Regime Name</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Relationship with Media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03/1957-02/1966</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Dr Kwame Nkrumah</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/1966-1969</td>
<td>Military/Police</td>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>Gen. J.A. Ankrah &amp; Gen. A.A. Afrifa</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08/1969-01/1972</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Dr K.A. Busia</td>
<td>Libertarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/1979-09/1979</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>AFRC</td>
<td>Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/1979-12/1981</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>Dr Hilla Limann</td>
<td>Libertarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/1982-01/1993</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>PNDC</td>
<td>Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/1993-01/2001</td>
<td>*Constitutional</td>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings</td>
<td>Pseudo-Libertarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/2001-to-date</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>Mr J.A. Kufuor</td>
<td>Libertarian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Military regime, which succeeded itself as a constitutional government.

**LEGEND**

- CPP – Convention People's Party
- NLC – National Liberation Council
- PP – Progress Party
- NRC – National Redemption Council
- SMC I – Supreme Military Council I
- SMC II – Supreme Military Council II
- AFRC – Armed Forces' Revolutionary Council
- PNP – People's National Party
- PNDC – Provisional National Defence Council
- NDC – National Democratic Congress
- NPP – New Patriotic Party
The relationship between the media and governments in Ghana has been tenuous and arduous and has varied depending on the governance style of the regime in power. According to Yankah (1997), tension between intellectuals (including journalists) and governments has been "worst during one-party, military, or constitutional dictatorships" (p. 32). All military regimes Ghana has had since independence in 1957 have tended to be authoritarian while the civilian regimes, with the exception of Nkrumah's government, have been largely liberal in spite of occasional slips (Anokwa, 1997). "The military regimes, which took control in 1966 and ruled for 20 of the next 26 years until 1992, were repressive and showed little tolerance for media pluralism and press freedom" (Karikari, 2000, p. 11).

According to Yankah (1997), the situation improved "considerably under multi-party democracies, where an enabling atmosphere for co-operation has tended to prevail" (p. 32). Concluding his study of press performance under civilian and military regimes in Ghana, Anokwa (1997) noted: "The evidence points to an authoritarian method of control under the governments of Nkrumah, Afrifa, Acheampong, Akuffo and Rawlings' AFRC and PNDC" (p. 25). All these, except Nkrumah's, were military governments that came to power through coups d'état. The converse of Anokwa's observation should be that the governments of Busia's PP; Limann's PNP; Rawlings' NDC; and Kufuor's NPP have tended to be liberal. This inference is, however, not exactly true as the present study indicates.

**Constitutional and Legal Provisions for Political Reporting**

Ghana's 1992 Constitution, and some existing legal provisions that predate it, have laid down guidelines for political reporting meant to ensure fairness and equal access. These provisions include: 1) Article 55(11) and (12); 2) Article 163; 3) Article 21 (1)(f) (1992 Constitution);
4) NLCD 226 (9 (1) and (2)) (Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree); and 5) Section 19 of NMC Act (Act 449) of 1993. Specifically, each of these states as follows:

Article 55(11):
“The State shall provide fair opportunity to all political parties to present their programmes to the public by ensuring equal access to the state-owned media”.

Article 55(12):
“All presidential candidates shall be given the same amount of time and space on the state-owned media to present their programmes to the people”.

Article 163:
“All state-owned media shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions”.

Article 21 (1)(f):
“All persons shall have the right to - ...
(f) information, subject to such qualifications and laws as are necessary in a democratic society”.

NLCD 226 (9) (1):
“In its public service broadcasting, the Corporation is expected to provide for-

(a) Government pronouncements...;

(b) Party political speeches dealing with the views and policies of the various political parties (when they come into being);

(c) Speeches expressing different points of view on matters of controversy;
(d) Matters of any kind (including religious services or ceremonies) representing the main stream of religious thought or belief in the country.

(2) In its broadcasting of the items mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph the Corporation shall allocate and apportion air-time equitably between the parties, points of view and religious bodies according to their respective claims upon the interest of members of the public of Ghana”.

NLCD 226 is an existing law further reinforced by Article 163 of the 1992 Constitution. Articles 55 (11) and 163 amplify the fundamental human right of freedom of expression. This right is further realised through the right of access both to information for listeners, viewers and readers, and to political parties and politicians to use the mass media. Articles 55 (11) and (12) specifically apply to political parties and have special requirements for general and presidential elections. The use of phrases such as “equal access” and “same amount of time and space” is instructive. “The 1992 Constitution requires “fair coverage” of and “equal access” to the political parties…” (Karikari, 2000, p. 3). The rights conferred by Article 163 of the 1992 Constitution are subject under Article 164 only to laws reasonably required in the interest of national security, public order, public morality and for the purposes of protecting the reputations, rights and freedoms of other persons.

In addition to the above provisions, media institutions including the NMC have produced guidelines on political reporting aimed at guiding journalists in the coverage of politicians and their activities. “Journalists came up with guidelines for reporting elections fairly and for giving equal access to all the parties in the run-up to the elections as demanded by the country’s constitution …” (Karikari, 2000, p. 2). Similarly, periodic seminars and workshops organised on political reporting for journalists since the advent of democratic governance
have sought to sharpen the knowledge of journalists and to provide them with the necessary skills to discharge their duties professionally.

**NMC Cases**

The study examined complaints/cases brought before the NMC involving politicians and the media as an indication of media tolerance or intolerance. The cases suggested difficulties within the Ghanaian media operational environment and limitations/attacks on free expression. Due to organisational and operational difficulties, the NMC started receiving complaints in August 1993 although it was constituted in April 1993. For the purposes of this thesis and as recorded by the NMC itself, complaints received between August and December 1993, have been added to those received in 1994 (see Appendix 4). During that period, out of 33 complaints brought against the media, 15 were by politicians and public office holders. This figure rose to 16 out of 32 cases in 1995 and increased until 2002 when it began to decline as shown in Table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complainants* Political Party</th>
<th>NMC Politicians and Media Cases by Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PNDC/NDC</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCP</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ‘Others’ includes cases brought by officials of state institutions such as the ministries, military, police service, prisons service, judicial service, and the Serious Fraud Office.
The total number of cases rose to 94 in 2001 of which 28 involved politicians and other public office holders; and reduced to 50 in 2002 (18 by politicians) (see Appendices 5 & 6). In 2003, there was a further reduction of cases (47) of which 13 involved politicians. No cases were brought by politicians in the other registered political parties during the period.

**Court Cases**

Reductions in cases before the NMC were, however, inversely proportionate to cases brought against the media at the law courts. Between 1993 and 1996, although 169 complaints had been made to the Commission of which 154 had been settled amicably, many more cases went directly to court rather than to the NMC. Honourable M. A. Seidu, an NDC Member of Parliament on the first Media Commission indicated in a report to Parliament: “far too many cases still remain in the courts against journalists. For example, as many as fifty cases were filed in the courts in Accra alone between November 1993 and March 1996. It is unfortunate that only five have been fully settled so far” (*Parliamentary Debates*, Thursday, 13th June 1996, col. 339). Another NDC Member of Parliament, Mr A. Busomtwi-Sam (now deceased), estimated the number of cases at “over 70 libel suits in the courts of this country, and not the 50 that the Hon. Member mentioned” (*Parliamentary Debates*, Thursday, 13th June 1996, col. 346). He explained:

> this is the first time in our national history that we can have as many as 70 libel suits in the courts of our country. A review of the practice of libel issues in our courts from about 1960 or 1959 when the Ghana Law Reports started being published shows clearly that we have not had a development of the law of libel in this country just because there were not many libel suits. But within one and a half years we have as many as over 70 libel suits.

**Parliamentary Debates**

These reports provide daily records of proceedings in Parliament. Access to them was facilitated by officials of the Publications Unit of the Public Affairs Department of
Parliament who were contracted to examine and pull out all copies containing discussions on the media and/or the NMC. The identified copies were purchased from Parliament for study. For 1993/1994 and 2001/2002, only 17 copies identified contained discussions on the media and the majority of these related to the NMC Bill/Act 1993 (Act 449); NMC Amendment Bill/Constitution of Ghana (Amendment) Act 1996 (Act 527); NMC Complaints Settlement Procedure Regulations, 1994 (L.I. 1587); and NMC Annual Reports.

Although discussions of the NMC fall outside the remit of the present study, it is important to indicate that the NMC Bill sought to justify the establishment of the Commission within Ghana's constitutional democracy in compliance with provisions of Chapter 12 of the 1992 Constitution. The Bill spells out the functions, independence, composition and operations of the NMC among others. The Amendment sought to expand the Commission's membership from 15 to 18 and to disqualify political party office holders including founding members, leaders and executive members from serving on it. It also incorporated into the NMC membership representatives of the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD); Trades Union Congress (TUC); and the Association of Private Broadcasters.

Specific discussions about the mass media concerned "Nudity on Our Screens" (Col. 1823, Friday, 18th December, 1998) and extensive debates on "Supreme Court Order to Media Houses", which ran for several days. The entire debate on Thursday 13th June, 1996 centred on the performance of the NMC since its inception and the media.

Sessional Addresses

The 1992 Constitution mandates the President of Ghana to provide Parliament an account of the state of the nation once every year. These addresses, sometimes called 'Sessional
Address’ are at other times called ‘State of the Nation Address’. Four of these (1993, 1994, 2001, and 2002) were studied to assess mentions of the media by the two Presidents. In 1993, President Rawlings talked about “the need to broaden the composition of the National Media Commission to make it a truly democratic framework for regulating the activities of the media” (p. 16). Although he said “an environment of free exchange of views” (p. 38) was necessary for democracy, his address did not specifically mention the media. That of 1994 was rather more threatening: “Destructive, distorted and often outright untrue stories continue to fill some sections of the media with obvious political bias ... We need the media to contribute to the creation of a positive national democratic culture, propped by truth, objectivity and decency” (p. 2).

President Kufuor’s address of 2001 provided the good news for Ghanaian media practice.

Set free, I have no doubt our media will play their honourable role with a heightened sense of responsibility. We shall expand the boundaries of freedom by repealing the laws that criminalize speech and expression. Mr. Speaker, the Criminal Libel Law will be repealed as a mark of confidence in a responsible media.

However, that of 2002 discussed good governance from various perspectives but excluded any mention of the media. It talked about security, public services, local government, judiciary, legal services and many more sectors focusing on activities aimed at economic recovery without assigning any role for the media. The NPP government thus adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the media.

Summary
This chapter presented the findings of the study. It observed that more reports were published in the second than the first study period and that the privately owned The Ghanaian Chronicle published more political items than the state-owned Daily Graphic overall. As
regards coverage of the two political parties/regimes both while in government and in opposition, it was found that the *Daily Graphic* always suited the quality and amount of coverage to the ruling government/party while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* appeared to antagonise the NDC. Therefore, while the *Daily Graphic* showed bias for ruling parties/governments, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s bias was against the NDC but not necessarily in favour of the NPP and its government.

In both periods and in the two newspapers, there were shorter stories for the NDC and relatively longer ones for the NPP. Total amount of coverage, however, tilted in favour of the NDC with *Chronicle* doing most of the stories that referred to it. More qualitative labels were used in the second than the first period with the *Chronicle*, more so than *Graphic*, making the most use of these labels throughout the study. Overall, positive rather than negative news predominated all categories of themes and content profiles.

Examination of NMC complaints and other records, court cases/rulings, and other documents revealed the contrasting government-media philosophies/relations of the two regimes. In terms of the number of cases brought against the media at the NMC and the law courts as well as statements or actions concerning the media contained in court rulings, sessional addresses and parliamentary debates, the NDC demonstrated greater aversion towards the media than the NPP, which showed greater tolerance overall.

The next chapter discusses the above findings in relation to theory and literature. It examines and analyses the implications of these findings vis-à-vis the general Ghanaian media and political environment within the perspective of research questions advanced for the study.
CHAPTER SEVEN
POLITICAL REPORTING IN GHANA WITHIN A GLOBAL CONTEXT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

This study did not seek any generalisation, which Holsti (1969) and others find to be necessary for all scientific inquiry including content analysis. However, it is also conceded that results from scientific inquiries only become meaningful when they are compared with other results or situations. These include other attributes of the same materials or documents; materials produced by other sources; characteristics of the producers of the communication content; the contexts and times in which they lived or characteristics of the audience (Holsti, 1969). A key objective of this chapter is to discuss the findings of this study in this tradition of scientific enquiry. The findings are discussed using the four main factors earlier identified: the nature and level of reporting, the incumbency factor and its influence/effect on reporting, freedom of expression, and the relationship between government and the media.

Nature, Type and Level of Reporting/Coverage

Studies have distinguished several types of journalistic reporting including public affairs news, protocol news, developmental news, interpretive reporting, and investigative reporting. Mwesige (2004, p. 87), for instance, referred to news about the activities of the President, government ministers and appointees as ‘protocol news’ mainly found in the state media particularly radio. While the present study did not explore types of reporting as studied by Mwesige (2004) and others beyond distinguishing between main news and editorials, it observed the extent of the two newspapers’ coverage of such political actors. Classifications such as above would be superfluous given the study’s obvious remit of studying coverage of politicians and their activities, which meant studying exactly what Mwesige (2004, p. 87)
called ‘protocol news’. In this regard, the Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Chronicle were studied to explore how much of their reporting on Presidents, governments, ministers, political appointees and their activities focused on each of the two political regimes/parties. Indeed, overall coverage of these political actors constituted over three-quarters (75.3%) of total coverage: President and Vice-President (23.5%), Ministers of State (27%), and political party functionaries (24.8%). All other actors reported in political news stories including non-party state officials (directors of ministries and officials of state-owned corporations and boards, among others) had lower percentages.

Some types of reporting were evident. While the Daily Graphic appeared to engage in development journalism, The Ghanaian Chronicle’s approach to political news reporting was reminiscent of Tanzania’s journalistic overhaul changing from “development journalism to the press as a vehicle for public information and government criticism” (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 13). The distinction between the two newspapers was accentuated by their reporting styles: conventional Graphic versus unconventional (or controversial?) Chronicle. The use of misplaced or wrong photographs of Ministers of State and other key politicians in news stories, which did not directly concern them, and the use of inappropriate and/or misleading headlines, amounted to what Mwesige (2004) referred to as “controversial reporting practices” (p. 91). There were also many cases of insults, innuendoes, libellous material, subterfuge, suspicious or undisclosed news sources, and some non-by-lined news stories10.

While both newspapers sometimes used wrong photographs, carried news stories whose sources were not disclosed (over 11%) and published stories without by-lines (35.6%), much of the other practices related more to The Ghanaian Chronicle than to the Daily Graphic.

10 Samples of news stories and editorials of both The Ghanaian Chronicle and the Daily Graphic for the two periods of the study are attached as Appendices 7 (Period 1) and 8 (Period 2). They provide examples of the two newspapers’ different reporting styles including their use of qualitative labels, and images such as photographs, cartoons and document reprints in each study period.
Chronicle's crusading posture resulted in more investigative journalistic pieces and public affairs news, which through its numerous qualitative labels, it managed to report combining satire and cynicism with some humour (entertainment). Graphic, on the other hand, did more of the straight news, conventional inverted pyramid style of reporting recalling what Mwesige (2004) referred to as “the traditional 5Ws and H reporting ... predominant” in Ugandan journalism (p. 87). It also did some interpretive reporting sometimes fitting into what Bokhorst-Heng (2002) termed “government’s use of the press as its tutorial platform” (p. 564) to advocate its policies and actions, as was the case of the Singaporean press. The evidence of this use of the Daily Graphic lay mainly in the events/occasions of its political coverage under both regimes but more so under the NDC. It manifested in the fact that Graphic published more political stories from its reporters on official government trips (78.8%) than Chronicle reporters (21.2%). The use of information subsidies, more by the Daily Graphic (53.9%) than The Ghanaian Chronicle (46.1%), also explained why its news reports largely followed the conventional style.

Thus, the Daily Graphic reports appeared aligned with government interpretation and explanation of issues especially during the first period of the study when it had unrivalled access to the political establishment. Conversely, The Ghanaian Chronicle offered more critical perspectives on local politics and approached issues usually from a broad range of perspectives in both periods of the study. Through its use of single themes developed from several angles and also through the use of historical detail in some current stories, Chronicle sought to provide more information. This perhaps helped to deepen readers’ understanding and appreciation of issues it covered in contrast to Graphic whose stories tended to be reported from conventional journalistic angles. Similarly, Chronicle’s abundant use of qualitative labels, contrasts, spin, and visuals – cartoons, photographs and font-size
manipulation – combined sensationalism with human interest and entertainment that sought to trivialise issues compared to *Graphic*’s serious approach to reporting. The two newspapers, therefore, manifested some degree of contrasts in the study including binary oppositions of depth/broad range versus shallowness; entertainment versus information provision; measured judgment versus sensationalism; and triviality versus substance in news presentation as others had documented (Franklin, 1997, p. 4; Ursell, 2001, p. 192).

The Focus on Politics

Politicisation of news in the two newspapers showed in *Chronicle*’s extreme interest in politics, found throughout its pages, and the fact that *Graphic* devoted a specific page of each edition to political news. Besides, the fact that *Graphic* dutifully followed and reported activities of Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Ministers of state meant that much of its coverage centred on these personalities. *The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s knack of politics showed in its preponderance for front-page political news stories. For instance, all five stories on the front-page of its issue of Monday, January 8 – Tuesday, January 9 2001 as well as that issue’s two editorials based on the front-page main news story were political tackling different aspects of the changeover from Rawlings to Kufuor and other matters. Similarly, other issues including those of February 2 – 4 2001, February 20 – 21 2001, December 7 2002, and December 18 2002 had their entire front pages and editorials focusing on politics.

The interest in politics also manifested in the prominence given to some stories sometimes shown by their sheer lengths. Indeed, some *Chronicle* news stories covered more than one page in length. Sometimes, such stories were the only ones on the front-page or, where there were others, those others occupied very little space while the main stories took substantial portions of subsequent pages. The interest in politics was further illustrated by the percentage
of news stories on the front-page and in editorials that focused on politics as compared to
other themes. More than a half (51%) of all news stories (straight news, government and
opposition releases) on the front pages of editions analysed in the study were political (313
with an equal number of editorials, 72 (41.4%) were political. Political editorials constituted
nearly 35% (30 out of 86) of Graphic editorials and 47.7% (42 out of 88) of Chronicle
editorials. These findings are consistent with what Haque (1986, p. 85) referred to as an
"obsession with politics". The rather high percentage of news stories set in Accra (68.3%)
could be explained by the fact that Ghana still runs a highly centralised political system
despite attempts at decentralisation.

Application of Specific Journalistic Concepts

Accuracy, Objectivity, Fairness, and Bias

McQuail (1992, p. 205) measures the quality of journalistic output by such criteria as
accuracy, factualness, completeness and impartiality. These factors are in addition to
"traditional criteria of what constitutes 'a worthy news agenda'" (Ursell, 2001, p. 192). In
Ghanaian journalism practice, there are professional considerations as well as constitutional
and legal provisions underpinning accuracy and fairness in reporting. These basic journalistic
concepts together with others such as balance (equity and equality), objectivity, bias, framing
(representation) and news selection criteria, crucial for determining accuracy and fairness,
were assessed through the type/quality and the extent/amount of coverage given to each of
the two regimes. It used variables such as size of news story, placement, types of news
sources, news actors, themes of political coverage, tone and direction of political news.
Fairness was viewed from the perspective of politicians from the NDC and the NPP having
equal access to the two newspapers with the possibility of reaching their supporters and
audiences with their messages or news about their parties. Equal access therefore meant identical conditions for gaining entry into, or making news in, the two newspapers to present their political and other views thereby relating fairness to the degree of availability and accessibility of the two newspapers to political sources and actors whether in power or in opposition.

Accuracy was seen as the ability to report events as precisely and correctly as possible without bias or slant. Balanced reporting examined such principles as equity (fairness or lack of bias), and equality (same or identical), and considered the newspapers' ability to present reports fairly by discussing views from the opposing side devoid of bias and one-sidedness. It also considered their ability to give equal coverage to both parties without marginalizing either side thus recalling the concept of objectivity, which McQuail (2000) describes as a "theoretically contested term" but one that "sums up a number of the qualities that make for trust and reliability" (p. 500). The study assessed the two newspapers' performance on objectivity and neutrality (lack of bias), accuracy and fairness, transparency about news sources, ability to separate facts from comments/opinions, and professionalism. It did so through the comprehensiveness and factualness of political news reports and information they provided.

Studies show that concepts such as objectivity, fairness and bias are difficult to define although their clear, explicit and unambiguous definition makes for easier interpretation of findings. Holsti (1969) outlines the "most common weakness of studies using an a priori standard" by posing a couple of questions. "What constitutes "adequacy" in the coverage of local news? Or, how close to "equal time or space" must the media come to be considered "fair?" It is doubtful whether unbiased reporting of every controversial situation calls for
equal presentation or evaluation, as is sometimes assumed by indices of bias (p. 56)”. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) note that since events drive news and “events don’t always occur in balanced amounts”, “then quantitative balance is not a good standard” (p. 44). They contend: “The problem with measuring bias is that there are no suitable references with which we can compare media content. A convincing case of bias requires an acceptable standard of fairness, but these are not easy to come by” (p. 44).

Niven (2001), therefore, asserts: “What is needed to make an adequate measure of both partisan and negativity bias is a fair baseline for coverage. ... By comparing coverage when performance on an issue is comparable”, he contends, we can see whether the two parties “get equitable coverage and if positive results get coverage proportionate with negative outcomes” (p. 36). In the present study, a fair baseline was achieved through the symmetry between the two periods of coverage, and the realities of the two political parties (each having served two continuous terms in political office and being the major force in opposition when not in power). Though the circumstances are not exactly the same as those of Niven’s (2001) study of coverage of unemployment under two presidencies, this baseline provides comparable indicators of performance of the two parties and media coverage under each regime. These include, total number of stories, lengths of stories, themes, types and lengths of enhancements, placement, percentage of stories mentioning either political party, actors and sources of news stories. Ultimately, however, the study reckons with the fact that “bias has been and will remain a hotly contested research issue, examined in a politically charged atmosphere” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 44).

The study agreed with Holsti’s (1969, p. 50) assertion that there are “more subtle, and probably more important, methods of slanting news” which do not receive as much attention
in media studies as measures of space and news hole allocation. These include “size and tone of headline, placement of stories, number of biased remarks, number of pictures, and total column inches of stories on various pages” which have the ability to give a “strong indication of systematic bias in favor of the endorsed candidate” or in the case of this study, the preferred party and/or its position. Bias was viewed as prominence given to either political party, and was seen as a key concept in the study. Following Holsti (1969), therefore, it was assessed using total number of stories, story placement, story size, story enhancements, use of qualitative labels (adjectives, adverbs and other qualifiers), direction and tone of news story, news sources, actors and political parties most often referred to or mentioned in news stories. Media bias in the study occurred when news reports did not give an accurate, neutral, balanced and impartial representation of events and people they purported to cover. The newspapers showed bias when they gave one political party or government and/or its activities prominence over the other.

Inaccuracies and biases in political news coverage, in the study, presented in many ways. The *Daily Graphic* gave a greater amount of coverage to ruling governments and their parties than it gave to the opposition. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* gave a greater amount of coverage, albeit negative, to the NDC both in government and in opposition. The fact that *The Ghanaian Chronicle*’s coverage contained more news unfavourable to the NDC than to the NPP during both periods of the study also showed bias although the *Daily Graphic* tried to steer clear of taking sides by publishing more neutral stories overall. Consequently, there was no doubt in the reader’s mind as to which side *Chronicle* supported especially through its frequent use of value-laden qualitative labels through which it succeeded in mixing news and comment, facts and speculation praising or ridiculing as it deemed fit. Even in the case of *Graphic*, in spite of its apparent neutrality, its allegiance to ruling governments was
substantial. However, inaccuracies and biases shown in terms of news coverage over-representing one issue as compared to another such as attacks and defections over others including acclaim and rallies as found by Benoit and Currie (2001) was not found in the study. Similarly, there was no preponderance of using particular sources as news either from government (ruling party officials) or opposition officials. The study did not find any appreciable reliance on any groups of politicians as principal news sources either in government or opposition.

Although Niven (2001, p. 35) maintains that accusations of partisan bias against the media have been academically controversial unlike that of negativity bias, the two newspapers in the study gave an indication of partisan bias. *Chronicle*’s bias was against the NDC evidenced by its frequent use of negative labels and high incidence of unfavourable stories in reference to that party, whereas *Graphic*’s bias was in favour of ruling governments and their political parties shown through increased coverage of positive and favourable news. Therefore, unlike D’Alessio & Allen (2000) who found no significant biases in the newspaper industry, the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle* showed substantial biases with regard to their reporting of politics. D’Alessio & Allen (2000) considered three forms of bias; (1) gatekeeping bias (that is, the preference for selecting stories from one party or another); (2) coverage bias (the relative amounts of coverage each party receives); and (3) statement bias (favourable coverage toward one party or another). The study showed measurable amounts of all three types of bias. The finding that the *Daily Graphic* tended to positively and favourably report government while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* had the tendency to acutely report the NDC appears to corroborate Street’s (2001) assertion that what newspapers report is not simply a product of ‘events in the world’ (p.103). Other factors,
including the “perceptions and prejudices of individual journalists” as well as constraints and conditions within which journalistic work is carried out, are equally important.

Same day samples of the two newspapers purposively selected for the study also showed both intended and unintended bias identified by McQuail (2000). *Chronicle*’s strong partisan position, coupled with its apparent crusading and advocacy roles and ideology of politicising events that made coverage made its bias intended. On the other hand, *Graphic*’s reverence for political authority appeared not limited to a particular regime but a general organisational attitude and routine of news selection and processing thus making its bias unintended. Similarly, all four types of bias earlier identified by McQuail (1992) namely, partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias and ideological bias were observed in the study. While both newspapers demonstrated a high degree of ideological bias, *Chronicle* much more than *Graphic* showed partisan and unwitting bias. *Graphic* showed more propaganda bias through the many positive and favourable stories it published in support of ruling governments. The study also found some of Merrill’s (1965) six-type bias distinction: (1) attribution bias; (2) adjective bias; (3) adverbial bias; (4) contextual bias; (5) outright opinion; and (6) photographic bias in some political reports. The most prominent forms were adjective bias; adverbial bias and photographic bias evidenced much more in the *Chronicle* than the *Graphic*. *Chronicle* was sensational in its use of qualitative labels, spin and sarcasm using them in ways that sought to depart from journalistic traits and attributes (principally objectivity) believed to be necessary for building trust and reliability (McQuail, 2000).

Partisan bias in reporting whose existence is challenged by Niven (2001) was present in the study, similar to what Papathanassopoulos (2001) found of Greek journalism. According to him, “the [Greek] printed press has remained obtrusively partisan, colourful, excessive, at
times cross-patronizing and in some cases laced with adjectives that in most western media would be considered incompatible with fairness” (p. 511). Colourful and excessive reporting through the use of qualitative labels (adjectives, adverbs and adverbial clauses) especially by The Ghanaian Chronicle pointed more towards negativism when they were used in reference to the NDC but to positivism in reference to the NPP. However, contrary to studies that found negative coverage of government and its officials (Niven, 2001; McKinney et al., 1999; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996), there was not much evidence in the study to suggest negativity bias against government per se. In spite of the overt show of partisan bias (Graphic in favour of ruling governments and Chronicle against the NDC) as Patterson and Donsbach (1996) also found in the United States, not much negativity bias was detected in the two newspapers’ reportage unlike as found in Patterson and Donsbach (1996) and in other studies including Niven (2001); Esser et al. (2001); and McKinney et al. (1999).

Nonetheless, the fact that the private newspaper (The Ghanaian Chronicle) carried more of the negative stories than the state-owned Daily Graphic appears consistent with findings of some studies focusing on negativity bias. It particularly supports Tettey’s (2001) assertion that the private media appear to stretch the limits of adversarial politics and brings to mind Takougang’s (1995) criticism that some of them sometimes publish “negative headlines and stories even though they may have been groundless” (p. 342). It would also appear to support the theory of self-censorship and political interference resulting from government ownership of some media (Mwesige, 2004, p.79) in addition to the idea of adversarial journalism observed to be characteristic of the private media (Tettey, 2001; Takougang, 1995). The totality of coverage, however, indicated a move towards positivism in political reporting as coverage of positive themes exceeded negative themes throughout the study. Coverage was more positive than negative since positive news exceeded negative news by nearly three to
one in the first period (out of 184 stories) and four to one in the second (out of a total of 220 stories). Besides, political coverage was generally more evenly spread among the three-dimensional categories: negative news (35.4%), neutral (32.7%) and positive news (31.9%). More importantly, about two in three (67.9%) of themes were positive in the first study period while in the second, this rose to nearly three in four (72.8%).

Curiously, both newspapers published more negative stories during the tenure of Rawlings’ NDC than Kufuor’s NPP indicating that Rawlings’ NDC received more flak while it was in power (Period 1) than out of power (Period 2). Conversely, Kufuor’s NPP received more negative stories when it was in opposition (Period 1) than in government perhaps because it was still enjoying media support (honey-moon) during the second study period, which marked two years into its administration after 19 years of Rawlings’ leadership. With documents showing a friendlier media atmosphere under Kufuor and a rather hostile environment under Rawlings, the fact that the two newspapers published more negative stories during Rawlings’ NDC administration than during Kufuor’s NPP regime appears to respond to the media-political situation in the country. Negative coverage (scandals, corruption, fraud, misappropriation of funds, intra-party wrangling and power struggles, and attacks on political opponents) could be an expression of the frustrations of journalists attempting to live within constitutional guarantees of press freedom and stifling realities of media control. This tends to agree with observations of McNair (1999) and Street (2001) about the influence of external conditions and constraints under which journalism is practised on journalistic activity.

Whether bias is assessed using the distinction between equal and unequal coverage, or between fair and unfair coverage of the two regimes/parties, there are realistic indicators to
support either stance. The NDC as a political party received the most coverage on the whole while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* newspaper produced the most coverage overall with most of its reports focusing on the NDC. These facts are evident from the total number/amount of reports in which each political party was mentioned, period within which such coverage was recorded, type of story, placement, size of news story, enhancements and types of news sources and news actors used. Furthermore, using tone, direction and theme or subject matter of political coverage, and especially distinguishing between positive and negative political reporting, it was evident the NDC received substantial amounts of criticism and negative coverage in spite of the overwhelming evidence of generally positive reporting done by the two newspapers overall.

Unlike Reeves (1997), therefore, coverage appeared to be based on the newspapers’ ideological and partisan preferences, which also determined observed inequalities in political coverage. Reeves (1997) contended that news people “are anxious to preserve their own credibility” especially in situations where “most cannot make a living if they are not seen by sources, readers, viewers, and bosses as trying to be fair” (pp. 40-41). This, however, was not exactly the case of Ghanaian journalists despite *Daily Graphic*’s pointers to ideological neutrality and objectivity. There were observable examples of partisan and ideological positions identified in political news coverage through the overall large coverage of the NDC (especially by *Chronicle*), of governments (by *Graphic*), and the use of un-sourced stories, rumours, speculations, and critical qualitative labels.

**The Dumbing Down Thesis**

According to Hargreaves (2003), dumbed down news media privilege sensation over significance, and celebrity over achievement. They sacrifice “accuracy for speed, purposeful
investigation for cheap intrusion and reliability for entertainment” (p. 12). The study checked for instances of trivialised coverage of politics and public life examining whether overall there was any support for the “dumbing down” thesis using newspaper coverage of the two political administrations. The thesis asserts that coverage of political issues/news is shrinking in modern journalism and that treatment of such issues has become more superficial and less well grounded in the facts of issues reported (Ursell, 2001). As a result, guesses, speculation and rumours, which are subsequently reported as facts dominate newspaper headlines. Intensified competition in the media is believed to be one of the major causes of this perceived degradation in media performance (Franklin, 1997; Hallin, 2000).

Although both periods of the present study were considered modern and so could not yield to comparisons between earlier and present times, certain findings are relevant to these discussions. The fact that only 13 editions within the study sample did not contain any political news stories on their front pages shows that political issues and political news coverage are not shrinking in Ghanaian modern journalism. Nearly all samples taken from the privately owned *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (except three) had political news stories prominently reported on their front pages. Besides, the fact that the *Daily Graphic*, despite devoting a specific page to political news, also used its front-page for prominent political news stories indicates the importance of politics to the two newspapers. In this regard the study is inconsistent with aspects of the “dumbing down” thesis that assert that coverage of political issues/news is shrinking in modern journalism.

As regards other aspects of the thesis indicating that treatment of political issues has become more superficial and less well grounded in the facts of issues presented, though such detailed considerations of news reporting and media performance were beyond the scope of this
study, some of its findings are, nonetheless, insightful. Examples are mainly from the private
ewspaper: *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. During the first period of the study, 1993-1994 and
particularly in 1993, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* made frequent use of guesses, rumours and
speculations, which it reported as news (facts). This is demonstrated by the large number of
un-sourced news stories it carried as well as its frequent use of question marks in headlines
and of phrases such as follows:

- “Reliable sources close to” or “sources close to” the castle, the presidency, etc
- “It is alleged…” or “it is said that…” or “it has been learnt” …
- “Upon investigation” or “Chronicle investigations” …
- “The Chronicle has learnt” or “Chronicle has established” …
- “Chronicle intelligence” or “Chronicle” news sniffers’ … or “Yours truly”…
- “According to Intel reports” or “Chronicle” Bureau Reports’ …
- “Impeccable sources within” or “deep insiders” or “inside sources” …

Although the use of un-sourced information and/or speculation could be a function of lack of
access to the relevant information and its sources, it also gave other indications. It showed
lack of transparency about news sources and inadequacy of facts upon which some news
stories were based. These tended to lower media standards and performance thereby giving
credence to the “dumbing down” thesis. Consequently, mainly through the performance of
*The Ghanaian Chronicle* much more than the *Daily Graphic*, the study found support for
some aspects of the ‘dumbing down’ thesis that related to lack of adequate information and
knowledge on issues covered in some news reports.
Visualisation: The Use of Cartoons and Photographs

The Ghanaian Chronicle’s use of visualisation showed in stories that had multiple images such as photographs and cartoons, as well as in headlines with large font sizes and wide spaces, and headlines with multiple subheadings. The use of cartoons, photographs, and photocopies of letters, circulars and documents appeared to have multiple purposes. Chronicle used cartoons, particularly, to highlight political issues, which were topical, current and/or formed part of public controversy. The fact that these were more common during the first study period, 1993-1994, which marked the commencement of the return to constitutional rule (when they constituted 14.4% of the newspaper’s total coverage of 111 political stories), is instructive. The newspaper’s use of screaming headlines, capital letters with large font sizes and exclamation marks: “DANGER AHEAD!” (January 4-10 1993) clearly distinguished main headlines and subheadings thereby using these techniques and others to separate its front-page main news stories from front-page other news stories. Similar effects were achieved through Chronicle’s use of question marks and contrasting colours — white print over dark/black background or vice versa.

Consequently, unlike some Daily Graphic stories, there was little difficulty in identifying stories that Chronicle wanted to highlight as main news stories on its front-page and those that were only subsidiary. More importantly, the use of images such as cartoons and photocopies of documents was suggestive of media restrictions and low levels of journalistic freedom that prevailed in Ghana at the time with an uncertain media-political atmosphere after a long period of unconstitutional rule spanning between 1981 and 1992. Not only did those images legitimise the newspaper’s stories at a time when it was practically impossible to independently verify many news stories, they also kept the newspaper’s reporters relatively safer and more credible by allowing such images to speak for themselves.
Chronicle's stand-alone political cartoons and photocopies of official letters and/or documents thus constituted bona fide political stories. They were, however, included in the study only when the images they carried and the silent statements they made were about Ghanaian politics, politicians and/or political activities and spoke of political events either in the newspaper, other media or in public domain.

The Incumbency Factor

Incumbency denotes both authority and newsworthiness (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Cook, 1989). Newsworthiness usually translates into coverage prominence and if, for example, "a national presidential election is objectively more newsworthy than an election for city commissioner" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 5), then the former would receive more prominent coverage than the latter. Gans’ (1979) list of prominent people – the "knowns" - who dominate news, indeed, features incumbent presidents at the top followed by presidential candidates and other leading political personalities from the national to the local levels. The "unknowns", according to him, constitute only about a fifth of coverage. Gans (1979) also found a focus on the official, that is, major activities of government reported in news reports. Similarly, studies have found a preponderance of government officials as main sources of news (Sigal, 1973; Dickson, 1992/1995). Incumbent governments are therefore more likely to receive greater coverage than their contenders or challengers in opposition. Depending on the political, economic and social development of the country, they are also more likely to influence regulatory and legal frameworks guiding media coverage either overtly or covertly.

Negrine (1994) argued that a state newspaper was more likely to be under pressure to follow political lines of reporting prescribed by governments. This stance is supported by studies
conducted by Murdock (1990) and Schudson (2000). While Schudson contends that the state-owned media serve as agents of state control and mobilise support for political elite interests, Murdock believes media owners have the capacity to regulate media output either directly or indirectly. According to Murdock, they interfere with media content directly by intervening in the daily operations of the media or indirectly by interventions such as setting goals, appointing favourites into managerial and editorial positions and manipulating the allocation of resources. Several political commentators and civil society groups in Ghana including the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) and the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) have discussed the incumbency factor in Ghanaian politics and political reporting as largely favouring ruling governments. *Graphic*’s reporting in the study provided support for such arguments in view of its bias towards political parties in power to which it gave large amounts of positive and favourable coverage. It appeared to act not only as the agent for mobilising support for the causes of the two governments, but also as their propaganda wing propagating government decisions and policies towards making such support realisable. Examinining indicators such as political parties most mentioned in news stories, lengths of stories, actors frequently covered and placement of news stories showed the edge *Graphic* gave to parties of ruling governments. For instance, while actors in stories that mentioned the NDC received the most mention overall, *Graphic* in the second period mentioned more NPP actors. Similarly, using themes, tone and direction of coverage as well as story enhancements strengthened the claim of positively covering those in power. However, *Chronicle*’s reportage provided evidence to the contrary given its obsession with negatively reporting the NDC both in power and out of power. By so doing, it gave the NDC much more coverage than the NPP overall. While *Graphic* recalled studies such as those done by Bokhorst-Heng (2002), Ramaprasad (2001/2003) and Mwesige (2004), *Chronicle* followed patterns drawn
by others such as Tettey (2001), and Gulyás (2003). Therefore, incumbency was an important factor in political reporting only when it related to coverage by the state-owned media (Graphic) but of little consequence in private media (Chronicle) reporting.

**Freedom of the Press and of Expression**

Press freedom in Ghana is guaranteed under the country’s Constitution and is therefore independent of and not subject to any particular posture of journalists as found elsewhere. Provisions on press freedom as contained in Chapter 12 of Ghana’s 1992 Constitution appear to imitate the western model of journalistic practice, which also appears to be the model Ghanaian journalists practise blending the British and the American models as described by Esser *et al.* (2001) and Pfetsch (2001). This is in sync with Ghana’s hybrid democratic experiment that combines the British Westminster representative system of government with the American executive presidential model. Both models centre on journalistic and other freedoms in spite of their different political systems. Therefore, unlike some newspapers, which operate under relatively free media systems because they are largely conservative, reconciliatory and non-critical (Lee, 1993), Ghanaian newspapers have largely enjoyed a similar environment in spite of their critical, sometimes confrontational, abrasive and adversarial posture. Ghana’s laws guarantee freedom of speech and of expression that underpin the practice of journalism (see Ampaw, 2004; Constitution of Ghana, 1992). The Constitution guarantees freedom and independence of the media (Article 162 (1)), eschews censorship (Article 162 (2), impediments (Article 162 (3)) and control, interference or media harassment (Article 162 (4)).

Ghana’s Constitution and other statutes contain provisions such as national security, privacy, libel, obscenity and other laws through which governments could regulate media
content directly (Ampaw, 2004). For instance, Article 164 of the Constitution provides limitations on the rights and freedoms guaranteed under Chapters 5 and 12:

The provisions of articles 162 and 163 of this Constitution are subject to laws that are reasonably required in the interest of national security, public order, public morality and for the purpose of protecting the reputations, rights and freedoms of other persons.

The press in Ghana had at different times suffered oppression and/or suppression, intimidation and/or fear, and interference and/or intervention particularly under military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes. In spite of this and the constitutional caveat, there were no noticeable constraints or limitations on journalistic freedoms (freedom of the press, of expression) manifested in the two newspapers’ reporting. Between the two regimes studied, however, attempts at regulating media content were felt much more under the NDC (1993-1994) than the NPP (2001-2002) as documents studied showed. Considering the length of time the NDC and its predecessor PNDC ruled under one leadership (19 years), this interference could explain Graphic’s reverence of governments and Chronicle’s defiance of the NDC. For instance, Chronicle’s consistency in using more personal name by-lines in stories referring to the NDC in the first (31.6%) and second (25.4%) study periods than the NPP’s 3.5% and 15.5% is indicative not only of courage but also of defiance. Conversely, Graphic used more personal name by-lines in stories referring to ruling governments/parties. In 1993-1994, it used 7.9% in reference to the NDC and none for the NPP while in 2001-2002 it used 25.9% for the NPP and 8.2% for the NDC.

Though unlike Uganda, Ghana in 2001 repealed its criminal libel law and decriminalised speech, the irony is that part of Ghanaian journalism, as demonstrated by the Daily Graphic, appears to suffer from some limitations identified in Ugandan journalism as “self-censorship” and “lack of access to information” (Mwesige, 2004, p.79). However, there was
little evidence of “political interference” in Ghanaian journalism overall. Consequently, in comparison with studies such as those conducted by Mwesige (2004), Ramaprasad (2003), and Papathanassopoulos (2001) particularly in terms of limitations such as self-censorship, lack of access and political interference or intervention, the present study showed fewer limitations. The study seemed to suggest there was not much limitation on themes of political coverage, qualitative labels, actors or sources used in news stories judging by the array of themes and huge numbers of labels used; the coverage of actors from both sides of the political divide, and, especially, by the predominance of journalistic sources of news. This is consistent with Robbins’ (1997, p. 125) observation that “the diversity of ownership and range of topics covered seems to speak well of official tolerance and openness both to an independent press and to the winds of democracy said to be blowing across the continent”. The different ownership patterns of the two newspapers did not affect the extensive range of topics/themes covered.

Furthermore, an examination of the two periods of study showed improving relations between the media and political actors even if this was a function of regime change. While Graphic’s bias towards ruling governments could be interpreted as self-censorship, Chronicle’s use of un-sourced stories, rumours and speculations could be seen to demonstrate lack of access to the appropriate sources and actors of political news. This is understandable given the NDC government’s refusal to admit private journalists into the Castle and to allow them on official government trips. It was only in these ways that some limitations were reflected in the two newspapers’ reportage. For instance, the fact that Daily Graphic reporters’ were often in select press teams on official government trips enabled it publish more political stories (78.8%) than The Ghanaian Chronicle (21.2%). This difference also reflected within newspapers across study periods.
While journalists on official trips produced 46.2% in 1993-1994 and 53.8% in 2001-2002 of Graphic political stories, for the same periods, they constituted 14.3% and 85.7% respectively of coverage by The Ghanaian Chronicle. Any other direction and/or control by the political, social or economic elites, if present, were more covert than overt as the study found a rather liberated press thus questioning Altschull's (1997, p. 259) suggestion that "the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interests of those who pay the bills".

This, perhaps, was true to some extent of the Daily Graphic whose bias in favour of ruling governments could be so-explained but not so much of The Ghanaian Chronicle.

**Types of Press System Evident in Coverage**

The type of journalism evident in the coverage of the two newspapers appeared to be a mixture of two dominant models tailored to suit both local Ghanaian needs and global expectations. The western liberal, social responsibility, or the Anglo-American model, on one hand vied for pre-eminence with the Third World-relevant development journalism model, on the other. The situation mimicked Ramaprasad’s (2003) observation that: "Tanzanian journalists have a unique way of perceiving their roles - a mixture of socialism and some accommodation of Western ideas of press freedom - but overall they still lean toward a collectivistic socialist model" (p. 13). It would appear African journalism is in limbo torn between African traditions and Western qualities ('Africanism' and 'Westernism') and is taking elements of both to construct its own unique type even if by so doing, journalism becomes muddled and confused. The study found development journalism traits usually associated with an authoritarian/socialist press ideology in the Daily Graphic while The Ghanaian Chronicle provided traits expressing freedom of the press associated with a liberal journalistic ideology (Ramaprasad, 2003).
Development journalism aims at: 1) advancing the national development agenda; 2) unifying the country; 3) providing cultural and intellectual fare; and 4) reflecting the views of the public. The western liberal model provides: 1) criticism of government and its policies; 2) support for political pluralism; 3) sensational reporting; 4) reportage that reflects the views of the wealthy and stirs up conflict in society (unwanted negative media traits) as found in Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 21). However, there was no evidence of Graphic's political coverage that suggested the provision of "cultural and intellectual fare" which distinguished it from Chronicle reporting. Also while some of Chronicle's political news stories could stir up conflict in society, such outcome would only have been unintended since its news stories did not show a deliberate attempt at inciting conflict despite their frequent use of qualitative labels some of which sought to ridicule or tease key politicians. Furthermore, Chronicle, more so than Graphic, tried to reflect the views of the public particularly in the immediate aftermath of military rule with its "culture of silence" during the first period of the study when public opinion appeared muzzled. Consequently, although it operated mainly within the western liberal journalistic model, Chronicle's news reports did not only reflect the views of the wealthy but also those of the "masses" (the public) particularly at a time when Graphic only appeared to propagate and disseminate official information.

None of the two newspapers closely followed the "objective, straightforward, informative reporting and culture in terms of its practices and its professionalism" (Papathanassopoulos, 2001, p. 506) preached by the model variously described as the western, liberal or social responsibility model, Anglo-American model or professional model (Mancini, 2000). Similarly, none of them operated within the concepts of journalistic distance, detachment and neutrality towards the object of reporting; objectivity; lack of partisanship; attachment
to accuracy and other truth criteria (McQuail, 2000; 1994, p.145) stressed by the model. Arguably, few journalists even within developed contexts could faithfully abide by the tenets of the western model, as the numerous accusations of media bias seem to imply. However, it is a question of degree and magnitude aggravated by contextual factors such as the political environment and press freedom regimes. In the same vein, not even the state-owned *Daily Graphic* operated entirely within the development journalism or communitarian concept of journalism in spite of its attempts at focusing on propagating governmental policies and ideals aimed at unifying and developing the country (Karikari, 2004). Indeed, there is much in the study to support Mwesige’s (2004) assertion that “the fact that journalism practice in Africa closely mirrors western conceptions of the press is inescapable” (p. 77).

Political news reporting as seen through the two newspapers pointed to journalistic practices that were supportive of both the western liberal and the developmental models. The study found evidence of “western journalistic functions of information, analysis and interpretation and investigation of official claims” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 69) or the “so-called western journalistic functions of dissemination and interpretation” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 88). This was more evident in *The Ghanaian Chronicle* news reports, which sought to delve beyond such official claims and to examine issues from different perspectives than those of the *Daily Graphic*, which sought principally to disseminate information. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* tended to focus on single themes, which it developed from several perspectives or angles sometimes with no subsidiary themes using many qualitative labels and/or approaching the issue either from various angles or by recalling other developments relating to the story.
A good example of such use of single themes was the front-page main news story of October 18-24 1993 headlined: “We Are at War”, which used all the above techniques. The focus on single themes was, however, sometimes broken when the story dealt with exposing and ridiculing high-ranking politicians. An example was the front-page main news story of November 21-23 1994 headlined: “The President Is ‘Mad’ ...” which carried several subsidiary themes stemming from the President’s alleged rage at the reportage on his wife’s one-month visit to the United States for a programme at the Johns Hopkins University. The main theme of the story was the President and his mother-in-law’s rage at news reports. Subsidiary themes of the story were: political deceit, family feud, attack on media, lack of journalistic freedom, political sycophancy, and abuse of political office and/or ministerial position.

While The Ghanaian Chronicle would explore and expose, the Daily Graphic assigned itself the role of propagating or disseminating whatever had been given as the official line or explanation of what had occurred. Furthermore, there was evidence - particularly through its extensive coverage of ruling governments - of the Daily Graphic performing what Mwesige (2004, p. 87) referred to as the “so-called development journalism functions” or “the so-called African/Third World journalistic functions such as assisting/aiding national development”. For instance, Graphic’s political editorials were nearly always supportive of ruling governments as was the case of the Singaporean press (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002) although Graphic also had a watchdog role within the concept of a “fourth estate” of the realm as constitutionally mandated unlike its counterparts in Singapore. Where such support for government was not overtly demonstrated, neutrality in reporting was shown resulting in the rather high incidence of “neutral stories” in the study. In this regard, like the

---

11 The two articles commented on in this paragraph, which show The Ghanaian Chronicle’s use of contrasts between single themes and multiple themes, have been attached as part of Appendix 7.
Singaporean press (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002), it demonstrated a readiness to function as a proponent and tutor of government policy under both political regimes and in both periods of the study thereby subduing its governmental oversight responsibilities assigned by Ghana’s 1992 Constitution (Article 162 (5)).

Conversely, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* tried to maintain some distance from Government and its actors with whom it seemed to be engaged in battle although its adversarial posture towards the NDC appeared to benefit the NPP both in and out of government. There was, indeed, evidence of supportive editorials and/or political coverage in Chronicle stories in which the NPP was mentioned or referred to in the study. It was, therefore, evident from the comparison between Chronicle and Graphic’s coverage that the Ghanaian press and its journalists, like their Tanzanian counterparts, “align a socialist journalistic ideology with the government press and a libertarian journalistic ideology with the private press” (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 21). This is notwithstanding the fact that Ghana has experienced a different historical, social and political culture and development from western developed countries where the western liberal model is practised and also from the two East African countries – Tanzania and Uganda. Besides, Ghana’s contemporary socio-political conditions and media environment are also different from those of these countries.

Ghanaian newspapers, including Graphic, appeared to show admiration for western ideas of journalism although overwhelmed by development journalism principles - especially in the case of Graphic - just like their colleagues in Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2003) and Uganda (Mwesige, 2004). Consequently, none of the two newspapers operated strictly within the requirements of either journalistic ideology: while Graphic leaned more towards the development concept, Chronicle tilted towards the western liberal ideology thus defying
strict classification in both cases. There was, indeed, a dominance of the western journalistic model with some amount of the developmental concept in reporting. Western journalistic functions of dissemination and interpretation, what Mwesige referred to as the disseminator roles of journalism were evident in both newspapers' reports with Chronicle doing more of the adversarial role by excessively criticising the NDC government, its officials and policies.

**Journalistic Arbiters in Ghana**

Journalism in Ghana is institutionally insulated and protected by constitutional provisions and mechanisms developed by journalists themselves. Unlike Uganda and Greece, which, according to Mwesige (2004) and Papathanassopoulos (2001) appeared not to have any such arbiters, Ghana has a functioning National Media Commission (NMC) and a Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) both of which intervene in matters concerning journalists and journalism. Besides, certain provisions of the 1992 Constitution, notably Articles 167, 168, 169 and 173, serve to arbitrate between journalists and the rest of society to reduce rancour and to strengthen the journalistic profession. This is a definite step ahead of the Ugandan situation where respondents called for “a peer-dominated ‘media council’ to arbitrate disputes between the press and public, as well as those between the press and state” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 80) and also of that of Greece. Papathanassopoulos (2001) reports of the absence of a professional code of conduct for Greek journalists and partly blames that for the absence of professionalism and neutrality in Greek journalism. According to him, “Greek journalists appear somewhat incapable of defining a consolidated and consensually acceptable body of ethical and professional principles which would apply to all journalists, regardless of the owners that employ them” (p. 513).
In contrast to the Greek situation, Ghana’s GJA has a consensually acceptable code of ethics as well as guidelines and standards for various types of reporting including political coverage and advertising. Additionally, it has a respected Ethics Committee whose main function is to adjudicate over infringements on professionalism and approved conduct among journalists. Furthermore, the NMC’s constitutional mandate includes insulating the media from governmental control; settling disputes between journalists and others; and ensuring the highest journalistic standards, among others (1992 Constitution of Ghana). It is, however, not certain how any changes in these countries’ media environments along the lines suggested by both Papathanassopoulos (2001) and Mwesige (2004) could dramatically transform journalism beyond increasing journalistic freedoms as the situation in Ghana has shown.

Indeed, none of the above institutions has stemmed public concerns with professionalism in Ghanaian journalism, as the numerous complaints/cases before the NMC appear to suggest. Between August 1993 and December 1994, these stood at 33, 15 of which were brought by politicians and by 2001, cases had risen to 94, 28 of which involved politicians. The fact that there were more complaints from politicians in the PNDC/NDC than the NPP was insightful and spoke either of intolerance on the part of the former or media adversity towards its politicians. Although not within the scope of this study, 2003 provided pointers to the gradual deteriorating relationship between the media and NPP politicians. While eight of that year’s 47 cases involved politicians of the NPP, only one involved an NDC politician.

Similarly, neither of the institutions has succeeded in infusing neutrality into Ghanaian journalists as demonstrated by the two newspapers in the study and their individual biases.
Neither the moral exhortations of the GJA and its Ethics Committee nor the kids-glove treatment of the NMC and its Complaints Settlement Committee have succeeded in ensuring objectivity and neutrality in news coverage. Using Papathanassopoulos’ (2001) and, to some extent Mwesige’s (2004) arguments, therefore, the Daily Graphic’s deferential and reverential attitudes towards government and The Ghanaian Chronicle’s adversarial posture towards the NDC and its government could hardly be explained. It, perhaps, takes much more than these media-friendly institutions and provisions to ensure a truly professional and neutral journalism practice. Perhaps, it requires strict standards on media education and operation before entry into journalism and consensually agreed upon (by media practitioners and experts) sets of guidelines and regulations for media practice backed by law with clearly spelt out sanctions rather than the moral exhortations ethics appear to stand on.

**Government (Source)-Media (Reporter) Relationships**

Pfetsch (2001, p. 64) indicates: “a message has chances of attracting media attention if its political content, the political position of the spokesperson, and the profile of the medium converge. Only against this background does it make sense that political spokespeople and journalists maintain precisely those social norms that stabilize their proximity, that the relationship is seen as being largely harmonious, and that political intentions are the maxims of public relations”. Blumler and Gurevitch (1996) noted the important role political positions of sources play and discussed the necessity of developing a hierarchy of news sources from the highly placed to the lowly placed. However, considering the minimal use of key political sources – Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Ministers of State – in political news stories, it is doubtful whether many of these theories and suggestions advanced for enhancing political coverage actually work in the Ghanaian context.
Given the high incidence of independent journalistic newsgathering as the most important source of news reports in the study, it would appear what determined the chances of a particular political message to make it through the news gates to the front pages of the two newspapers in Ghana was access of journalists to politicians and activities they organised or events they undertook. Such access enhances the ability of journalists to gather newsworthy information to process into and subsequently publish as news rather than a dependence on information handouts or invitation to planned political events. The low-level use of information subsidies (handouts and planned or organised events’ coverage), however, indicates an attempt at some level of media autonomy rather than dependence on major political actors and news sources.

Blumler and Gurevitch’s (1996) idea of developing a hierarchy of news sources can be linked to the amount of informational raw material obtained from the source, the quality of information supplied, and its usefulness to both the medium and the audience. “Politicians are therefore in a position, especially when newsworthy, to ‘ration the goodies’, use them as bargaining counters, and direct reporters’ attention to their pet themes” (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1996, p. 110). In relation to the study then, Ghanaian politicians were largely either inaccessible or had little newsworthy value to enable them “ration the goodies” because neither the journalists of The Ghanaian Chronicle nor those of the Daily Graphic made much use of them. The study showed that key political actors were hardly used by journalists as their sources of news.

Consequently, it was difficult finding support for Blumler and Gurevitch’s (1996) contention that source (politician) - reporter (journalist) relationships tended to be shaped by a) mutual dependence (interdependence); b) competition (between politicians and between journalists);
and c) adaptation of politician and journalist roles. Furthermore, with the minimal use of key political sources, news stories neither clearly nor prominently provided a link between individual politicians and the issues they covered. Therefore, some of the indicators Niven (2001, p. 36) identified to measure how much attention the media are giving to particular issues and whether the media actively create a link between political sources of news or actors in news stories (such as the president) and the issues involved are lost in the study. This is perhaps because the study only indirectly examined source-reporter relations by looking at access to newsworthy information through political news actors and sources frequently used in political news stories. The situation could change if the sources of leaked documents, which together constituted over 11% of published news, could be ascertained to be key politicians.

According to Blumler and Gurevitch (1996), “a shared culture ... is indispensable to undergird the relationship” (p. 113) between politicians and journalists. In their estimation, the elements of a shared culture - including fairness, objectivity, criteria of behavioural propriety and news values - produce an overarching presence in press-politics relations. The study, however, failed to find any well-established “shared culture” – written or unwritten – between the two sides of the political communication enterprise particularly given what appeared to be an unequal partnership between politicians and journalists in the immediate aftermath of military dictatorship and the return to constitutionality in Ghana. It also failed to find any co-ordinated and corresponding structures within the two institutions except in the case of the Daily Graphic and the two political institutions.

Therefore, Blumler and Gurevitch’s (1995) contention that only within the context of the structural conditions of the political and media systems of a country does political
communication take place as interaction between political spokespeople and journalists mutually dependent on each other might be evaluated using the state-owned newspaper. Pfetsch (2001), thus, sees the seminal role of professional norms and organizational routines in this interaction: “How politicians make the news and how journalists report the news is usually attributed to the professional norms and codes of conduct that arise around the organizational routines of political institutions and the media” (Pfetsch, 2001, p. 46). While these norms and codes reflected in the Daily Graphic coverage of politics under the two regimes, not much was seen within the crusading journalism The Ghanaian Chronicle embarked upon. Besides, neither the NDC nor the NPP appeared to have any clearly defined media relations norms and routines although the NDC, through its Castle Information Bureau (CIB), established the grounds for media coverage of its governmental activities.

By and large, what constituted news in the two newspapers was not so much a product of transactions or negotiations between journalists and their sources as reporters simply reporting from functions they attended. However, the appreciable incidence of unnamed or anonymous sources (11% of cases) would appear to conceal an attempt by journalists to protect certain political news sources. In this regard, negotiations and transactions between reporters and sources as suggested by Tuchman (1978; 1991), Schudson (2000/2005), Hallin (1986), Gans (1979), and Hall (1979) could be relevant. Since political sources including the President, Vice-President, Ministers of State, opposition leaders and spokespeople, Members of Parliament and political party officers accounted for just about a quarter of news stories, there were no truly recognisable legitimated sources of political news for any of the two newspapers under any regime.
It would appear the primary source of reality for news was what reporters/journalists saw or perceived as events happening around them much more than even interactions between them and sources quoted or referred to because of the predominance of journalistic sources of political news compared to political sources. On the occasions when information subsidies were used, news sources delivered those subsidies to journalists through planned and organised events such as press conferences, press releases, press statements and interviews. The study, however, did not investigate whether sources influenced information by withholding it, altering it, or providing/releasing it either fully or partially as Gandy (1982) suggested. Neither did it find evidence to support the assertion that they entered “into an exchange of value with journalists in which … they [sources] reduce the costs of news work to increase their control over news content” (Gandy, 1982, p. 15). But given the fact that information subsidies constituted only about a quarter (25.2%) of events covered in news stories, not much of content could be attributed to planned information, publicity and news management by “specific source persons” (McQuail and Windahl, 1993, p.177).

Subsidies - press conferences, press interviews or briefings, press releases and statements, conference and/or workshop resolutions, and other statements made directly available to the media – did not constitute significant sources of newsworthy information for journalists of the Daily Graphic and The Ghanaian Chronicle. In other words, examining both sources of news, and occasions of news coverage revealed that not much of political news was generated by political spokespeople or public relations officers unlike in studies conducted elsewhere by Pfetsch (2001), and Esser et al. (2001) in which “spin doctors” played seminal roles. Although the presence or absence of the influence of public relations or politics on news stories could not be detected directly through content alone, combining sources of news with events or occasions of coverage provided some direction and leverage in this regard.
Similarly, the study found no evidence of newsmakers (politicians) “becoming particularly savvy about placing items on the media agenda” (Severin and Tankard, 1992, p. 224).

Interviews, said to be “the largest category of enterprise channels”, are often the result of routine access to bureaucratic spokespersons (Gandy, 1982, p. 12). Consequently, news that is heavily dependent on interviews has the potential to undermine or jeopardise its investigative or enterprise mode. In view of the high incidence of news emanating from unplanned occasions and the fact that interviews were used more as supplements rather than the main sources of news reports, there was not as much reliance on publicists, “spin doctors” or any other politicians as there was on the reporting skills and abilities of journalists of the two newspapers. Journalists were less dependent on interviews with political news sources for news than on their journalistic newsgathering skills suggesting not least limited routine access to sources but more attempts at autonomy. There was therefore more investigative journalism than what Gandy (1982) called “socialized journalism” (coverage arising out of sponsored journalist-source interactions such as press releases, press conferences, press briefings, special breakfasts, and luncheon meetings). Interviews, thus, constituted arsenals within investigative journalism intended to serve both to clarify and substantiate positions taken in news stories, and to advance the issues being developed thereby offering readers broader and more accurate insights.

Atton and Wickenden (2005) indicate that, “the mainstream media’s values and professional practices determine how news is sourced” (p. 348). Experiences gathered from the present study indicate that these values and professional practices are largely shaped and directed by the media environment, in turn determined by prevailing political realities. Consequently, Becker’s (1967) model of the hierarchy of credibility has only limited applicability in the
Ghanaian society where its continual relevance depends much more on how the media rate a particular news source than on the hierarchical position of the source itself. As a result, increased scepticism of politicians and official information translates into less dependence on these sources for news as happened in the study, which showed less reliance on Gandy's (1982) information subsidies. Becker's assertion that "any tale told by those at the top intrinsically deserves to be regarded as the most credible account..." indicating "...credibility and the right to be heard are differentially distributed through the ranks of the system" (Becker, 1967, p. 241), therefore, has only limited relevance.

Although those at the top echelons of society have greater access to policy makers and bureaucratic institutions than subordinate groups, they continue to make news and to be consulted only if they maintain some level of credibility as dependable sources of information. Given the level of distrust of key Ghanaian politicians, it is not surprising that they constituted insignificant percentages of news sources for the media. In fact, as Atton and Wickenden (2005) predict, alternative media might provide a counter to the hierarchy of credibility long "founded ... on conventional and abiding notions of power, legitimacy and authoritativeness" (p. 349), which ensure the prominence of those who wield them as primary definers as Hall et al. (1978) indicate.

Contrary to Hall et al.'s (1978) theory of primary definition, the two newspapers did not over-access elite sources of information in spite of the usual pressure of deadlines and professional demands of objectivity in news reporting. Reporters rather depended much more on independent newsgathering than on those political elite news sources. In this regard, Hall et al.'s (1978) classification of the media as secondary definers of news needs to be revisited because, as Schlesinger and Tumber (1994) argue, to so consider the media is to emphasise
their passivity. Furthermore, Hall et al.’s (1978) corollary argument that by over-accessing elite news sources, the media would reiterate and perpetuate dominant ideologies did not find support in the study since elite institutions were not the primary definers of news. Obviously therefore, credibility, which is central to Hall et al.’s (1978) theory of primary definition should be de-linked from socio-political classifications and hierarchical developments of news sources despite the fact that societal elites usually have privileged access to the media. This is also, in spite of their positions of prominence, which ensure that journalists would more likely take “the frameworks for understanding events offered by such institutions as a starting point for their reports,” (Manning, 2001, p. 15).

Summary

This chapter discussed findings of the study vis-à-vis theory and literature. The discussion focussed on the four main areas under which research questions were grouped: nature, type and level of reporting; the incumbency factor; freedom of the press and of expression; and government (source)-media (reporter) relationships. It was mainly descriptive relating implications of findings in the specific case of the two newspapers and two political regimes in Ghana to findings elsewhere.

Important trends uncovered include adherence to journalistic norms of accuracy, objectivity and fairness irrespective of geographical context; local conditions; and differences in western and developing world journalism. The study showed concern for freedom of the press and of expression in both contexts, and ever-changing relationships between politicians and the media across cultures in sync with local socio-political and cultural conditions. The implication and interpretation of these findings for the present study are that Ghanaian journalism falls within the hazy interface between the western liberal and the developmental
concepts prevalent in newly democratic countries still evolving a model suited to local conditions. The literature from such countries shows a mixture of two dominant models tailored to suit both local needs and global expectations implying journalism in flux.

The study did not enter the realm of effects or perception to assess how the totality of newspaper coverage portrayed Ghana as, for instance, embarked upon in the Singaporean study (Borkhorst-Heng, 2002). Although politicians – both local and foreign – have described Ghana in many positive ways, coverage did not bring out any such positioning for the country. On the contrary, negative qualitative labels and descriptions of some political actors and their actions, especially within the NDC and by The Ghanaian Chronicle, appeared to taint the image of Ghana by painting and portraying it as a country of corrupt and scandalous political leaders. Such reporting highlighted adversarial politics with antagonistic government-media relations, perceived within the perspective of combat journalism.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

Introduction

This research was about journalism and politics in Ghana. It examined newspaper content: its determinants, production, and placement as influenced by extra-media or outside forces and by some organisational routines involved in news selection and news-making. These influences related to news actors, news sources and the news organisation especially in their gatekeeping functions. The study explored possible influences exerted by political forces on reporters to affect political coverage and discussed how conceptions and perceptions of freedom within media operational environments affected levels (quantity and quality) of coverage. It examined how the type of relationships journalists established with news actors and sources influenced news selection and gatekeeping processes to provide an understanding of what constituted news, its processing and placement during two political administrations/regimes of Ghana’s Fourth Republic. It examined actions and roles of both news people and political actors as news sources and newsmakers and how the relationship between the two sides affected news content. It considered source-reporter relationships and the legislative and political environments of journalistic work as important determinants of news affecting the gatekeeping function and news production. The research advanced from the position that news, as captured and displayed in newspapers, was a collaborative effort involving interactions and negotiations.

The study focused on the print media subgroup and only examined the electronic media insofar as they constituted sources of information/news for the two newspapers in the study. Secondly, while it took newspaper content studied as given, it went beyond this given content to determine who constituted the sources of information/news. By so doing, it attempted to
find out who really set the agenda, and how that determined the prominence given to those stories. It examined how consistently sources were used throughout the study in order to determine any “patterns of attention and emphasis that characterize some sources and not others” (Gandy, 1982, p. 9). Ultimately, this gave an indication of influence of some sources over content and also determined their relationship with reporters/journalists.

Main Findings

Coverage of the two newspapers followed distinctions identified between the state and private press in Ghana. Many studies have highlighted this state - private media dichotomy especially in the media’s role and use during election campaigns (Ayee, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 1999/2001a & b; Ahiawordor, 2001; Smith & Temin, 2001). Ghana’s state-private media dichotomy largely resonates with Tanzania as regards role perceptions (Ramaprasad, 2003). Whereas the state newspaper played development journalism roles, the private newspaper aligned itself to free press traditions. While Chronicle showed resilience, defiance and confrontation especially during the first study period, Graphic operated as the mouthpiece of Government epitomising self-censorship and conformity prevalent and characteristic of the PNDC era of media suppression and persecution. Chronicle’s adversarial reporting contrasted with Graphic’s propagandist posture throughout the study but more so during the first period. Chronicle’s interest in politics and total coverage showed that a previously tamed, deferential and non-intrusive press under state control could become bold, arrogant, disloyal and extremely intrusive under pluralism (see samples of Graphic and Chronicle’s coverage in Appendices 7 & 8). Whether described as mediatization of politics (McNair, 1999; Thompson, 1995) or politicisation of the media, Ghanaian journalism is excessively political.
The study found that measurement of indicators such as size, direction and tone of news stories; “placement of stories, number of biased remarks, number of pictures, and total column inches of stories” (Holsti, 1969, p. 50) suggested systematic bias of the two newspapers. Whereas *Graphic*’s bias was in favour of ruling administrations, *Chronicle*’s was not necessarily in favour of any of the two but particularly against the NDC as a political regime/party. The NDC’s difficult media environment could explain the amount of coverage recorded in the first study period where fewer political news stories were published than the second period.

In both newspapers and for the two study periods, “journalistic newsgathering” exceeded “information subsidies” especially in the case of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and more so during the second period. Each of the two newspapers used more journalistic/media sources than any other category of sources, and more of these in coverage of the first than the second period. Even so, when the newspapers used political sources, more were used from the NPP than the NDC. Conversely, more political actors were quoted or referred to from the NDC than the NPP. Overall, *Graphic* used more subsidies from the NPP (76.5%) while *Chronicle* used more from the NDC (73.7%) although in both cases, these subsidies were few. Also, in both study periods, activities of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Ministers of State received less media attention than those of their political parties and what was even perceived to be their responsibilities as public officials.

De-emphasising coverage of activities of key political actors and key political sources could be explained as a way of journalists asserting their independence from official/governmental news sources and actors in order to report what they believed to be newsworthy especially because official news sources and actors provided what was routine while the real news lay
in the non-routine activities of political parties. Even in developed countries, some studies have challenged the usefulness of information subsidies to media and coverage credibility (Fishman, 1980; Dickson, 1995; Butler, 1999). Less dependence on subsidies could be interpreted to mean more investigative or enterprise journalism and an indication of greater journalistic autonomy (Bennett & Livingston, 2003; Livingston & Bennett, 2003). It must be indicated, however, that the predominance of journalistic sources of news could be attempts by journalists to conceal the identities of their sources under the guise of confidentiality. The present study, however, had no way of determining whether this was so, and refrained from speculating or drawing conclusions that were not based on its findings. Future research could study this phenomenon by complementing content analysis with interviews or observation.

By complementing content analysis with document analysis, the study took advantage of their individual strengths to enable it examine and describe content and assess its antecedent influencing factors while situating political reporting in its socio-political context to enhance comprehension. The study showed that political news and the prominence given to it were the result of relations between political systems (environmental factors) and the media. This relationship was, therefore, either enhanced or destroyed through effective or ineffective public relations and information services on the part of the two governments and their political systems. Consequently, coverage was the result of, and placed within, prevailing socio-political environments that either facilitated or militated against entente between the media and political actors. The nature and level of newspaper reporting thus reflected the degree of media freedom within this environment and the relationship that existed between the media and the administration concerned. A mutually respectful and friendly government-media relationship as established by the Kufuor administration engendered increased positive coverage while the NDC’s hostility towards the media produced increased negative coverage.
**Political and Legislative Environment**

Documents analysed showed that the media had only progressively gained freedom and independence from governmental control and that the early years of media pluralism and liberalisation in the 1990s were the most difficult. The 1990s marked the period during which mainly politicians brought the most cases against the media both before the NMC and the law courts. Some of the court cases actually ended in the imprisonment of some editors and journalists (Karikari, 2000/2004; Blay-Amihere, 1996). The era comprised the first period of the study, which also marked the first regime of President Rawlings' NDC.

The use of enhancements, especially cartoons, spoke of the media environment within which stories were published. The more constraining the political environment, the greater the number of cartoons used and the more liberal and open the environment the fewer the number of cartoons. *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s use of cartoons, photographs, and photocopies of letters, circulars and documents during the first period of the study was suggestive of restrictions and low levels of freedom journalists felt using words to say exactly what they meant. However, since fewer cartoons were used overall (only 4.0% of enhancements), they did not provide a definitive measure of media hostility and so additional information will be required to make any categorical statements about media environment and political regimes using cartoons.

Similarly, although the picture that emerged from analyses of the use of by-lines did little to substantiate the theory of journalists' fear of some political regimes, further analysis, such as with sources, actors, the direction and tone of the news story did indicate something of the media climate. *Chronicle*, for instance, used more personal name by-lines in stories that
referred to the NDC (the supposedly feared regime) and fewer for the NPP in both periods. \footnote{The perception of the NDC by journalists in the second period of the study was largely influenced by its high-handed treatment of journalists when it was in power in the first period – a kind of a hangover effect from the first when the NDC was perceived as an autocratic civilian administration. The NPP, on the other hand, espoused free expression in opposition and practised it in government to the extent that it actually expunged the criminal libel law from the statute books in 2001.}

*Chronicle*’s consistent use of fewer personal name by-lines in stories that referred to the NPP and more in those that referred to the NDC in both periods of the study gave an indication of some level of fearlessness the newspaper exhibited towards the NDC whether in power or out of power. Furthermore, through its frequent use of qualitative labels, *Chronicle*, particularly, sometimes succeeded in lightening the political atmosphere by putting a spin on some straight news stories and in using sarcasm to ridicule political actors.

By and large, the legal/constitutional and political regimes within which the Ghanaian newspapers operated, unlike in other places (such as the restrictive and oppressive one described by Mwesige, 2004), were conducive both to media pluralism and to freedom of expression including press/journalistic freedoms. As such, whereas it may be true of other contexts that: “Reporting the speech of a government minister in the traditional format (who said-what-when-where) is much safer than adopting an interpretive frame that tells that audience what the minister’s speech really adds up to” (Mwesige, 2004, p. 87), it may not be entirely so of the Ghanaian context. *Chronicle*’s coverage, indeed, gave a contrary indication and *Graphic* asserted some independence. Besides, since both newspapers during both periods of the study, operated within Ghana’s constitutional dispensation, none worked within profound changes as outlined by Hagan (1997), Malinkina and McLeod (2000), and Gulyás (2003) to produce dramatic outcomes.
It was obvious from the wide variety of themes covered and particularly from the use of qualitative labels in political stories that journalists of the two newspapers were not constrained. Although the study did not specifically check for amounts of interpretive or investigative reporting as distinct from protocol reporting, as did Mwesige (2004), newspaper reports showed that Ghanaian journalists exercised their freedom even under the difficult conditions of the NDC administration. *Chronicle’s* political coverage is proof of this. They appeared to work with a conceptualisation of independent journalism operationalised within a combination of the western liberal/social responsibility, and development journalism models, combining aspects of the two as appropriate to the Ghanaian context. This would appear to suggest an increasing convergence of the western and developmental journalism models aimed at creating a unique journalistic model. However, given the closeness of Ghanaian journalistic practices to the western liberal model, and the fact that the latter appears to increase in popularity and usage, what Kasoma (1996) called a “tragedy” might continue to be so for some time.

The tragedy facing African journalism of the 1990s and beyond ... is that the continent’s journalists have closely imitated the professional norms of the (West), which they see as the epitome of good journalism. Consequently, the African mass media’s philosophical foundations, their aims and objectives have been blue-prints of the media in the industrialised societies (p. 95).

The two newspapers exhibited the dilemma between independence from government (libertarianism) and collaboration with government (development journalism) as found by various studies into African journalism including Ebo (1994) and Dixon (1997). Freely intermixing facts and comments (as *Chronicle* often did) suggested an attempt at not adopting “the neutral and objective model of journalism” (Papathanassopoulos, 2001, p. 508) characteristic of libertarianism. However, *Chronicle’s* intermixing of facts with comments and/or speculation did not hamper its ability to perform its watchdog role of monitoring...
power. The study, indeed, found some commitment to the watchdog role prescribed by the 1992 Constitution just as was found among American and German journalists (Pfetsch, 2001). The fact that reporters of the two newspapers depended much more on their own journalistic newsgathering skills than on official political news sources indicated some level of investigative journalism, which usually went with the watchdog role.

Furthermore, although Ghanaian journalism has not yet achieved conditions of the American and European (especially British and German) press models (see Esser et al., 2001; Pfetsch, 2001) it is far from the subjugated and domesticated conditions of both the Greek (Papathanassopoulos, 2001) and Singaporean “don’t-rock-the-boat” journalism (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002) press systems. With the exception of direct government legislation applied during the first study period, Ghanaian journalism was free from the Singaporean-type controls. The study showed that changes in Ghana’s socio-political and ideological conditions influenced journalism and transformed it from a controlled and kept press to a liberated and defiant press enjoying freedoms comparable with those of the west (allowing it to function as watchdog) and contrasting with those of Asia. Bureaucratic bottlenecks confronting Ghanaian journalism by way of access to information for journalistic work appeared to be challenges reaching their end with the freedom of information bill currently before parliament.

**Media and Politics**

Ghana’s hybrid political system - between the models of Great Britain and the United States - dictates a certain hybridisation of politico-media interaction system capable of combining elements of the two political communication systems described by Pfetsch (2001). A blend of “media-oriented news-making strategies of the presidential system and the politically
motivated and focused style of a “representative system of government” (Pfetsch, 2001, p. 50) indeed requires a unique political-media interface presently non-existent in Ghana.

Needed is an approach that combines the American style of attracting media attention and focus (marketing philosophy) with a politically motivated focus.

Ghana’s media system combines commercialisation and public service with private participation and an active state involvement in terms of ownership. Ghana is, thus, subject to both the American and the European systems. As a result, relations/interactions between journalists and political spokespeople were expected to be governed by both professional norms (as was found in the United States) and social norms (as was the case of Germany) (Pfetsch, 2001). This explained why the type of socio-political environment in which journalists operated exacted its toll on both access to official sources of information and extent of coverage of the two political administrations and their activities. It appeared what determined the chances of a particular political message making it through the news gates to the front pages of the two newspapers had more to do with access and setting. Although nearly a third of themes covered focused on political party matters including appointments, parliamentary vetting of political appointees, party rallies and conferences, defections, resignations, scandals, conflicts, accusations, threats and attacks, they were reported predominantly from the national capital. Thus, access to news and geographical proximity much more than source-reporter relational proximity was key. This has implications for political coverage.

There appeared to be conflict between politics and the media manifested principally in the quality of coverage through the use of qualifiers some of which not only showed provocation and disrespect but also suspicion and mistrust. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) noted the
central role of media coverage in political success in modern democratic and information societies as a result of which “reporters find themselves enmeshed in the action” (Esser et al., 2001, p. 25) of politicians especially during political campaigning. Both the fear of losing journalistic autonomy and the reality of getting “enmeshed in the action” dictate a different political-media relationship capable of allaying the fear of journalists while advancing political activity. The NPP’s media-friendly approach is an indication of openness of governance or that government is providing more information to satisfy the publicity criterion of democracy, which might be a useful step forward. In Saward’s (1994, p. 17) words: “There must be a constant and formal process of public notification of decisions, options, arguments, issues and outcomes”.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

Minimal usefulness of the four-theory and developmental concept categorisations was established for understanding coverage of the two political regimes/parties by the two newspapers. Evident was a hybrid media system between conditions created by development journalism, social responsibility/liberal theory and the new media environment with not so much increased sources of, but access to information. This recalled Altschull’s (1984) posture of rejecting any attempt to pigeonhole individual press systems into the authoritarian-libertarian categorisation given obvious commonalities across systems and the differences between press practice and theory. Neither Graphic nor Chronicle yielded to any such categorisation as their coverage, at different periods and levels, exhibited both independence and self-censorship combining liberalism with development journalism. While authoritarianism and libertarianism were untenable, the Ghanaian press remained influenced by its European roots despite Ghana’s socio-political and cultural realities. Some traditional mass media tasks identified were consistent with Peterson (1963, p. 74): servicing the
political system through information, discussion, and debate; enlightening the public to make it capable of self-government; safeguarding the rights of individuals by serving as watchdogs on government; and providing entertainment (through use of qualifiers and cartoons).

Although the two newspapers’ reportage showed influences of the social responsibility or western liberal model, there were discernible peculiarities (such as Chronicle’s crusade against the NDC and Graphic’s reverential reporting of government) of the Ghanaian society, consistent with Papathanassopoulos’ (2001) “political particularities” of the Greek environment (p. 507). These peculiarities appeared to have produced their own blend of journalistic values and practices, and resulted in the concurrent operation of development journalism with the western model in Ghana. Consequently, as Papathanassopoulos found in Greek journalism, it was “difficult to develop a culture of journalistic professionalism faithful to the Anglo-American model” (p. 507) despite influences of western democratic practices and media functions on Ghanaian newspaper reporting. The study shows that journalistic practices and professional cultures differ because “media organizations reflect the differences between political systems, political philosophies, cultural traits and economic conditions” (Papathanassopoulos, 2001, p. 506).

With current emphases on press freedom and individual rights, tenets of the developmental concept also contrast with Ghanaian realities. Consequently, not even the state-owned Graphic operated strictly within this model. Besides, neither of the two newspapers showed overbearing official control and/or guidance throughout the study. Given the newness of Ghana’s democracy and media pluralism vis-à-vis the complexity of its political and media history, it is premature to theorise a typology especially without a clear definition of media
system type. Therefore, despite the longevity of the four theories of the press, spanning half a century, and generating debates aimed at revising and extending them to reflect and match various social systems (McQuail, 2000), they require a rethink. Dramatic changes that have occurred over time within the media (through information and communication technologies), and politics (particularly in Eastern Europe, and parts of Africa), have challenged their relevance (Altschull, 1984; McQuail, 2000). As Mancini (2000) found in Italy, the complexity of Ghana’s socio-political and media systems require journalism models that reflect these complexities.

Furthermore, though the study sought to explain coverage by the sociology of news using Schudson’s (2000) social organisation of news work approach, not all factors contained within that framework were examined. It examined coverage as the result of gatekeeping engineered by source-reporter relationships, explained within social organisation of news work and Gieber and Johnson’s (1961) three-typology relational models, which provide three alternative source-reporter roles that describe the degree of interaction and independence between reporters and news sources. Within this latter perspective, there was largely a separation reflecting different/separate source-reporter roles. This contrasted with the study’s expectation that source-reporter relations would sit within the partially assimilated role option. Essentially, their interactions failed to achieve overlapping frames of reference for the two communicators – reporters and political news sources – between whom there was little co-operation found (as shown in the overwhelming dependence on journalistic sources of news and less so on subsidies) that might have enabled them to achieve their individual communication roles as Gieber and Johnson (1961) had described.
Having situated relations between Ghanaian political news sources and mass media within Gieber and Johnson’s (1961) separate source-reporter roles, they could not be placed in either negotiations/mutual exchanges (Tuchman, 1978/1991; Schudson, 2000/2005; Hallin, 1986) or manipulations (Gandy, 1982; el-Nawawy & Kelly, 2001). At best, what was evident was a relationship of mutual mistrust and suspicion shown in *Graphic* by excessive reporting of governments usually from “official script” and in *Chronicle* by critical and value-laden reportage. In the case of political news sources, mistrust and suspicion of journalists showed in access restrictions and fewer “information subsidies” to journalists. Therefore, despite the importance of official sources of information (Fishman, 1980; Gandy, 1982; McQuail, 2000), the study found little reliance on such sources perhaps because the Ghanaian media have learnt to do without traditionally unco-operative and hostile officialdom. This indicates differences between the west and developing countries regarding relationships between reporters and news sources thereby illustrating the impracticality of transplanting western ideas/models in dissimilar environments. There is need for some adjustment, alteration or modification of such concepts to reflect, particularly, the emerging democratic conditions of developing contexts such as Ghana where history, tradition and modernity still combine in undefined proportions to affect relations between politics and the media.

Overall, none of the theoretical approaches examined, on their own, fully explained dimensions explored in the study, as Schudson (2000) had previously warned, thus justifying the eclecticism involved. Because the political economy approach has largely been discussed in relation to liberal developed economies, hypotheses developed and explanations derived have mostly centred on the west rendering them irrelevant to newly emergent economies/democracies such as Ghana. Though the Ghanaian media operate under freedoms similar to western media they do so within undeveloped markets where corporate capital is
too rudimentary to make any chain ownership or conglomerate meaningful. Furthermore, state stranglehold on the media ceased to exist with the repeal of PNDCL 211 in 1992, liberalisation of the airwaves, and media pluralism (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). This has drastically reduced the ability of both the state and the market to limit free expression and/or decide what news is.

Conclusion

With the greatest emphasis placed on the impact of the journalistic environment, particularly the political climate and political news sources on the work of journalists, the study found the relationship between journalists, on the one hand, and their sources of newsworthy political information and the prevailing political regime, on the other, crucial to the understanding of the amount and quality of reporting. It observed that influences on news production and news decisions were neither obvious nor discernible but an aggregation of socio-political and legislative contextual factors. Several studies of the processes of newsgathering in political communication have indicated the centrality of source-reporter relationships (see Schudson, 2000; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Ericson et al., 1989; Hess 1984; Gandy, 1982; Gans, 1979). In this study, however, such relationships could only be inferred from the environment, which largely determined what events got covered as news, how they were covered and the prominence with which they were displayed in newspapers.

Both quantity/amount and quality of coverage were dependent on the prevailing political and legislative/constitutional regime, which appeared to contradict Ericson et al.'s (1989) observation that frequent interactions between reporters and news sources, ultimately influenced published stories. While not discounting any such interactions in the Ghanaian context, their impact on political news coverage was not overly visible in the two
newspapers' reports. Total coverage for the NDC was phenomenal during both study periods. Admittedly, *Graphic* demonstrated its reverence for ruling governments, and *Chronicle* showed its pursuit of the NDC, both situations resulting in large amounts of coverage expectedly positive in *Graphic* and negative in *Chronicle*. However, such coverage was more responsive to the socio-political environment than to source-reporter relationships. The study, by finding minimal use of official news sources, showed that unlike McQuail and Windahl (1993), news was not "sought out and constructed in a bargaining relationship in which the work interests of participants, some of the goals of the original source and the assumed interests of the audience all play a part" (p. 164). Consequently, relations between political sources and news reporters could not be said to have constituted cardinal determinants of political news.

Although Ghana's social and political structures have changed with each regime they still retain some elements of previous regimes, a situation more noticeable as Ghana fluctuates between military and civilian administrations especially from the PNDC to the NDC and between the latter and the NPP. Given this fluid and ever-changing socio-political environment, relationships between governments and the media have defied strict categorisations along Siebert et al.'s typologies. Besides, none of the conditions within which the four theories were hypothesised has truly existed in Ghana. For instance, while authoritarianism tolerated private ownership, Nkrumah's authoritarian rule effectively stamped out private newspapers. Furthermore, democratic changes that have occurred in Ghana have made any such categorisations both difficult and unrealistic though, anachronistically, many of the colonial press laws have remained in democratic Ghana's statute books (Ampaw, 2004). Considering the failure of existing theories to comprehensively explain Ghanaian newspaper coverage, the study, like Williams and Delli
Carpini (2000), calls for “new perspectives on and theories of the press in a democratic society that take account of the dramatically changing media environment” (p. 78).
Bibliography


*Gazette*, 35(2): 75-82.


Imagining of the Nation. *Media, Culture & Society* 24: 559-569.


Arnold.

33: 326-335.

Prime-time Campaign News Agenda during the 1998 Federal Election. *Australian 

Stone, Michael Singletary, and Virginia Richmond, *Clarifying Communication 

Colombo, Monica (2004). Theoretical Perspectives in Media-Communication Research: 

University of Chicago Press.


Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


Arnold.


Media Monitor, April-June 1996


Appendix 1: Analytical Categories

The study was guided in its operational definition of concepts and content analytical categories by literature especially the fact that, “categories should reflect the purposes of the research, be exhaustive, be mutually exclusive, independent, and be derived from a single classification principle (Holsti, 1969, p. 95). Its analytical categories were defined as follows:

1. Newspaper:

   This referred to the name of the publication or newspaper studied under the content analysis. It was either the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, which was coded (1) or the privately owned *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, which began as a weekly in 1991 but has since 2000 been a daily and was coded as (2).

2. Date of Issue:

   The study was conducted over a four-year period, that is, 1993, 1994, 2001 and 2002 from January to December of each year but separated into two periods: Period 1 (1993/1994 and Period 2 (2001/2002). The date of the issue recorded the date the particular issue of the newspaper analysed was published and was recorded as the day, month, and year of publication.

3. Type of Story/Article/Item:

   It looked at whether the item analysed was a straight news story/article/item written from the newspaper’s own sources and by its own staff or journalists; a government statement or release; an opposition statement or release; or was the subject of the newspaper’s editorial or commentary for that edition or issue.
4. Theme/Subject of Coverage:

The study concentrated on and defined political themes, topics or subjects as all stories about, involving or from the President, Vice-President, Ministers of State, national, regional and district/local political party officials especially belonging to the NPP or NDC. They also included District Chief Executive Officers, opposition politicians of similar ranking such as shadow Ministers, Members of Parliament, government/opposition spokespersons and political party spokespersons belonging to the NPP or the NDC. The news item was, therefore, classified as political if it related to the activities of government, the main opposition party, and their officials. It included their visits, political party activities, party congresses, security matters, strikes and boycotts, corruption, etc. Political news stories also included those in which a Minister of State was mentioned or referred to as performing or not performing an activity. They were mentioned or referred to in either the headline or within the first five paragraphs of the story.

5. Direction of Story:

This looked at the general orientation of the story and measured whether it was positive; negative; or neutral. Included in the positive news items were those about international co-operation and support, communications or cordial working relations with the opposition, government and opposition moving towards entente, nation-building drives, peace talks, reconciliation and humanitarian considerations. The story was negative when it concerned occurrences such as internal conflicts and struggles, international/border conflicts, tension, disorganisation, crime, corruption, confrontations, strikes, boycotts, disaster, etc or something counter-productive. It was neutral when its subject was neither negative nor positive.
6. Tone of Story:
This examined the discourse of the story/item by recording the types of qualitative labels, or words used to denote civility or belligerence. It measured whether the general tone of the story was favourable/friendly/conciliatory; exhortation/encouraging; unfavourable/adversarial; admonition/instructional; or neutral to the political actor, party or issue concerned. It was favourable when more civil words were used, or when the general tone suggested a betterment of relations in people’s lives. It was unfavourable when there was a belligerent tone as inferred from the words, or labels used, or when confrontational tones were inferred. [Note: “Tone” and “Direction” were assessed only from the perspectives of the story actors involved as to whether those stories were favourable and positive or otherwise to them. It should be noted, however, that these two categories can be problematic especially in relation to the criterion of reliability. Care must, therefore, be taken during coding and a good explanation provided to facilitate understanding and replication].

7. Coverage:
The full length of news items and any photographs, cartoons or graphics that accompanied them published on any of the two identified pages: front-page, and the editorial page of the two newspapers.

8. Placement:
This measured the page and location on the page where the news item was displayed in the newspaper. It was either on the front-page, or the editorial. And on the front-page, it measured the exact location to denote prominence with which the story was displayed. It was classified as the “main news story” if it was by size and prominence
larger than all other stories on the page. Otherwise, the story was coded as “front-page other news story”. Placement also checked for stand-alone photographs, letters, cartoons, etc. found on the front-page of the newspaper.

9. Story Enhancements:
Enhancements were the photographs, letters/circulars, cartoons, which sometimes came with news stories. These were examined and recorded. Others stood alone as bona-fide stories and were recorded as such.

10. Story Size:
This measured the length of the story by looking at the space or proportion of the page of the newspaper it occupied. It was measured as a full page, half page, a quarter page, one-eighth page or other measures in-between these sizes. Lengths or sizes of news stories and those of story accompaniments/enhancements were calculated in terms of the amount of space they occupied as proportions of the particular newspaper’s page size and on the basis of the totality of the news story concerned including sections that run over onto other pages in addition to the front-page.

11. Attribution/Source/Dateline:
These were the sources or originators of the published news item. They were the President, Vice-President, shadow politicians, other political actors, journalists (including other news media) or ordinary citizens. Other media sources included media organisations such as GNA, Reuters, CNN, BBC, Peace FM, Joy FM or other newspapers. The story was “un-sourced” or “anonymous” if it had no clearly identified source from whom/which information was obtained.
12. By-Line:

This recorded whether news stories identified their writers and the manner in which they did so. Not personal name by-lines included the following: “Our Economic Desk Staff”, “Graphic Reporter”, “Chronicle Reporter” “from our Swat Team”, or those that came under disguises such as “ our political sources”, “our investigation team”, or “an official of the ministry who spoke on condition of anonymity”13.

13. Event/Occasion:

This looked at the event or occasion during which the news item was covered by the journalist for publication. Occasions were identified as a press conference, political party congress, parliamentary proceedings, media briefing, an interview granted to the newspaper or journalistic newsgathering explained as efforts by reporters to gather their own news through environmental scanning.

14. Actor(s) in the Story:

This addressed the question: who was the main subject of the news item or story? It looked at the person or people involved in the story or about whom it was written. It also looked at those people quoted in the story. These included the President, the Vice-President, former President, former Vice-President or any of their officials. They also included organisations acting on behalf of these political actors and/or their political parties. There could be one, two, three, or more actors in a given story. The study noted the two main actors.

13 Chronicle had fewer stories that used personal names of reporters as by-lines and this was more frequent during the first period of the study: 1993-1994. Chronicle of Thursday, July 26 2001 was exceptional in its use of by-lines. All four front-page news stories of that edition carried different by-lines, which were the personal names of the newspaper’s reporters.
15. Story Setting:

The setting of the story looked at the location where the event reported took place. This included rural areas, the urban areas or the national capital of Ghana; or outside the borders of Ghana in an external environment.

16. Qualitative Labels:

These are adjectival or adverbial labels or emotive words that have the tendency to colour or embellish the story or news report. They would include words like “unimaginable”, “dramatic”, “unfeeling”, “insensitive”, “respectful”, “disrespectful”, “characteristic” “bizarre”, “unusual”, “callous”, “improper”, etc. All such value-laden words were examined for their denotative and connotative meanings.

17. Political Party Mentioned or Referred to:

The focus was on the two principal political parties - the NPP and the NDC - as representative of the two regimes under study, which have formed governments in Ghana in the last decade. However, all registered political parties in Ghana were coded if stories about them also mentioned these two main political parties. Categories created under this variable therefore were: the NDC, the NPP, both NPP & NDC, NDC/PNDC, other Political Parties, all Political Parties, or none mentioned.
Appendix 2: Definition/Explanation of Thematic Labels

Presidential/Vice-Presidential/Ministerial Activities

Coverage/news reports originating from or about the President/Vice-President/Ministers of State, their offices and activities such as visits/tours to other places locally or abroad and/or functions they address/perform including during calls/visits to their office, interviews granted to the media and directives issued by them or their offices.

Governmental Responsibility

This covered an array of news stories about government actions either directly or through any of its Ministries, Departments or Agencies (MDAs) including, programme/project launches; and courtesy calls on government officials. Also included were attempts at helping distressed organisations/enterprises to survive through various interventions; and providing services and amenities such as potable water, electricity, clean environment, toilets and projects including roads, schools, clinics/hospitals and recreational facilities to communities. Others were the granting of amnesty to prisoners, working to arrest criminals and supporting their prosecution, and pursuing policies, acts and practices that aim at consolidating Ghana's democracy including non-interference in the work of state institutions.

Political Party Matters

Routine political party activities/events such as national and/or local elections, party affiliations, political appointments and vetting of political appointees; parliamentary debates; party rallies, congresses and conferences; defections and resignations; scandals; party conflicts/struggles; political insincerity; internal democracy; accusations and rebuttals; intolerance/harassment; threats/attacks on political opponents; political incorrectness; cover-up; and honesty/openness or otherwise.
International/Foreign Politics
Include African unity/integration and development; political/military interference; invasion or mercenary activities.

Finance/Economics, Trade/Business/Investments
Government loans, grants/aid; corruption/misappropriation of funds; economic sabotage and impropriety; economic prosperity and national development; accountability; verbal attacks on private enterprise and businesspeople; poverty alleviation funds/interventions; misuse of state resources; and awards of contract.

Infrastructure/Environment/Utility/Service Provision
Include sanitation issues, water, electricity, infrastructure development and provision of other utilities/amenities.

Conflict, Demonstrations/Strikes, Defence and Security
Calls for demonstrations/strikes; conflict/crises, reconciliation; misrepresentation, misinterpretation and misunderstanding; chieftaincy disputes and violence; and other threats to national security and defence.

Media Pluralism
Includes media-related reportage such as non-interference in media operations; access to information; repeal of libel/seditious laws; threats/attacks on the media; press freedom; and media performance.
Support/Awards/Recognition for Excellence
Includes support/awards for women/farmers/workers, celebration of life/culture; jubilation at political change; and moral exhortation by religious/spiritual leaders.

Constitutional Matters
Election results/issues; challenges and boycotts; court ruling; respect/regard for, or disregard/breaches of the Constitution, its institutions and provisions; dictatorship.

Human Rights
Respect for life; fairness and justice; reparation/settlement/compensation; unlawful arrests/seizures; lawlessness and anarchy.

Employment/Labour Issues
These include salary adjustments and/or workers' conditions of service; job creation; labour, employee-employer relational issues; divestiture and job losses.

Socio-Cultural Matters
Include funerals/deaths and accidents; tribalism/ethnicity; parental irresponsibility; love affair/sexual relations.

Other Themes
Include President's leave/relaxation; rage/anger.

Presidential Actors/Sources
Comprise the President; Vice-President; First Lady and their offices.
Political Party Officials
Comprise national; regional; and district political party officers; Members of Parliament;
Government/Opposition Spokespersons; Opposition Leaders; other elected/appointed officers
and accredited members of political parties.

Foreign/International Officials
Include Foreign Presidents/Vice-Presidents, Government Ministers/Officials and
international agency officials.

Non-Party State Officials
Include directors of ministries; national/local election officers; military, police, paramilitary
personnel.

Socio-Cultural Personalities
Include chiefs/local dignitaries; project site managers/workers; local conference participants;
and ordinary citizens.

Business People/Professional Representatives
Include sports personalities; teachers/educational authorities; business people/private
companies; the Ghana Bar Association and health authorities/officials.

Anonymous/Journalistic/Media Actors/Sources
Comprise journalists attending functions; anonymous/unnamed actors/sources, Ghana News
Agency, other media, newspaper's own editorial/commentary; public or leaked documents.
Information Subsidies

Comprise press conferences; interviews/press briefings/meetings; press releases/statements/letters; conference/workshop resolution; and statements on electoral process or on resignations.

Journalists in Official Entourage

Journalists on President/Vice-President/Ministers/Opposition Leaders’ visits/tours; facility tours; and covering demonstrations/strikes.

Journalistic Newsgathering

Coverage of President/Vice-President/Ministers/First Lady addresses; swearing-in ceremonies; party conferences/congresses/rallies; parliamentary proceedings/debates; supreme/other court proceedings; commissioning/inauguration of projects; courtesy calls; sports contests/competition; stock market trading; journalistic investigations; other public events.

Social/Religious Ceremony, Banquets/Dinners

These include state banquets; religious/church ceremonies; school/educational ceremonies; tree-planting exercises; national farmers’ days; and farewell ceremonies.

Miscellaneous Occasions

Include public/civil society officials’ reflections on governance/government/parliament, and unknown/undisclosed occasions.
Appendix 3: Coding Schedule

CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SCHEDULE
PRESS COVERAGE OF RAWLING'S AND KUFUOR'S FIRST YEARS IN OFFICE

1. Date – Month – Year

2. Newspaper
   1 Daily Graphic
   2 The Ghanaian Chronicle

3. No. of Stories on Front-Page

4. Story Headline
   ............................................................................................................................
   ............................................................................................................................
   ............................................................................................................................

5. Brief Summary of Story
   ............................................................................................................................
   ............................................................................................................................
   ............................................................................................................................

6. Type of Story/Article/Item
   1 Straight News Story/Article/Item
   2 Government/Official News Release
   3 Opposition News Statement/Release
   4 Editorial
   5 Stand-alone Cartoons, Letters/Circulars, Photographs

7. Story By-line
   1 Personal Name
   2 Not Personal Name
   3 No By-line

8. Story Placement
   1 Front-Page Main News Story
   2 Front-Page Other News Story
   3 Editorial/Comment Page
   4 Front-page Cartoon, Letter, etc.
## 9. Main Theme/Subject of Coverage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Theme/Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Presidential Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vice-Presidential Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Government Responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Political Party Activities/Matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>International/Foreign Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Finance/Economics/Trade/Investments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Infrastructure, Service Provision, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Health, Education and Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ministerial Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Conflict, Demonstrations, Security, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Media Pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Support, Award, Recognition, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Constitutional Matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Employment and Labour Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Socio-Cultural Matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fundraising/Donations, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Other Themes (please specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 10. Sources of News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>President/Vice-President (and their officers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ministers of State (and their officers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Political Party Officers/Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Non-Party State Officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Socio-Cultural Personalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Foreign Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Journalistic/Media Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>TUC/Labour Movement Officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>NGO/Civil Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Other Sources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 11. Political Party Mentioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>NPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>NDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Both NPP &amp; NDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NDC/PNDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Other Political Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>All Political Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>None Mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>NDC-NCP-EGLE Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PNDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AFRC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 12. Event/Occasion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Event/Occasion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Information Subsidies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Journalists in Official Entourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Journalistic Newsgathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Miscellaneous Occasions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Other Occasions (Specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Main Story Actors
   1. President/Vice-President (and their offices)
   2. Ministers of State
   3. Political Party Officers
   4. Foreign/International Officials
   5. Non-Party State Officials
   6. Socio-Cultural Personalities
   7. Businesspeople/Professionals
   8. Anonymous/Journalistic Actors
   9. Labour Movement Officers
   10. Pressure Groups
   11. Others

14. Story Setting
   1. Rural Ghana
   2. Urban Ghana
   3. National Capital
   4. District Capital
   5. Regional Capital
   6. Outside Ghana
   7. Other Setting (Specify)
   8. Not Specified/Undisclosed
   9. Multiple Settings

15. Story Size/Length
   1. Full page
   2. Between full page and half page
   3. Half page
   4. Between half and one-third page
   5. One-third page
   6. Between one-third and quarter page
   7. Quarter page
   8. Between quarter and one-eighth page
   9. One-eighth page
   10. Less than one-eighth page

16. Type of Story Enhancement
   1. Photographs
   2. Cartoons
   4. None
17. Size/Length of Enhancements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Full page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Between full page and half page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Half page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Between half and one-third page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>One-third page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Between one-third and quarter page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Quarter page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Between quarter and one-eighth page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>One-eighth page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Less than one-eighth page</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Caption of Enhancement

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Orientation/Direction of Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Positive News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negative News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Tone of Story

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unfavourable/Adversarial/Stern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Admonition/Instructional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. List of Qualitative Labels

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 4: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (August 1993 – December 1994)

#### SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE NO.</th>
<th>COMPLAINANT</th>
<th>DATE RECEIVED</th>
<th>SUBSTANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC)</td>
<td>Not Provided</td>
<td>Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) Vs. The Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dr Robert Dodoo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Dr Robert Dodoo Vs. News Spark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ms. Francisca Issaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Francisca Issaka Vs. The Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State) Vs. The Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dr Farouk Braimah (Dep. Minister of Environment)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Mike Anane (Editor, TheTriumph) Vs. Dr Farouk Braimah (Dep. Minister of Environment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ms. Francisca Issaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP) Vs. GBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr Vincent Assiseh (NDC Press Secretary)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Vincent Assiseh (NDC Press Secretary) Vs. The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mr Henry Woode (PRO, Ministry of Information)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Henry Woode (PRO, Ministry of Information) Vs. The Statesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mr Vincent Assiseh (NDC Press Secretary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff) Vs. Ghanaian Voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) Vs. Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mr Henry Woode (PRO, Ministry of Information)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>WO1 (Rtd) Adjei Boadi</td>
<td></td>
<td>WO1 (Rtd) Adjei Boadi Vs. Weekly Insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mr Kwamena Ahwoi</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Free Press Vs. Mr Kwamena Ahwoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mr Justice Philip Edward Archer (Chief Justice)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Justice Philip Edward Archer (Chief Justice) Vs The Pioneer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mr Kwamena Ahwoi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mr Kwamena Ahwoi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Alhaji Dramani Yakubu, The Chief Justice, Mr I. K. Abban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Mr Justice Philip Edward Archer (Chief Justice)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE NO.</th>
<th>COMPLAINANT/PARTIES</th>
<th>DATE RECEIVED</th>
<th>SUBSTANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hon E. T. Mensah (NDC MP &amp; Minister) Vs The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>16/1/01</td>
<td>Re: Mars hooting spreads – The Ghanaian Chronicle, Vol 1 No. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Hon E. T. Mensah (NDC MP &amp; Minister) Vs The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>22/2/01</td>
<td>Re: E. T. Mensah Dirty Tricks Unfold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces Vs The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>19/3/01</td>
<td>Re: Akafia’s bounced cheque scandal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Greater Accra Co-ordinating Council Vs. Radio Stations</td>
<td>19/3/01</td>
<td>Concession about the random broadcast of sensitive security information by radio stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>NDC Vs. The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>27/3/01</td>
<td>Re: Is Atta-Mills now finding his discordant voice?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Mr Kwame Pianim Vs The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>30/3/01</td>
<td>Complaint against Mr Kofi Coomson and The Ghanaian Chronicle’s persistent mis-reporting calculated to portray me as a double-dealing and an untrustworthy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Mr Vincent Assiseh Vs. Nana Kofi Coomson</td>
<td>9/4/01</td>
<td>Complaint against Kofi Coomson of The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Mr Vincent Assiseh Vs. The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>9/4/01</td>
<td>Re: FBI, IRS Hunt $20 million Quality Grain Loot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Mrs Victoria Addy Vs. The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>14/5/01</td>
<td>Re: Fat Cat boards sap Ghanair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>BNI (S. J. Afari) Vs TV3</td>
<td>18/5/01</td>
<td>Protest to NMC about TV3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Ministry of Food &amp; Agric (F. Appeagyei) Vs Ghana Palaver</td>
<td>4/6/01</td>
<td>Re: Publication of libellous story about the Hon. Minister of Food &amp; Agric in the Ghana Palaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Number</td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Hon. S. C. Buor Karikari (NPP MP) Vs Free Press</td>
<td>21/6/01</td>
<td>Rejoinder to <em>Free Press</em> on MP commends Amansie West District Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Ghana Free Zones Board Vs. <em>The Free Press</em></td>
<td>29/6/01</td>
<td>Complaint against <em>Free Press</em> to publish rejoinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Ms Sherry Aryetey Vs. <em>The Evening News</em></td>
<td>18/7/01</td>
<td>Matters subjudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Mr Victor Selormey vs. <em>The Dispatch</em></td>
<td>27/7/01</td>
<td>Complaint against the <em>Dispatch</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Mr Frank Asante (PR) Local Government vs. <em>Ghana Palaver &amp; Ghanaian Voice</em></td>
<td>23/8/01</td>
<td>Are Kufuor’s appointments free &amp; fair …?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Nana Ato Dadzie vs. <em>The Evening News</em></td>
<td>12/9/01</td>
<td>Complaint against <em>Evening News</em> publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Erious Fraud Office vs. <em>Free Press</em></td>
<td>25/9/01</td>
<td>Complaint against <em>Free Press</em> story ‘Trouble brews at Hohoe hospital’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Ghana Armed Forces vs. <em>The Ghanaian Democrat</em></td>
<td>28/9/01</td>
<td><em>Democrat’s</em> anti-military stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence vs. <em>The Ghanaian Chronicle</em></td>
<td>11/10/01</td>
<td>Re: Soldiers leave man with broken head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence vs. <em>The Ghanaian Chronicle</em></td>
<td>22/10/01</td>
<td>Re: Fear grips Damongo residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Hon. Ben Bukari vs. <em>Free Press</em></td>
<td>24/10/01</td>
<td>Complaint against <em>Free Press</em> publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Hon. Yaw Osafo Marfo vs. <em>Weekly Insight</em></td>
<td>25/10/01</td>
<td>Complaint against <em>Weekly Insight</em> publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Min. of Info &amp; Pres. Affairs vs. the <em>Ghanaian Voice</em></td>
<td>22/11/01</td>
<td>***Re: Complaint by Mr Kwesi Pratt, editor of the <em>Weekly Insight</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Vice President Alhaji Aliu Mahama vs. Hon Steve Akorli</td>
<td>26/11/01</td>
<td>***Publication of military stories by the ‘Ghanaian Voice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence vs. <em>The Ghanaian Democrat</em></td>
<td>3/12/01</td>
<td>***Publication of military stories by the ‘Ghanaian Voice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Dr Kofi Konadu Apraku (Minister of Trade &amp; Industry) vs. <em>The Ghanaian Chronicle</em></td>
<td>21/12/01</td>
<td>Protest against harassment from <em>The Ghanaian Chronicle</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE NO.</th>
<th>COMPLAINANT /PARTIES</th>
<th>DATE RECEIVED</th>
<th>SUBSTANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kofi Totobi Quakyi vs. Statesman</td>
<td>3/1/02</td>
<td>Petition for redress in relation to a publication in the Statesman captioned ‘Totobi Quakyi owns TV3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Minister of Info. &amp; Presidential Affairs vs. Ghanaian Democrat</td>
<td>12/2/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Ghanaian Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>31st DWM vs. Free press</td>
<td>21/2/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Free Press by Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mr Alban Bagbin vs. NPP Press Secretary, Mr Kwadwo Afari &amp; Evening News</td>
<td>4/3/02</td>
<td>Complaint by Alban Bagbin, Minority Leader in Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings vs. The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
<td>6/5/02</td>
<td>Complaint against The Ghanaian Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Chief Justice, Dep. Judicial Secretary vs. Ghanaian Democrat</td>
<td>21/5/02</td>
<td>Re: GBA Ms Akuffo, Anaam Atugubah, incompetent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Office of the Chief Justice vs. The Insight</td>
<td>23/5/02</td>
<td>Re: Judicial Service stinks, SFO investigates fraud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings vs. The Crusading Guide</td>
<td>8/7/02</td>
<td>Re: Konadu Forex account exposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Prisons Service vs. Weekly Spectator</td>
<td>17/7/02</td>
<td>Re: Sodomy is Rife in Nsawam Prisons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Judicial Service vs. The Insight</td>
<td>23/7/02</td>
<td>Re: Adverse press reports on the Judicial Service by The Insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Office of the Vice President vs. Ghana Palaver</td>
<td>27/8/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Ghana Palaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Dr Nii Armah Josiah Aryeh vs. Free Press</td>
<td>2/9/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Free Press publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Harona Esseku vs. The Independent</td>
<td>6/9/02</td>
<td>Harona Esseku and The Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Hon. Gladys Asmah vs. Ghana Palaver</td>
<td>1/10/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Ghana Palaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Dr Josiah Aryeh vs. Vanguard</td>
<td>14/10/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Vanguard newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>SFO vs. Independent</td>
<td>20/11/02</td>
<td>Petition against unethical behaviour of Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Hon Kwadwo Adjei Darko vs. Radio Univers</td>
<td>22/11/02</td>
<td>Complaint against Radio Univers and Alhaji Saddique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Dr Josiah Aryeh vs. Press Press</td>
<td>19/12/02</td>
<td>Another complaint against Free Press</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 7:

Samples of Copies of the Two Newspapers of the First Study Period (1993-1994)
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Variable print quality
Text cut off in original
DANGER AHEAD!

- Executive Dictatorship Feared
- Legislature Mere Rubber-Stamp
- Former Nkrumah Aide Calls For Fervent Prayers

Voters Reject NDC-NCP-Egle 'Trinity'

By Victor Adetu, Kojo Opoku Addo, Kofi Preku and Roland Addo Addo

AGAINST the background of a boycott by the opposition parties, the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) on December 29 carried out its promise to hold the parliamentary elections that were due to mark the inauguration of the Fourth Republic on January 7, 1993.

Contending for places in the parliament of the Fourth Republic were the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the Egle Party.

For the first time in Ghana's political experience, elections took on a significance and appeal as electoral activities turned to a rout. It was a rout in which the ruling party was outpaced and threatened. Voter apathy set in. The failure of the president to come to terms with the public and the failure of his political appointees to control the situation fuelled the rise in public disaffection. The situation was compounded by the refusal of the police to control the public and the failure of the government to control the public.

From all over the country, hostile voters trickled into the stations to perform their constitutional mandate. They defied the police, who had been instructed by the government to control the public. The police had, however, been instructed by the government to control the public.

The picture was no different in Accra. The picture was no different in the Ablekuma Central constituency, one of the centres of opposition activity. The police had been instructed by the government to control the public. The police had been instructed by the government to control the public.
Trouble Looms At NEW TIMES

The following story appears in the report, "The Chronicle," and it seems to be about a conflict or dispute between the New Times Corporation, the bank in the Middle East, and certain individuals involved in the "Subscription and Distribution" of the newspaper.

The article mentions the "New Times Corporation," which is based in the Middle East, and the "New Times Bank," which is also located in the same region. It seems that there has been a dispute between these two entities, with the New Times Corporation accusing the New Times Bank of "mismanagement" and "malpractice.

The article goes on to say that the New Times Corporation has demanded that the New Times Bank return all money that was invested by the company, as well as all assets that were agreed upon in the contract. The New Times Corporation has also stated that they will not be responsible for any debts that are not paid in full.

The article concludes by saying that the situation is still ongoing and that both parties are working to resolve the issue.

DANGER AHEAD!

The following story is about a warning of potential danger for those involved in the "Subscription and Distribution" of the newspaper. The article mentions that there is a "potential danger" for those who are involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article goes on to say that there is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks. It seems that there is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article concludes by saying that the situation is still ongoing and that both parties are working to resolve the issue.

CHIEF DETAINED FOR NO CRIME

The following story is about a chief who was detained by the police for no apparent reason. The article mentions that the chief was detained by the police for no apparent reason, and that the situation is still ongoing.

The article goes on to say that the chief was detained by the police for no apparent reason, and that the situation is still ongoing. It seems that there is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article concludes by saying that the situation is still ongoing and that both parties are working to resolve the issue.

GCB RAISES RATES

The following story is about a recent increase in interest rates by the Ghana Commercial Bank (GCB). The article mentions that the bank has increased interest rates, and that this is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article goes on to say that the bank has increased interest rates, and that this is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article concludes by saying that the situation is still ongoing and that both parties are working to resolve the issue.

WHAT A YEAR FOR COACHES

The following story is about a coach who has done well in his career, and who is currently in the "Year of the Coach." The article mentions that the coach has done well in his career, and that he is currently in the "Year of the Coach.

The article goes on to say that the coach has done well in his career, and that he is currently in the "Year of the Coach." It seems that there is a "potential danger" for those involved in the process, and that they should be aware of the risks.

The article concludes by saying that the situation is still ongoing and that both parties are working to resolve the issue.
As Ghanaians buckle under the huge increase in the price of petrol, which Kweku Bochey said was necessitated by the serious cash-flow problem plaguing the nation, a mind-boggling 83,110,145,885 (more than 3 billion cedis) was approved to the CDR (Committee for the Defense of the Revolution) Secretariat, an organisation outlawed under the Constitution. CDR colleagues, the Civil Defence Organisation (CDO), also defunct under the Constitution, was allocated 325,031,422 (over 200 million cedis).

The killer budget that saw the standard cost of a Ghanaian plummet drastically was smuggled into two days before the dawn of the Fourth Republic on January 5th, 1993. Six months into the year, the 200-member strong Parliament has still not found the time or the energy to debate it on floor.

The huge infusion of cash into the coffers of the two revolutionary organs seems designed to assure their survival even under an onslaught of government at the expense of other sectors of the economy. The total monies allocated to the CDRs and the CDO far exceed the amount appropriated to some of the nation’s top teaching hospitals. Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital for example has less than two billion cedis (1,092,315,156) with which to work; Police Hospitals (a mere 741,218,297), Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, a mere 411,218,297 and Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, a mere 411,218,297 are virtually cash-strapped healing centres, got just over 1 billion cedis.

Other shockers can be found in the P.N.D.C.L. 314, the appropriation 1993 financial year law document. More than four billion cedis of the nation’s tax monies this year have been earmarked for the Bureau of National Investigations. Of that amount, a little over 2 billion cedis has been apportioned to the research department under the office of the FNDC member responsible for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Capt. Kojo Tunkara’s “Blue House.” (Note: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a separate budget aside from this, as do other security agencies such as the police, military etc.

The real danger though is the whopping 20,072,430,609 (more than 20 billion) which was earmarked for the Office of the First lady in the erstwhile FNDC. Critics assume, however, that since the FNDC government was only in office two days after the budget was passed those monies revert to the office of the President, which has kept virtually intact most of its FNDC functionalities. The 20 billion cedis allocated to the President’s Office alone, seems colossal in light of the less than 24 billion cedis appropriated for the entire Ministry of Health under which comes hundreds of hospitals, clinics and health centres nationwide.

Even the Public Tribunals, supposed to be dismantled under the Fourth Republic, got a piece of the action. Aside from the budget allocated to the Judiciary arm of government (2 billion cedis) Public Tribunals were also allocated their own 300 million. And while regional administrations got an average of about 200 million cedis each (some were slightly more, some slightly less), the Ministry of Information aloneler was given 3 billion cedis.

The budgetary allocation document, P.N.D.C. L. 314, from which The Chronicle got all of its facts and figures is available to the public at the Ghana Publishing Corporation, Assembly Press.

But Appiah-Menkah and others would not be wearing furrowed brows of outrage and carrying clenched fists, were all the people categorised in this definition to benefit from free meals and education from Unilever.

Far from it. To the contrary, the agreement (paragraph one of section four) bars "the Distributor," as defined by Unilever, from buying or selling "any goods of a kind and description similar to those sold by the Distributor, or by any of its parent, affiliate, subsidiary or controlled company." The implications? If one man signs the LDA, his wife, children below the age of 21, driver, watchman, house-helps and other dependents must not even think about

Unilever vrs. Local Soapmakers

BY KWAKU SAKYI-ADDO

A line has been drawn in the foamy sands of Ghana’s soap market. The bars of carbolic soap are at the ready to clobber, as three local manufacturers fume over what they say constitute foul play by Unilever Ghana Ltd.

The indigenous companies, are Anene Sangaree Soap manufacturers, Oils and Fats Ltd. and Applah-Menkah Complex Ltd.

The bone of contention involves two harmless-looking paragraphs in the Lever Distributors Agreement (LDA) which seem to stretch the definition of "distributor" somewhat too far and, consequently, prevents too many people from doing business with Unilever’s competitors.

The LDA (paragraph two of section four) defines the "Distributor" to include "any spouse or spouses, children under the age of 21 years, and any person or persons under his management or control or employment."
**EDITORIAL**

**Like a Thief in the Night**

June 12th, 1949, marked the founding of the country's first mass political party, the Convention People's Party (CPP) by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of blessed memory.

June 12th, therefore signifies the momentous epoch in the political history of Ghana not only as a remarkable turning point in the country's struggle for political emancipation, but also the day which set ablaze the sustained African Revolution.

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the founding of the CPP family, the membership of which transcends all ethnic or tribal and social barriers, we salute all comrades, dead and alive.

Those of us alive today, particularly the surviving founding fathers and sisters in the family, whose existence appears imminent unless we collectively and courageously take a positive stand to save the sinking family. We must bow down our heads in shame as we observe the 44th anniversary so disintegrated and so devastated.

It is unfortunate that we should still be seeing the sanctimonious and hollow pride of a few fakes destroy the solid foundation upon which the CPP was founded.

Doublets, Osagyeo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the departed founding fathers and brothers, who sacrificed everything to form and nurture the indomitable party would be cursing us in their graves and posterity shall point accusing fingers at us if we should supervise the destruction of the CPP.

It is our fervent hope, that we shall, once again, make history on this momentous anniversary by solving to forget the past and rekindle the spirit of togetherness, unity and brotherliness which have always been the basic characteristics of the CPP family. A few weeks ago, we had the occasion of remembering the solemnity of the death of our illustrious leader Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, we had the opportunity to dilate on the sad state of affairs within the family which led to the sad death. It was a solemn occasion, the dismantlement and incalculable harm it had done to the people of this country in particular and Africa in general.

We appeal to all the living Pors, elders, founding fathers, splinter groups and all concerned to close their ranks and settle for a united front without any pre-conditions.

As we observe this solemn occasion it behoves us to resolve ourselves to save the CPP as we are all experiencing as conscience quess to our inability to unite and stand as a united front to defeat the temptations and temptations by the fakes that may tend to set us agail on the path to total destruction.

There is victory for us.

---

**FREE BIBLE COURSE BY MAIL**

For your free course plans send your name and address below this line to:

WORLD BIBLE SCHOOL
DEPT. GHAT, P.O. BOX 2246
TELEPHONE 7744

---

**FREE BIBLE COURSE BY MAIL**

For your free course plans send your name and address below this line to:

WORLD BIBLE SCHOOL
DEPT. GHAT, P.O. BOX 2246
TELEPHONE 7744

---

**FREE BIBLE COURSE BY MAIL**

For your free course plans send your name and address below this line to:

WORLD BIBLE SCHOOL
DEPT. GHAT, P.O. BOX 2246
TELEPHONE 7744

---

**NKRUMAHISTS WANT UNITY**

**BY NANA KOBINA NKETIA & NANA OKUTHER BEKOE**

June 12th, 1949 marked the founding of the country's first mass political party, the Convention People's Party, by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of blessed memory.

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the founding of the CPP family, the membership of which transcends all ethnic or tribal and social barriers, we salute all comrades, dead and alive.

Those of us alive today, particularly the surviving founding fathers and sisters in the family, whose existence appears imminent unless we collectively and courageously take a positive stand to save the sinking family. We must bow down our heads in shame as we observe the 44th anniversary so disintegrated and so devastated.

It is unfortunate that we should still be seeing the sanctimonious and hollow pride of a few fakes destroy the solid foundation upon which the CPP was founded.

Doublets, Osagyeo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the departed founding fathers and brothers, who sacrificed everything to form and nurture the indomitable party would be cursing us in their graves and posterity shall point accusing fingers at us if we should supervise the destruction of the CPP.

It is our fervent hope, that we shall, once again, make history on this momentous anniversary by solving to forget the past and rekindle the spirit of togetherness, unity and brotherliness which have always been the basic characteristics of the CPP family. A few weeks ago, we had the occasion of remembering the solemnity of the death of our illustrious leader Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, we had the opportunity to dilate on the sad state of affairs within the family which led to the sad death. It was a solemn occasion, the dismantlement and incalculable harm it had done to the people of this country in particular and Africa in general.

We appeal to all the living Pors, elders, founding fathers, splinter groups and all concerned to close their ranks and settle for a united front without any pre-conditions.

As we observe this solemn occasion it behoves us to resolve ourselves to save the CPP as we are all experiencing as conscience quess to our inability to unite and stand as a united front to defeat the temptations and temptations by the fakes that may tend to set us agail on the path to total destruction.

There is victory for us.

---

**FREESTYLE**

invite all Old Boys, Families & Friends to a Social Night on Friday, 9th July, at 7pm at Best Cuisine, Formerly B Canteen Complex, Near British Council, Accra.

There will be a cover charge of 50c per head for refreshment
The Abrasive Gen. Quainoo Crosses Swords With Dr. Abdallah As They Declare...

"WE ARE AT WAR"

By Kwaku Sakyi-Addo

The fat General has drawn his rusted sword from its worn sheath. The bearded man of letters has responded with a rattle of his northern haiku. General Arnold Quainoo, the old soldier who refuses to fade, and Dr. Mohammed Ben Abdallah, the gentlest, loveliest Chairman of the National Commission on Culture, are at war as they see it, as they both see it. The General has opened his mouth in what looks like a duel between novelist and letter writer. You can almost hear him bellowing: "You must be a fool to think culture is like war. You are here to win, fool!" That must be the thing the Buffalo Soldier is thinking about his own culture and his brief stature notwithstanding, not cowering in the face of his 350-pound adversary.

Temper flared in the boardroom of the Commission last Wednesday at a meeting of the NCC board, as Dr. Abdallah and other board members openly challenged General Quainoo’s jurisdiction over the commission. The abrasive General, not used to being questioned by “other ranks”, told them he would remain at the commission whether they liked it or not, because he took his instructions from the President, whether they like it or not. Like the General, the board members responded in chorus of disagreement around the oval table, that their role on the board had been insulted. They also found General Quainoo’s demands overly abrasive and militaristic.

Dr. Abdallah was furious and wanted to know where General Quainoo’s oversight responsibilities ended, and his (Abdallah’s) chairmanship of the commission took off. "It was a very angry meeting," said our source.

Other board members at the meeting included Saka Acquaye, Professor Kwame Anin of the Institute of African Studies, Professor Patrick Twumasi, a UNESCO consultant, Mr. Barbara Baeta-Enchill of Fair Catering, Nana Brempong of NCC and Nana Ama Sarwah from Sunyani. The only person at the meeting who seemed, mildly, to be on the General’s side was a certain Colonel Amos, a military service man.

The confrontation became so intense that at one point Quainoo was planning to write down his instructions before he submitted it to the President. The General, however, quieted down, insisting that he was not accountable to the board. The board members responded in chorus of disagreement around the oval table, that their role on the board had been insulted. They also found General Quainoo’s demands overly abrasive and militaristic.

Clashes erupted when Quainoo was reported to have threatened to carry General Quainoo off to jail if he did not have his instructions. The board members responded in chorus of disagreement around the oval table, that their role on the board had been insulted. They also found General Quainoo’s demands overly abrasive and militaristic.

POLICEMAN KILLS SOLDIER

AND TENSION MOUNTS

Soldiers at the Gondar Barracks are threatening hells over the death of Lance Corporal Brigid Couch, described by police as an armed robber.

According to the Police, Lance Corporal Couch was shot to death by members of the Police Strike Force when he refused an order to stop and pulled out a pistol near the NOVOTEL Hotel in Acra.

Colleagues of L/Cpl Couch, at the Gondar Barracks and relatives however say that the police have so far not provided any evidence linking him even remotely to an armed robbery.

Soldiers at the Gondar Barracks interviewed by THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE demanded anonymity but warned that they would retaliate swiftly if “proper investigations” are not carried out into what the police called L/Cpl Couch.

“We will not allow policemen to just continue under the Commission’s orders without consulting us. They are supposed to be undergraduate soldiers,” Dr. Abdallah, the President’s representative on the NCC Board, said. Another soldier, who asked to be named, said: “It was embarrassing.”

Another development in the killing was an eight-page report written by the President’s representative, Dr. Abdallah, at the NCC Board which went basically that General Quainoo was a platoon commander of the commission.

Dr. Abdallah, in the Gondar’s December edition of PANAFEST Secrets.

"Our role is..."
"We are at war" page 1

Mr. Daktu's transfer is suspected to be a punishment stemming from Mr. Daku's open questioning of the improper style of dealing with the commission. "I am certainly worried about this development and of what may happen since you seemed to have assumed your rightful responsibility over the National Commission on Culture," wrote Abdallah.

"I fear looking at some of the letters emanating from your office and your style in dealing with the commission, I am beginning to wonder who is actually responsible for the day to day administration of the NCC.

"Indeed I am wondering where your temporary oversight responsibility ends and where my executive role as chairman of the NCC begins," Dr. Abdallah concluded.

When contacted for direct comment on the matter, Dr. Abdallah said as Chairman of the Commission, it would be ill-advised on his part to make a statement.

As things stood now, General Quashie seemed to prefer the cultural atmospheres of the commission to the dangers of peace-keeping in Monrovia, or the boredom of an army pensioner's life, and as not likely to accept the offer on his part. Dr. Abdallah on the other hand is not prepared to best his retreat to life as a full-time teacher in the dusty Legon lecture rooms. Call it a stalemate.

Policeman Kills Soldier

Cont'd from page 1

(NPP) who was allegedly harbouring Professor Albert Aba-Ibom after his famous Danquah.

Family sources are reading politics into the whole affair and the claim is that Lt-Col

Stolen Verdict?

Cont’d from page 1

Gilbert Okparu-Odo, a 28 year old vendor is reported missing from his Accra home. According to a

relative, Gilbert who was a Vendor of ‘Stolen Verdict’ was being sought by the Bureau of National Investigations.

The Association of Ghana Industries (AGI)

The 6th Annual General Assembly of

the Federation of West African Manufacturers' Associations (FEWAMA)

will be held on

TUESDAY, 19TH OCTOBER, 1993

at 09.30AM at the

ACCRU INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE, ACCRA

 SPECIAL GUEST OF HONOUR
A HIGH RANKING GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

MEMBERS OF AGI, INDUSTRIALS, BUSINESSMEN, BANKERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC ARE ALL INVITED.

Edie Impeach-Amoakoh, Executive Secretary

INTERPLAST, KOTOKO TIE THE KI

INTERPLAST Limited of Accra, last two weeks gave a head start to Champions Club Kotoko in the new professional league next year. The company is the leading manufacturer of PVC pipes in the country, has signed an agreement to sponsor Accra Kotoko for a period of three years beginning next year.

Mr. Hayam Fakhry Director of the company told this newspaper that the company will also provide Kotoko with several sets of jerseys, and other equipment for training and matches.

The package also includes cash bonuses for Kotoko players who win the premier league championship. Any player who wins SWAG awards will also receive a cash bonus.

Mr. Fakhry said his company chose Kotoko for their truck record as the most successful in the country. He added that Kotoko are the only team who wear Interplast’s logo will coal. Several million dollars are involved in the package.

Having problems sleeping lately? Worrying about Armed Robbers & Burglars? Well then, your best bet is...

SUPER RAZOR BAR

MINIMUM INVESTMENT MAXIMUM SECURITY

CONCERTINA WRAP ON PRECAST WA

We also handle installation.

Available at

INTER-AFRICAN LTD.

REGISTRATION OFFICE: ACRA HOUSE, ACCRA TEL: 210005/6, 210007/8 FAX: 210673

U.K. OFFICE: 18 CRUSOE RD MITCHEAM, SURREY, C14 17Q ACTING EDITOR IN CHIEF: KWAKU BADARDO

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper, Xamal Offices No. 814, 1st Floor, Asafo Market, P.O. Box 474, U.P. Tel: 001 (3135)

Packaged and Published by Ghana's The Chronicle P.O. Box 3435, Airport-City. Tel: 210068, 210071, 210072, 210084, 210089

U.K. Office: 18 Crusoe Rd, Mitcham, Surrey, U.K. Acting Editor in Chief: Kwaku Badarodo

This issue is also available on PRECAST WA

Super Razor Bar

It's like having a 24 hour Security Guard!
The Chronicle
VOL 4 NO 109 MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21 - WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1994 UKP 0.75p GERMANY DM12.00 $200

'Poverty and Politics':
Read the engaging essays of Psychology by Professor A. A. Afrifa on Thursday - It's hilarious

Who is chopping what in Ghana's Timber wars - coming up.

What is happening at ATS? Greed avarice at a people's anger - THURSDAY

THE PRESIDENT IS MAD!

His Mother-In-Law also explodes

By Nana Afiinum Common
Editor-In-Chief

The President FLT. LT. Jerry Rawlings (rd) is reported to be "mad" at the advent of his beloved wife's 50th in the United States.

He is said to be also angry about the "white-wedding" symbols placed on the grave of his late mother - a very long programme at the University of Ghana, Legon.

A letter from Mr. William C. Newsham to the famous Ghanaian who were watching the school authorities in the UK explained that Mrs. Rawlings was very upset by the apparent lack of respect for the urinal. This was due to the fact that she used to wear a white wedding dress at the University of Ghana.

The school which was filled with telephones and other communications devices is the University of Ghana, Legon.

But while this was happening, the government was being told by the former National Energy Advisor, Mr. Osei Bawumia, that SMC is to be "mad" at the advent of his beloved wife's 50th in the United States.

And while this was happening, the government was being told by the former National Energy Advisor, Mr. Osei Bawumia, that SMC is to be "mad" at the advent of his beloved wife's 50th in the United States.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER for Finance and Economic Planning, Mr. Victor Schorney, has blasted the high budget deficit and government expenditure in a pressure on the ministry.

Mr Schorney who recently resigned that there is no necessity in terms of the Ghana's Timber wars, has blamed the government's expenditure on the pressure on the ministry of Mrs. Rawlings, his beloved wife's 50th celebration.

"There are activities which the Ministry is sometimes not able to do it -" said Mr. Schorney, who did not see the need in terms of the Ghana's Timber wars.
THE PRESIDENT IS 'MAD'

FINANCE MINISTER ACCUSES COUNCIL OF STATE

continued from page 1

continued from page 2

The Chronicle, Monday, November 23 - Wednesday, November 25, 1992

Mr. Atta did not utter a word throughout the three meetings with non-county officials, but instead spent the time acquiring experience they would later have to accompany the committee of the Labour

Mr. Atta later on Wednesday, April 2, 1986, to accompany the committee of the Labour

The Chronicle, Monday, November 23 - Wednesday, November 25, 1992

THE PRESIDENT IS 'MAD'

Oh dear, what could the matter be with Kojo T?

GET UP GFA

By Kehinde Adunse

continued from page 3

Mr. Atta did not utter a word throughout the three meetings with non-county officials, but instead spent the time acquiring experience they would later have to accompany the committee of the Labour

Mr. Atta later on Wednesday, April 2, 1986, to accompany the committee of the Labour
THE President-elect, Flt-Lt J. J. Archer, will be sworn in by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice J. V. L. Phillips, at the Independence House in Accra on January 7.

At the same ceremony, Mr Justice Archer will swear in the President-elect, Mr K. N. Arkah.

According to an official statement released in Accra on Saturday, the ceremony will start at 11 am.

Mr Phillips, a former chairman of the Ghana Bar Association, was sworn in as President-elect on Friday, the day before the presidential election, following the death of Mr Akuffo Addo, the president-elect, who was killed in an accident in March.

The President-elect, who has been in power since 1992, said he would continue to use the backing of the Akufo-Addo administration to implement the economic and social policies of the government.

Mr Phillips, who was in the United States on Friday, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to stabilize the economy and improve the living standards of Ghanaians.

He said he would continue to work with the government to implement the policies of the Akufo-Addo administration, which he said had made significant progress in the fight against poverty and unemployment.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.

Mr Phillips, who is a member of the New Patriotic Party, said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability.

He said he would continue to support the government in its efforts to promote the development of the economy and to create jobs for the youth.
Headmasters Donate To Education Office

The Headmasters and Headmistresses of all the Basic Schools in the Greater Accra Region have donated 10,000 cedis to the Education Office as the first instalment of this year's contribution. The donation was presented by the Director of Education, Mr. M. A. Ankomah, and his team to the Education Office at the Central Office. The occasion was marked by the Governor of the Greater Accra Region, Mr. Kofi Amoabeng, who expressed his appreciation for the gesture. He encouraged other institutions to follow suit.

WVI-Sponsored Projects Commissioned

The Woman's Voluntary Organization (WV1) has commissioned 12 projects in the Greater Accra Region. These projects include the construction of schools, hospitals, and water facilities. The ceremony was attended by Mr. Fred Armah, the Deputy Director of Education, and the Headmaster of the school where the projects were commissioned. The projects are expected to benefit many people in the area.

4 Police Officers To Study In India

The Ghana Police Service has selected four officers to study in India. The officers are expected to return to Ghana after completing their studies. The officers are Mr. Bright Oduro, Mr. Richard Akuamoah, Mr. John Awuah, and Mr. Francis Ankuamah. They will study at the Indian Police Academy in Delhi.

Head Of State Party For 101

The Head of State Party for 1992 has been announced. The party is led by Mr. Fred Armah, the President of Ghana. The party's programme is expected to focus on improving the living standards of Ghanaians. The party's manifesto will be released soon.

Donation To The Akropong Akuapem Assembly

The people of Akropong Akuapem have donated 20,000 cedis to the Assembly. The donation was presented by Mr. Fred Armah to the District Chief Executive. The people of the area are grateful for the support given by the Assembly.

Missing Child

A child named Kwadwo Osei was reported missing in the area. Anyone with information is urged to contact the police immediately.
The New Patriotic Party (NPP) said yesterday it would not go to the polls in 1996 if the government did not take steps to identify cards for Ghanaians.

At a rally to oppose the 1994 Budget in Accra, Dr John Ttinkloe and Mr Kwabena Maye, leaders of the party, called on the government to implement its own proposals to bring down the rate of inflation. The protest was scheduled around the time at which the identification card bill had to be read in Parliament. The party warned that failure to take action would mean a breakdown of law and order.

The NPP leader called on citizens to hold the government accountable and to vote for the party. "AsGhanaians, we believe we should be able to decide our future. This is what the NPP believes and that is why we are here today to tell the government that we are prepared to go to the polls in 1996 if it fails to meet the needs of the Ghanaians," Dr Tinkloe said.

The United Party for National Development, which had earlier stated that it would not go to the polls in 1996 if the government did not take steps towards the removal of the ID card bill, also held a rally in Accra yesterday.

The party leader, Mr. Samuel Ofori-Atta, called on the government to implement its proposals to bring down the rate of inflation. He said if the government failed to meet the expectations of Ghanaians, the opposition would hold a national demonstration to press for its implementation.

Thesunshine party leader, Mr. Adebayor Adjei, also spoke at the rally and said it was the duty of the government to bring down the rate of inflation. "We therefore urge the government to implement its proposals to bring down the rate of inflation," Mr Adjei said.

The NPP leader, Dr Tinkloe, also spoke at the rally and said the government should take steps to reduce the rate of inflation. "We therefore urge the government to implement its proposals to bring down the rate of inflation," Dr Tinkloe said.
**VACANCY:**

**DRAUGHTSMAN**

With Polytechnic qualification or equivalent, minimum of 3 years working experience, knowledge in hydraulic plumbing and reading construction drawings and site work supervision? Then apply.

AFROWOOD IND (Ghana) Ltd. Tel: 222146

North Kaneshie, Industrial Area, end of Dansoman (Main Industrial) Road, with application, CV and samples for immediate employment.

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION**

Requires immediately an assistant for:

**ADMINISTRATOR**

- Applications should be addressed to:
- [Address]
- In addition, two witnesses should have:
- [Witnesses' details]
- No degree or lower level is acceptable.
- Please enclose Curriculum Vitae.

**TUTOR**

1. (Two) catering instructors with 7/6/11 or above.
2. (Two) dressmaking intermediate tutors Salary: negotiable but very attractive.

- Interested persons should call personally to the Principal, Ebony Vocational/Commercial Institute, Tema.

**GHANA'S MINING AND ENVIRONMENT GUIDELINES (PROCEEDINGS)**

Ghana's Mining and Environmental Guidelines, based on the consultative approach, have been completed and are contained in the Proceedings from the National Seminar on the Environment and Mining Guidelines to regulate Mining Activities in Ghana.

The Proceedings are in five parts:

- Ghana's Mining Environment (General)
- Drafting of the Proposed Guidelines
- General Environmental Issues
- Case Studies
- Mining and Environmental Guidelines for Ghana.

This book is essential for anyone interested in a sustainable development, particularly in the mining industry. The selling price is GH₵20.00. Please contact the Minerals Commission, Environmental Protection Council and University Bookshops for your copy.

**THANKSGIVING**

The national thanksgiving will be held at the Accra International Conference Centre on Sunday, January 29th (9am). Details of the activities planned are:

- An interdenominational service according to the liturgy of the Anglican Church and the RCCG
- The President, Mr. Jerry John Rawlings will deliver a keynote address
- A 15-minute sing-along
- Nana Wembo, Chief of Kasoa, will deliver a litany
- A clown presents a skit, followed by the Green Team, a presentation by the Ghana Police Women's Association
- A dance item by the Test Bed Singers
- 11 hymns
- Prayers of commendation of the late Mr. George Brobbey
- The National anthem

**SURGICAN CALL ON PRESIDENT**

The Executive members of the West Africa College of Surgeons yesterday called on President Jerry John Rawlings at the State House. A discussion took place on health matters.

**THREATS OF BOYCOTT**

A total of 100 doctors in the country have decided to boycott all health institutions from tomorrow. The doctors, who are in the process of drafting a statement, say they are tired of the constant harassment and intimidation they face.

**CLASH**

A Clash between the local police and a group of people involved in a land dispute resulted in one person being injured.

**GOODSTONE NOT EXPECTED**

The University of Ghana, Legon has explained that the decline in the Goodstone (Akampam) price, which was anticipated by many, has not been expected as well.

**THANKSGIVING**

A statement issued by the university and signed by Dr. T. A. T. Ofori Atta, Registrar General, said that Mr. Akampam has been assured of vigorous efforts to be taken to ensure the continued supply of the Goodstone to the markets.

**YOUTH STONE POLICE**

One of the Youth Stone Police of the Koforidua Town Council has been summoned by the Police for alleged stealing.

**'Ensuite Food'**

By An Aidan

FOOD and drug industries in the country have been advised to adopt new quality control and safety measures, to ensure the acceptance of Ghanaian products on the international market.

Mr. A. J. Hayden, Research Officer of the Food Research Institute (FRI) who gave the advice, said that the domestic economy has been developed in such a way that it is quite possible to meet international quality standards.

The seminar, themed: "Quality Assurance - The Key to Success", was attended by representatives of the FRI, quality controllers, production managers, machinery operators and other concerned organizations.

Mr. Hayden explained that the seminar was aimed at sensitizing the stakeholders on the need to ensure that the products produced meet international quality standards.

The seminar was attended by representatives of the FRI, quality controllers, production managers, machinery operators and other concerned organizations.

**THANKSGIVING**

A thanksgiving service will be held at the Regional Commissioner's Office on Sunday, January 29th (9am). The service will be led by Rev. Dr. A. A. Quartey, the Regional Commissioner.

- Members of the public are welcome.
- A 15-minute sing-along
- Nana Wembo, Chief of Kasoa, will deliver a litany
- A clown presents a skit, followed by the Green Team, a presentation by the Ghana Police Women's Association
- A dance item by the Test Bed Singers
- 11 hymns
- Prayers of commendation of the late Mr. George Brobbey
- The National anthem

**THANKSGIVING**

A thanksgiving service will be held at the Roman Catholic Diocesan Center, Accra, on Sunday, January 29th (9am). The service will be led by Rev. Dr. A. A. Quartey, the Regional Commissioner.

- A 15-minute sing-along
- Nana Wembo, Chief of Kasoa, will deliver a litany
- A clown presents a skit, followed by the Green Team, a presentation by the Ghana Police Women's Association
- A dance item by the Test Bed Singers
- 11 hymns
- Prayers of commendation of the late Mr. George Brobbey
- The National anthem
TO HAVE OR NOT TO HAVE SEX

**DAILY GRAPHIC, Thursday, January 27, 1994, Page 4**

**THINK TWICE, NPP**

POLITICIANS can be aptly said to be both the salt and poison of Ghana, a country which ought to be pursued with all seriousness and honesty.

Even when politics is perceived to be a matter of life or death, it is serious for its rules that make it a contest of either win or lose.

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) is reported to have said yesterday that it is not only taking politics seriously but also trying to bend the hand of the government and nation to do what is not economically feasible within the time frame.

Although it cannot be denied that a number of measures are giving Ghanaians interested in a genuine process of development some hope, the party's calls must be met with proper responses by all stakeholders. At the same time, one must applaud the NPP for its genuine interest in the government and nation to do things within the time frame.

For instance, the party's call to the government to consider the NCIP's latest threat of not supporting government's initiative to the three-sector reconstruction is not only timely but also well thought through. However, the party's call to the government to reconsider the NCIP's earlier threat to support the three-sector reconstruction is not only well thought through but also timely. However, the party's call to the government to reconsider the NCIP's earlier threat to support the three-sector reconstruction is not only well thought through but also timely.

It cannot be denied that a number of measures are giving Ghanaians interested in a genuine process of development some hope, the party's calls must be met with proper responses by all stakeholders.

This concern underlined the challenge to the government that in a country where unemployment is prevalent, the government must do business with the government and nation to do things within the time frame.

The NPP's latest threat is therefore very well thought through and timely. The party's call to the government to reconsider the NCIP's earlier threat to support the three-sector reconstruction is not only well thought through but also timely.

Between the government and party, there is a government and nation that is in need of proper leadership.

The leadership of the party knows that the government and nation are not the most important ways of the government and nation to act in a certain matter.

Between the government and party, there is a government and nation that is in need of proper leadership. The leadership of the party knows that the government and nation are not the most important ways of the government and nation to act in a certain matter.

Law on puberty rites needed

**Daily Graphic**: Nana, would you kindly explain why you decided to take the initiative of promoting the law on the subject of the new year school?

Nana: The law on the subject of the new year school was introduced by the Government in 1954. The law was introduced to ensure that the new year school is conducted with a view to promoting the education of the children.

In the same vein, the law on the subject of the new year school was introduced by the Government in 1954. The law was introduced to ensure that the new year school is conducted with a view to promoting the education of the children. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

However, the law is not enough to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. A law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.

The law on the subject of the new year school is therefore needed to protect the children from being subjected to harmful practices. The law is therefore important for the protection of the children.
DON'T SPREAD FALSEHOOD ... Says President Rawlings

From Bansford Tetteh, Bukuruwa

The President, Mr. Jerry John Rawlings, who is expected to be taken to task on his handling of his government. However, his speeches are founded on truth and objectivity.

The President has been accused of not speaking about the drought in the country. Addressing a gathering of people in the commissioning ceremony of a 12 million water project for Bukuruwa in the Eastern Region on Holy Saturday, President Rawlings expressed regret that his and his colleagues were not being accused by some people about the government's inability to solve the problem of drought and the water crisis in the country.

The Bukuruwa Water Project was inaugurated by the president with 12 million cedis, to construct a dam and a 2km canal to serve the community.

President Rawlings gave the assurance that the government will look at the situation from different angles to complete the water works on the first phase of the Bukuruwa project.

Watch Out!

FROM this week, the Graphic will run a special, well-researched, analytical series on Ghana soccer, with special reference to recent failures.

It's going to be explosive, frank and nobody will blame him anything to do with Ghana's soccer woes would be spared. Look out for it and we bet, you won't be disappointed. It's a must for every soccer fan. Book your copies now!

Christians observe Easter

CHRISTIANS throughout the world are today observing Easter, the event which sees the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. The event is observed by the majority of the Christians of the world.

It is a time when millions of Christians go to church to celebrate the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who after his crucifixion and burial, rose from the dead on the third day.

In Accra, the capital city of Ghana, the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community, Mr. Yosef, urged Jews to observe the event with joy and celebration.

The Chief Rabbi said the event was a reminder of the power of God and the importance of faith.

He urged Jews to reflect on the events of Easter and to celebrate the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

President Rawlings said the event was a reminder of the power of God and the importance of faith.

He urged Jews to reflect on the events of Easter and to celebrate the resurrection of Jesus Christ.
African states urged to formulate nutrition plans

 PARTICIPANTS at the sixth African Task Force on Agriculture and Nutrition Development and Planning meeting, which ended in Accra, have urged African governments to make comprehensive nutrition policies. The meeting, attended by experts from 13 African countries that are members of the African Task Force on Agriculture and Nutrition Development and Planning, has recommended that African governments formulate comprehensive nutrition policies and establish mechanisms for continuous monitoring and evaluation of policies. "The meeting noted that regarded as a matter of policy, nutrition should feature in the national development plans of each country," the statement said.

Don't spread falsehood

Claret, from P. I. T.

It's a sad day for Ghana. Our great nation has been faced with a tragedy. The death occurs at a time when the country is striving towards peace and unity. The nation has lost one of its greatest leaders, Rev. Fr. Arthur P. N. Adams, the former General Secretary of the Methodist Church in Ghana and the late President of the Methodist Church in Ghana. The late leader will be remembered for his contributions to the development of the country and the church. He was a man of integrity and was known for his commitment to the cause of justice and peace. He was a great leader and a great gentleman. His death is a great loss to the country and the church. We extend our condolences to the family of the late Rev. Fr. Arthur P. N. Adams and to the Methodist Church in Ghana. His memory will live on in our hearts.

Christians observe Easter

Churches observed the Easter Sunday in Accra and other major towns in the country. The church service was held in the morning at various churches across the country. The service was attended by both members and guests. The service was led by the church officials and was followed by the singing of hymns and prayers. The service was peaceful and was attended by members of various denominations. The service was held to mark the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

CLAY PRODUCTS (GH) LTD.

Building a house in an inflationary world?

CLAY PRODUCTS: To The Rescue offers you Quality bricks & tiles at moderate cost.

Gold price:
The minimum gold selling price for 22-carat gold is GH¢ 235,000 per ounce, as announced by the Bank of Ghana on Thursday, April 12.

Environmental NGOs

The Environmental NGOs have condemned the government's efforts to control the growth of plastics in the country. The NGOs have called for an immediate halt to the importation of plastics in the country. They have also called on the government to provide alternative materials to plastics.

Zonta Club

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Zonta Club, a fundraising event was held in Accra. The event was attended by members of the Zonta Club and other guests. The event was held to raise funds for the Zonta Club's charitable activities.

Obituaries

The death of Mr. Kofi Atta, a renowned Ghanaian journalist, has been announced. Mr. Kofi Atta was a well-known journalist who worked for several newspapers and television stations. He was a respected figure in the media industry and was known for his balanced and fair reporting.

Contact:

Quality materials for the building and construction industry

LOCATION:

308, Accra

QUALITY

Using all things ecological, our bricks and tiles have been tried and proved for quality and durability.

ECONOMY

Our products offer you much lower costs in construction & maintenance.

CONVENIENCE

Our unique bricks & tiles have your needs and requirements.

CLAY PRODUCTS (GH) LTD.

Building a house in an inflationary world?

CLAY PRODUCTS: To The Rescue offers you Quality bricks & tiles at moderate cost.

Gold price:
The minimum gold selling price for 22-carat gold is GH¢ 235,000 per ounce, as announced by the Bank of Ghana on Thursday, April 12.

Environmental NGOs

The Environmental NGOs have condemned the government's efforts to control the growth of plastics in the country. The NGOs have called for an immediate halt to the importation of plastics in the country. They have also called on the government to provide alternative materials to plastics.

Zonta Club

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Zonta Club, a fundraising event was held in Accra. The event was attended by members of the Zonta Club and other guests. The event was held to raise funds for the Zonta Club's charitable activities.

Obituaries

The death of Mr. Kofi Atta, a renowned Ghanaian journalist, has been announced. Mr. Kofi Atta was a well-known journalist who worked for several newspapers and television stations. He was a respected figure in the media industry and was known for his balanced and fair reporting.

Contact:

Quality materials for the building and construction industry

LOCATION: 308, Accra

QUALITY

Using all things ecological, our bricks and tiles have been tried and proved for quality and durability.

ECONOMY

Our products offer you much lower costs in construction & maintenance.

CONVENIENCE

Our unique bricks & tiles have your needs and requirements.

CLAY PRODUCTS (GH) LTD.

Building a house in an inflationary world?

CLAY PRODUCTS: To The Rescue offers you Quality bricks & tiles at moderate cost.

Gold price:
The minimum gold selling price for 22-carat gold is GH¢ 235,000 per ounce, as announced by the Bank of Ghana on Thursday, April 12.

Environmental NGOs

The Environmental NGOs have condemned the government's efforts to control the growth of plastics in the country. The NGOs have called for an immediate halt to the importation of plastics in the country. They have also called on the government to provide alternative materials to plastics.

Zonta Club

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Zonta Club, a fundraising event was held in Accra. The event was attended by members of the Zonta Club and other guests. The event was held to raise funds for the Zonta Club's charitable activities.

Obituaries

The death of Mr. Kofi Atta, a renowned Ghanaian journalist, has been announced. Mr. Kofi Atta was a well-known journalist who worked for several newspapers and television stations. He was a respected figure in the media industry and was known for his balanced and fair reporting.

Contact:

Quality materials for the building and construction industry

LOCATION: 308, Accra

QUALITY

Using all things ecological, our bricks and tiles have been tried and proved for quality and durability.

ECONOMY

Our products offer you much lower costs in construction & maintenance.

CONVENIENCE

Our unique bricks & tiles have your needs and requirements.

CLAY PRODUCTS (GH) LTD.

Building a house in an inflationary world?

CLAY PRODUCTS: To The Rescue offers you Quality bricks & tiles at moderate cost.

Gold price:
The minimum gold selling price for 22-carat gold is GH¢ 235,000 per ounce, as announced by the Bank of Ghana on Thursday, April 12.

Environmental NGOs

The Environmental NGOs have condemned the government's efforts to control the growth of plastics in the country. The NGOs have called for an immediate halt to the importation of plastics in the country. They have also called on the government to provide alternative materials to plastics.

Zonta Club

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Zonta Club, a fundraising event was held in Accra. The event was attended by members of the Zonta Club and other guests. The event was held to raise funds for the Zonta Club's charitable activities.

Obituaries

The death of Mr. Kofi Atta, a renowned Ghanaian journalist, has been announced. Mr. Kofi Atta was a well-known journalist who worked for several newspapers and television stations. He was a respected figure in the media industry and was known for his balanced and fair reporting.

Contact:

Quality materials for the building and construction industry

LOCATION: 308, Accra

QUALITY

Using all things ecological, our bricks and tiles have been tried and proved for quality and durability.

ECONOMY

Our products offer you much lower costs in construction & maintenance.

CONVENIENCE

Our unique bricks & tiles have your needs and requirements.

CLAY PRODUCTS (GH) LTD.

Building a house in an inflationary world?

CLAY PRODUCTS: To The Rescue offers you Quality bricks & tiles at moderate cost.

Gold price:
The minimum gold selling price for 22-carat gold is GH¢ 235,000 per ounce, as announced by the Bank of Ghana on Thursday, April 12.

Environmental NGOs

The Environmental NGOs have condemned the government's efforts to control the growth of plastics in the country. The NGOs have called for an immediate halt to the importation of plastics in the country. They have also called on the government to provide alternative materials to plastics.

Zonta Club

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Zonta Club, a fundraising event was held in Accra. The event was attended by members of the Zonta Club and other guests. The event was held to raise funds for the Zonta Club's charitable activities.

Obituaries

The death of Mr. Kofi Atta, a renowned Ghanaian journalist, has been announced. Mr. Kofi Atta was a well-known journalist who worked for several newspapers and television stations. He was a respected figure in the media industry and was known for his balanced and fair reporting.

Contact:

Quality materials for the building and construction industry

LOCATION: 308, Accra

QUALITY

Using all things ecological, our bricks and tiles have been tried and proved for quality and durability.

ECONOMY

Our products offer you much lower costs in construction & maintenance.

CONVENIENCE

Our unique bricks & tiles have your needs and requirements.
Appendix 8:

Samples of Copies of the Two Newspapers of the Second Study Period
(2001-2002)
An ecstatic crowd celebrates independence

The next Minister of Finance is...

LOBBYING HAS all but ceased within the NPP as new President Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor has characteristically aloof, keeping his cards to his chest and quietly pondering over the huge pile of names and positions.

Mr. B J Du Rocha, who heads the vetting committee, does not have the names yet and is relying on the President with very limited mandate to call the shots.

The appointment of Minister of Finance has assumed crucial importance and urgency because of the nature of the economic problems confronting Ghana and the chooeful of a person of major accomplishment.

The new Minister was an NPP candicate in the 2000 presidential elections whose political development has drawn much attention from the political analysts.

The appointment of Mr. Yaw Osafo Maafo, the MP for Oka, a friend of JAK with whom he is on first name terms and who is considered one of theacbosmatic minds matches the first hand experience and depth of the financial institutions.

He was removed from the National Investment Bank as Managing Director in 1992 when he attended an NPP congress.

Women's Ministry

THE PRESIDENT yesterday firmly confirmed the establishment of a new Ministry, Women's Affairs and Gender, as a glowing tribute to Ghanaian women sharing their pains and struggles with them and pledging to give more teeth to the Ghana Police Service by embossing it with her leadership.

She assured her audience that he was going to take the heat down the serial murders that had plagued the nation's capital and spare no effort in tracking down the perpetrators.

As a demonstration of his appreciation of women in securing her victory and in recognition of their hard work, JAK instructed the Ministry to budget the Women's Affairs and Gender and raise it to cabinet level to give it the specific attention to their problems.

Mrs. Gladys Asmah, Kufuor's strongest female supporter and MP for Takoradi, will head the Ministry.

The OLD ORDER CHANGETH

- Rawlings, Mills, D. F. Annan ride into sunset
- Enter Kufuor, Ala Adjetey

more disappointing shaking of hands from the minority still at home with Comfort Owusu, Ama Benyiwa Doe, the diminutive Samuel Saitieh Mensah and Mr. E.T Mensah apparently dreading the prospect of the tough and highly capable legal heavyweight and four term President of the Ghana Bar Association.

JAK'S PLEDGE TO GHANA

- Ghanaians in diaspora urged to return
- Refugees have no need to be in exile

President Kufuor also pledged to cut down the size of government expenditure and pave more money for national development.

He also went out to Ghanaians abroad and those presently in exile to return home with their skills and resources to contribute to the exercise of nation building.

Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor, the new President of Ghana, has characteristically aloof, keeping his cards to his chest and quietly pondering over the huge pile of names and positions.

Mr. B J Du Rocha, who heads the vetting committee, does not have the names yet and is relying on the President with very limited mandate to call the shots.

The appointment of Minister of Finance has assumed crucial importance and urgency because of the nature of the economic problems confronting Ghana and the chooeful of a person of major accomplishment.

The next Minister of Finance will be Mr. Yaw Osafo Maafo, the MP for Oka, a friend of JAK with whom he is on first name terms and who is considered one of theacbosmatic minds matches the first hand experience and depth of the financial institutions.

He was removed from the National Investment Bank as Managing Director in 1992 when he attended an NPP congress.

Women's Ministry

THE PRESIDENT yesterday firmly confirmed the establishment of a new Ministry, Women's Affairs and Gender, as a glowing tribute to Ghanaian women sharing their pains and struggles with them and pledging to give more teeth to the Ghana Police Service by embossing it with her leadership.

She assured her audience that he was going to take the heat down the serial murders that had plagued the nation's capital and spare no effort in tracking down the perpetrators.

As a demonstration of his appreciation of women in securing her victory and in recognition of their hard work, JAK instructed the Ministry to budget the Women's Affairs and Gender and raise it to cabinet level to give it the specific attention to their problems.

Mrs. Gladys Asmah, Kufuor's strongest female supporter and MP for Takoradi, will head the Ministry.

The OLD ORDER CHANGETH

- Rawlings, Mills, D. F. Annan ride into sunset
- Enter Kufuor, Ala Adjetey

more disappointing shaking of hands from the minority still at home with Comfort Owusu, Ama Benyiwa Doe, the diminutive Samuel Saitieh Mensah and Mr. E.T Mensah apparently dreading the prospect of the tough and highly capable legal heavyweight and four term President of the Ghana Bar Association.

JAK'S PLEDGE TO GHANA

- Ghanaians in diaspora urged to return
- Refugees have no need to be in exile

President Kufuor also pledged to cut down the size of government expenditure and pave more money for national development.

He also went out to Ghanaians abroad and those presently in exile to return home with their skills and resources to contribute to the exercise of nation building.

Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor, the new President of Ghana, has characteristically aloof, keeping his cards to his chest and quietly pondering over the huge pile of names and positions.

Mr. B J Du Rocha, who heads the vetting committee, does not have the names yet and is relying on the President with very limited mandate to call the shots.

The appointment of Minister of Finance has assumed crucial importance and urgency because of the nature of the economic problems confronting Ghana and the chooeful of a person of major accomplishment.

The next Minister of Finance will be Mr. Yaw Osafo Maafo, the MP for Oka, a friend of JAK with whom he is on first name terms and who is considered one of theacbosmatic minds matches the first hand experience and depth of the financial institutions.

He was removed from the National Investment Bank as Managing Director in 1992 when he attended an NPP congress.

Women's Ministry

THE PRESIDENT yesterday firmly confirmed the establishment of a new Ministry, Women's Affairs and Gender, as a glowing tribute to Ghanaian women sharing their pains and struggles with them and pledging to give more teeth to the Ghana Police Service by embossing it with her leadership.

She assured her audience that he was going to take the heat down the serial murders that had plagued the nation's capital and spare no effort in tracking down the perpetrators.

As a demonstration of his appreciation of women in securing her victory and in recognition of their hard work, JAK instructed the Ministry to budget the Women's Affairs and Gender and raise it to cabinet level to give it the specific attention to their problems.

Mrs. Gladys Asmah, Kufuor's strongest female supporter and MP for Takoradi, will head the Ministry.

The OLD ORDER CHANGETH

- Rawlings, Mills, D. F. Annan ride into sunset
- Enter Kufuor, Ala Adjetey

more disappointing shaking of hands from the minority still at home with Comfort Owusu, Ama Benyiwa Doe, the diminutive Samuel Saitieh Mensah and Mr. E.T Mensah apparently dreading the prospect of the tough and highly capable legal heavyweight and four term President of the Ghana Bar Association.

JAK'S PLEDGE TO GHANA

- Ghanaians in diaspora urged to return
- Refugees have no need to be in exile

President Kufuor also pledged to cut down the size of government expenditure and pave more money for national development.

He also went out to Ghanaians abroad and those presently in exile to return home with their skills and resources to contribute to the exercise of nation building.

Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor, the new President of Ghana, has characteristically aloof, keeping his cards to his chest and quietly pondering over the huge pile of names and positions.

Mr. B J Du Rocha, who heads the vetting committee, does not have the names yet and is relying on the President with very limited mandate to call the shots.

The appointment of Minister of Finance has assumed crucial importance and urgency because of the nature of the economic problems confronting Ghana and the chooeful of a person of major accomplishment.

The next Minister of Finance will be Mr. Yaw Osafo Maafo, the MP for Oka, a friend of JAK with whom he is on first name terms and who is considered one of theacbosmatic minds matches the first hand experience and depth of the financial institutions.

He was removed from the National Investment Bank as Managing Director in 1992 when he attended an NPP congress.

Women's Ministry

THE PRESIDENT yesterday firmly confirmed the establishment of a new Ministry, Women's Affairs and Gender, as a glowing tribute to Ghanaian women sharing their pains and struggles with them and pledging to give more teeth to the Ghana Police Service by embossing it with her leadership.

She assured her audience that he was going to take the heat down the serial murders that had plagued the nation's capital and spare no effort in tracking down the perpetrators.

As a demonstration of his appreciation of women in securing her victory and in recognition of their hard work, JAK instructed the Ministry to budget the Women's Affairs and Gender and raise it to cabinet level to give it the specific attention to their problems.

Mrs. Gladys Asmah, Kufuor's strongest female supporter and MP for Takoradi, will head the Ministry.
The old order changeth

Cont’d from front page

The instalment of President Kufuor as the third President of Ghana was watched from a distance by the world and the press. The new President, a man of the people, was sworn in by the Chief Justice, Lord Justice George Lamptey, and the new Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Joe Agyeman Tabi. The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The third President, who is a man of the people, was sworn in by the Chief Justice, Lord Justice George Lamptey, and the new Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Joe Agyeman Tabi. The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.

The ceremony took place in the presence of the President of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and a number of heads of state.
President
Kufuor's big day

YESTERDAY January 7, 2001 was President John Agyekum Kufuor's big day. On that day the many skeptics and apostles of doom who have always claimed that the present President Jerry John Rawlings will never hand over to him were put to shame. From the beginning of activities in the chamber of the National Assembly till the historic moment when the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Isaac Kobina Abrah, performed the solemn duty of swearing in the winner of the presidential polls concluded on December 28, 2000 everything was on track.

The election of the Speaker of the House, Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey, to replace Mr. Justice Daniel Francis Annan has given us a clear indication that the new parliament and, in effect, the new government will not go through another turmoil. Unlike many what have predicted as a parliament that is sharply divided in the middle due to the seats won by two major parties, one can expect that the new assembly will compromise or at least try very easy to elect the principal men in parliament without any fuss has shown that both the ruling party and its major opposition parties are ready to adapt to a comprehensive and informal defeat. However, for future guidance, it is important that a close look be taken at the electioneering campaign which would have scored high marks for its brevity into a lengthy and almost boring spectacle. One cannot fathom why our new President could not deliver his inaugural speech at the Independence ceremony which would have brought about this great day. We should also applause ex-President Rawlings who did not follow the footsteps of some sit tight politicians by charging it government through the ballot box, we have sent a signal to the world that the freedom we lit more than 40 years ago is still burning.

In our quest for nationhood, we now have some very vital problems to solve and it is up to our new President to come up with a very frank speech our President has made it clear that the most arduous task he faces is that of how to reconcile the people of this country, who have been divided over the years. It is indeed a difficult task for a President to face, but it is a task that must be handled with a very clear head. It is not right for a President to be caught in the murmurings of a people. It is not right for a President to be caught in the murmurings of a people.

A new era has been ushered in and there are many things to be done in this country. He did not sit behind a desk, but went out to the streets where he was met by the people who have been suffering for many years. He has vowed to work for the people, to make this country a better place to live in.

Time to face reality

IT IS refreshing to note that President J.A. Kufuor has in his first speech said that he is committed to the well-being of the people. He has said that the government will work hard to ensure that the people are well taken care of. It is refreshing to see that the people have been given hope for a better future.

We are happy that he has identified these problems and has said that the government will work hard to ensure that the people are well taken care of. It is refreshing to see that the people have been given hope for a better future.

It is refreshing to see that the people have been given hope for a better future.

The NDC has not guided with its Asante campaign. Before the run-off of December 28, 2000, the anti-Asante campaign was stepped up with reports of Ewes, Fanti, and other groups are divided into two places. The NDC had not done its job. The NDC had not done its job. The NDC had not done its job.

Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor is not an Asante person and voted for his own country. He is a Ghanaian who has always been a defender of the country. He is a Ghanaian who has always been a defender of the country. He is a Ghanaian who has always been a defender of the country.
JJ's men raided the treasury...

DCEs, staffers, Mills' boys go off with ESBs

A frustrated ex-President reacts

RAWLINGS BREAKS LOOSE

Commandeers yacht, jet fighter

By Asanta Edjegbe

CHRONICLE INTELLIGENCE reveals that after gracefully bowing out of office 16 days ago ex-President Jerry John Rawlings has engaged in activities which should be a source of worry to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government which is trying to write down.

The former President has been receiving some demands on the Kufuor Administration and visiting some secured security zones seeking unlimited access to state facilities which he had helter-skelter enjoyed.

Last weekend, the former President dashed to Akosombo and commandeered the executive yacht in which he used to cruise on the Volta Lake for over two hours at the expense of the Ghana tax payer.

Sources told the Chronicle that after the cruise, the ex-President gathered the yacht's maintenance staff and told them that they should take good care of the yacht and keep it in working condition because he would be coming back within the next three months to use it again.

A member of staff who spoke to Chronicle on condition of anonymity said the workers could not refuse the ex-President's request because the yacht is state property and that it could be used by anyone on condition that the user could afford the rate.

A frustrated ex-President reacts

Peprah ordered the amount charged to Kufuor's 2001 budget

The Chronicle further gathered that Rawlings also went to Burma Camp and demanded that he be allowed to fly one of the Ghana Air Force jet fighters, one of his favourite pastimes, even when he had officially retired from the Air Force and assumed the role as President of Ghana for over 19 years.

But the former President was brought to earth when he was told poignantly by one of the soldiers on guard duty (name withheld) that he (Rawlings) was not refused the ex-President's request because the yacht is state property and that it could be used by anyone on condition that the user could afford the rate.

President of Ghana for over 19 years.

The Chronicle further gathered that Rawlings also went to Burma Camp and demanded that he be allowed to fly one of the Ghana Air Force jet fighters, one of his favourite pastimes, even when he had officially retired from the Air Force and assumed the role as President of Ghana for over 19 years.
**Frustrations of Ghanaian donors**

From Emmanuel Aklu

The PATRON of the Sekondi-Takoradi Association in the United States of America, Dr. Bernard Akwasi, has expressed concern about the frustration Ghanaian living abroad are going through in trying to send goods to needy institutions in the country.

He had, however, pointed out that the government alone cannot take care of all needy institutions in the country due to budget constraints. Ghanaian living abroad were, therefore, urged to form an association with the sole aim of contributing to the national development but the frustration they go through at the seaports in the country before clearing goods for the needy institutions is disheartening.

He has, therefore, appealed to the Government and Parliament to have the Customs officers ensure that goods shipped to Ghana do not get stuck at the various installations in the country by Ghanaian living abroad and that they are cleared as soon as possible and handed over to those in need of them. The Customs officers were urged not to make life difficult for Ghanaian residents in the United States of America.

---

**K'Bu board slams SFO report**

...It's evil

By Yeboah

The final report dated November 19, 1999, recommending among other things the reconstitution or the dissolution of the hospital's board on account of the ineffective handling of affairs by the board was inaugurated in 1994 and was expected to stay in office for a period of five years but a still holding office.

The report, addressed to the Minister for Finance by some Ministry officials, was turned down by CEPS on the ground that it is only Parliament that can go through at the seaports in the country before clearing goods for the needy institutions is disheartening.

He has, therefore, appealed to the Government and Parliament to have the Custom officers ensure that goods shipped to Ghana do not get stuck at the various installations in the country by Ghanaian living abroad and that they are cleared as soon as possible and handed over to those in need of them. The Custom officers were urged not to make life difficult for Ghanaian residents in the United States of America. The report, addressed to the Minister for Finance by some Ministry officials, was turned down by CEPS on the ground that it is only Parliament that can...
Winning the fight against corruption

The current New Patriotic Party (NPP) administration has made no secret of its intention to reduce corruption to the barest minimum in this country. There had been a public opinion survey in the country that was conducted at the Independence Square after he had been sworn in office on January 7. The President J. A. Kufuor made the reassuring declaration that he would not allow any form of corruption to happen here. The public is therefore rest assured that the fight against corruption is in full swing and it is only a matter of time before it is completely eradicated in this country. The President's declarations are a welcome development and it is hoped that his administration will be able to deliver on its promises by taking the necessary steps to ensure that corruption is reduced to the barest minimum in this country.

Earlier attempts at checking corruption, some of which were played in the media, have not been without results. Some of the results have been achieved through the establishment of the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ). In a recent statement by the Commission, it was revealed that the Commission has received over 20,000 complaints of corruption in the past year. This is a welcome development and it is hoped that the Commission will continue to receive more complaints and take necessary action to ensure that corruption is reduced to the barest minimum in this country.

The need to have a leadership that is strictly against corruption becomes even greater urgent when one considers the fact that the kind of leadership that is needed to transform society is the one that is capable of setting the example. The need for a leadership that is capable of setting the example is very important because it is the only way to ensure that the country is able to move forward. The leadership must be seen as setting the example and it must be seen as leading by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example.

The need for a leadership that is capable of setting the example is very important because it is the only way to ensure that the country is able to move forward. The leadership must be seen as setting the example and it must be seen as leading by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example.

The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example. The leadership must be seen as being able to transform society and it must be seen as being able to lead by example.
Obed, Rawlings face-to-face today...As NDC Reorganisation C'ttee meets

By Jason Nkombo

Dr. Obed Yao Asamoah, former Attorney General and Minister of Justice, is now pushing for the chairmanship of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), and is being faced with a challenge from Mr. Jerry Rawlings, the founder of the party. The Reorganisation Committee of the party is now meeting to decide on this matter.

The controversial issue of whether the party should have a single chairman or two co-chairmen for the party will not be on the agenda of the meeting. But the agenda will include the issue of who should chair the next congress of the party.

According to an affidavit sworn in the High Court, Mr. Jerry Rawlings claimed ownership of the house he had rented for 12 years. He also claimed that he had been evicted from the house by the former chairman of the NDC, Nana Anim Addo. Asamoah.

Rawlings is also accused of returning to the party community tribunal and had instituted an action against Nana Anim Addo. Asamoah, claiming ownership of the house.

The meeting is taking place at the Ridge residence of Dr. Asamoah, which is the seat of the NDC Reorganisation Committee.

The meeting of the party's leadership is expected to end today, as there is a deadline of Monday for the party to decide on the chairmanship of the party.

WHO LEADS NDC?

The twelve-member team that has been elected by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) as its new executive committee will have to decide on the leadership of the party. The decision will be taken by the NDC's ordinary congress, which is due to be held in October.

The team comprises:

- Dr. Obed Yao Asamoah
- Mr. Jerry Rawlings
- Mr. Kojo Anan
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking
- Mr. numerical ranking

Asamoah, Rawlings, Anan and the rest of the executive committee will have to decide on the chairmanship of the party.

Meanwhile, the NDC has been facing internal disagreements and conflicts, with some members questioning the leadership of the party. The internal conflict has been highlighted in the recent congress of the party, where the decision on the chairmanship was not reached.

The NDC leadership is expected to reach a decision on the chairmanship issue before the end of the year.

An official of the party said the decision on the chairmanship is expected to be made within two weeks.

Nana Anim Addo, the founder of the NDC, has been embroiled in a conflict with the party's executive committee over the chairmanship.

On November 7, 1997, Nana Anim Addo, a leader of the party, and a fraudulent gold dealer, entered House No. C, 2350 at Kokomlemle, Accra. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but two years later, he was not arrested. The case was dropped.

The court ordered Nana Anim Addo to pay N10,000 in compensation for the inconvenience caused to the Ghanaians.

The court further ordered Nana Anim Addo to pay N10,000 in compensation for the inconvenience caused to the Ghanaians.

An affidavit sworn in the High Court by Mr. Anim Addo, the founder of the party, claimed that he was not involved in the fraud.

Asamoah's lawyer, Mr. Anim Addo, said the lawyer was not involved in the fraud.

The lawyer said he was not involved in the fraud.
Who leads NDC to war?

Obed, Rawlings face to face today

Investigative journalism not for the timid
The media is not being fair to the NDC — Dr. Josiah Aryeh

By Bismark Babi

The General Secretary of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), Dr. Josiah Nii Aryeh, has accused the media, especially the Independent, of working to destroy and prevent the party from fearlessly advocating their beliefs and espousing the philosophies and doctrines of the party.]

Taking a swipe at the Media Commission, he accused it and other agencies for not being positive change, repeating claims by the anti-Mills team that the NPP has no skeletons in its cupboard.

Speaking on Mills, Capt. Okai said, with all the development in the economy under the charismatic cannot bear any criticism because even the NPP knows Kwesi Botchwey has no skeletons in his cupboard.

Mills campaign that if Prof. Atta-Mills won the flagbearership contest there would be a remote chance of winning the 2004 elections. The reason, according to him, is that Mills would end up further dividing the party and reduce the party's chances in the elections.

Prof. A. Mills won the flagbearership contest he would be remotely controlled by the ex-President who, he (Atta-Mills) has promised to seek to and consult on a daily basis.

"I am very sure that those who abandoned Prof. Atta-Mills because he was smuggled into the party undemocratically by his supervisor of the economy under the NDC administration, resulting in some of his leading members being dragged to the Fast Track Courts. Speaking on Mills recent comments on the IFC loan to the effect that Osilo Masiu and his boys were teaching the Mills has no right to throw stones when he himself had been living in a glass house under the Rawlings administration.

Capt. Okai accused Prof. Mills of being inefficient, especially in the case of the acquisition of the controversial jet. The White Elephant jet saga, let loose his Ministers to do their hands into the national coffers, an act that has generally been met with the NPP and the Christian cannot stand it. The Mills Christian cannot stand it. Because even the NPP knows Kwesi Botchwey has no skeletons in his cupboard."

Election 2000 Promises

Which first? Ada Salt or Ashanti Cocoa or Kasoa Cassava or Yendi Palace? Habal!
"I never gave Sherry any gift"

By Fredrick Ofori

THE CAT WAS finally let out of the bag by the GJA last week when an engineering consultant finally told the T众所周知 Court (FTC) that he never gave any money to the 31st December Movement (DWM). Handy Sherry Ayittey, any personal gift to charismatic leader of the Ghana Rubber Estates Limited (GRELL).

Giving evidence under cross-examination yesterday at the FTC presided over by Justice Amonu-Mensah, a District Court Judge, sitting as an Additional High Court Judge, Dr. Banafu and the numerous monies delivered to Sherry Ayittey was in respect of the agreement reached between the 31st DWM and Société Industrielle Parc d'Afrique (SIPH), a French company.

The monies, which include $180,000, $130,000, $250,000, $20,000, $15,000 and $25,000, were delivered to Sherry Ayittey between 1996 and 1998 and was to support projects of the 31st DWM.

The agreement, witness noted was to assist in the realisation of projects set out by the 31st DWM and that even though he was not aware of any specific project located to SIPH for funding by the movement.

The support of the government accorded to Banafu was one of the three conditions given to SIPH in the agreement.

Responding to questions from Mr. David O. Langton, counsel for Sherry Ayittey in respect of air ticket he bought for the wife of the late Mr. Georgia Okainey, a member of the 31st DWM to London, witness flatly denied it adding that he bought air tickets for Georgia Okainey and other members of the 31st DWM to London and Paris.

The other accused persons include: Emmanuel Amoah, a gophile, former Executive Secretary of the Divestiture Implementation Committee (DIC), Ralph Casely-Hayford, a businessman and Doree Saritah Oran, a businesswoman.

They were accused of acts of corruption in the office of the state in favour of SIPH. They however, pleaded not guilty to causing financial loss to the state and are on self-recognisance bail.

Meanwhile, counsel for Sherry Ayittey had completed his cross-examination giving way for Mr. Senamu, counsel for Emmanuel Amoah to commence his cross-examination on the next adjourned date slated for December 10, this year.

Media not being fair

From front page

The performance of the NMC, Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

In an open letter to the NMC for failing to immediately protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

A serious press is the one which adheres uncomfortable with the free comments he trout by the 31st DWM, even though the government accorded to Banafu was one of the three conditions given to SIPH in the agreement.

The support of the government accorded to Banafu was one of the three conditions given to SIPH in the agreement.

To write the letter, the GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

To write the letter, the GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.

The GJA and other professional bodies towards an immediate action to protect and maintain an encouraging standard of journalism in the country.
Babies DON'T need what we would define as "friends" - that is, pairs of individuals who hang out together because they share common interests. What they do need is the ability to interact with grown-ups who love them. "A baby's first best friend is his mother," says Andrew Meltzoff, Ph.D., head of developmental psychology at the University of Washington, Seattle, and co-author of The Scientist in the Crib. "And when this interaction with grown-ups begins, the baby's interest in other children begins to wane, usually by 3 or 4 months of age."

Since the infant spends much of his time with his mother, he learns how to behave by watching her movements, listening to her conversations, and imitating her. "It's the most important, mimicking his behavior. He's also learning how to get along with other people."

One of the early developments in a baby's social life is his ability to imitate: "People from all cultures, regardless of age or gender or culture, can imitate one another, even in the absence of any reward," says Diana Baumrind, Ph.D., a developmental psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of Current Directions in Child Development Research. "In fact, babies are capable of "falling in love" with another baby or toy or another child."

"Babies are always hungry for interaction," says Meltzoff. "They're natural communicators. So when you give them the right kind of stimulation, your newborn will probably stick out his hand when he hears a noise, and if he sees you, he'll smile."

"All we can do is make the environment right," says Meltzoff. "If you put a baby in a safe environment, he'll learn to interact with others."

"We've seen that babies do something positive with this situation before," says Baumrind. "In one study, we observed that babies who were left alone in a room with toys tended to play with each other, rather than just with the toys."
As President Kufuor steps into office

By Joe Biaford, Narhah A. Azor

Mr John Agyekum Akufo-Addo was yesterday sworn in as the 3rd Republic as a ceremonial occasion at the forecourt of Parliament House, Accra.
Brace for task ahead — Obasanjo

New era dawns

By Kwaziri Nnemdi

NP's Nnamdi Obasango, who recently emerged as the new leader of the NPP, has promised to bring fresh ideas and a new approach to the party's operations. He has also pledged to work closely with other opposition parties to strengthen the opposition's position in the upcoming elections.

Obasanjo, who was previously a member of the PDP, said that he had joined the NPP because he believed that it was the only party that could effectively challenge the ruling APC. He also said that he would work to ensure that the NPP's candidates won the upcoming elections.

Obasanjo's commitment to the NPP is seen as a major boost for the party, which has been struggling to maintain its position in the political landscape. His presence is expected to energize the party's members and encourage more people to join the NPP.

Obasanjo's election as the new leader of the NPP is the latest development in a political landscape that has been marked by intense competition and instability. The upcoming elections are expected to be particularly volatile, with both the NPP and the APC vying for power.

Obasanjo's commitment to the NPP is seen as a major boost for the party, which has been struggling to maintain its position in the political landscape. His presence is expected to energize the party's members and encourage more people to join the NPP.
The face of accountability (I)

By Kobla Nkupl

We are a country without standards, without a code of conduct. Our systems are always set up to take up some against any gains in the long run. We have been guilty of many of the above practices.

However, in this particular instance, I am inclined to agree with such a generalisation because I have tasted it in many cases. But a country without standards is an irresponsible one, and I am afraid, for once, this is the case. We generalisation which wrongly describes the situation is only one, not even for me, a repulsive opinion.

It is in this lack of standards where the significance of the Ghanaian society. The society cannot exist without standards by which actions and behaviour can be measured. In the absence of such standards, no opinion and judgement regarding a particular action can be assessed as there are no criteria for the sustainable building of a cohesive and efficient nation state. A society without standards is a chaotic society.

Do you doubt that such a state can exist and what are the consequences it brings to the country? Then let us take a look at what actually happens to those people who try to provide food to the people in the country.

Three students complete the course in 1983, and three students get a second Class Degree. The external students get a second Class Degree, but the second Class Degree students get a third Class Degree. The third Class Degree students get a first Class Degree.

This is the dream of a new era which opens up greater opportunities for the people of the people. We must then take action in order to ensure that the necessary measures are taken to create a culture of accountability.

We are hopeful that these and other pieces of the puzzle are being put together.

But the view of the economic and social problems that still content us, and which we are attempting to solve, is not a simple one. It is a complex one which requires a cultural shift to create a culture of accountability. The history of our nation’s development is one of failure and success, and it is important that we learn from our past experiences to ensure our future success.

The key to this transformation is the promotion of a culture of accountability. This can be achieved through various means, such as education, training, and the establishment of clear and consistent policies and procedures.

The government has a responsibility to ensure that these changes are made, and that a culture of accountability is fostered at all levels of society, from the highest levels of government to the lowest levels of society.

The country must be accountable to itself, to its people, and to the world community. Only then will our nation be able to move forward and achieve its full potential.
Drama in Parliament

By Kojo Sam & Joe Okyere

Parliament was in a state of shock yesterday when the Minority side refused to rise to a motion on the rule of the House. This followed the persistent demand on the part of the Majority to conduct a head count in accordance with the rules of the House.

The Speaker rose and asked the Minority to rise in accordance with the rules of the House. The Speaker then left the chamber.

The Minority who, by that time, outnumbered the Majority took the Speaker's action as a ploy to 'buy time.'

Members started verbal changes challenging each other's behaviour, which brought more confusion as members started verbal changes challenging each other's behaviour.

The bone of contention was the Majority's decision to exclude some members of the House from such a head count. The Speaker bowed out.

In the previous Parliament, Ministers who were not members of the House were excluded from such committees because it was felt that as part of the executive, they should not be included in the Select Committees of the House.

Restructure expenditure programme

By Charles Benon Okyere

The Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA) has called for the restructuring of the country's expenditure programme to ensure that expenditures do not have adverse affects on the general economic development.

According to the centre, efforts must be made to review local taxes quickly as possible to follow revenue generated to be judiciously used.

Speaking at a news conference in Accra yesterday, Dr Charles Adu and Dr Emmanuel Agyemang, both senior research fellows of CEPA, were of the view that the country's expenditure patterns are restructuring to give the necessary boost to the economy.

Dr Adu said the current economic crisis leaves two lessons which need to be tackled in earnest, namely the economy is to be restructured and the country's liability to be reduced.

Reduction of expenditure also must be made to retire local debt stock as quickly as possible to flow revenue generated to be judiciously used.

1st Batch of Ministers sworn-in

By Samuel Sarpong

ELEVEN Cabinet Ministers were yesterday sworn-in office by the President, Mr J. A. Akufo-Addo.

The ministers, who constitute the first batch of approved nominees, are Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

The ministers also made the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

Minister of Agriculture, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Works and Housing, Mr J. H. Manuh, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Konadu-Agyemang, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology. The Ministers were sworn in the oath of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

President Kufuor, who administered the oath, urged the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work, accept the consequences of their actions and to serve the people of Ghana with distinction.
**Drama in Parliament**

**Continued from P. 1**

Executive, they cannot be their own judges.

The second part of the motion was on the need for the appointment and the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry. The Majority leader said that the terms of reference of the committee would be consulted with all the stakeholders, including the Minority and the public, before the appointment is made.

However, the Minority leader, Dr Kwaku Afriyie, noted that the motion was not clear and that it could lead to confusion. He suggested that the opposition should propose a clear and specific motion that could be debated and voted on.

The Speaker then adjourned the sitting to continue on Monday.

**Restructure expenditure**

**Continued from P. 1**

The government's move to restructure expenditure is seen as a crucial step in stabilising the economy and ensuring fiscal discipline. The government has recognised the need to reduce the fiscal deficit and to increase revenue generation. One of the key measures is to control and restructure expenditure.

The government has identified several areas where expenditure can be cut, including public sector wages, subsidies, and infrastructure projects. The government has also set targets for reducing expenditure in these areas.

The decision to restructure expenditure is based on the recognition that the government needs to take bold measures to stabilise the economy and to ensure sustainable growth. The government has acknowledged that expenditure has been rising, and this has led to a fiscal deficit.

The government has also recognised that expenditure needs to be restructured to ensure that it is in line with the government's policy priorities. The government has identified several areas where expenditure can be reduced, including public sector wages, subsidies, and infrastructure projects.

The government has set targets for reducing expenditure in these areas, and it has also identified key measures to achieve the targets. The government has committed to reducing public sector wages by 10%, and it has also set targets for reducing subsidies and infrastructure projects.

The government has also recognised the need to increase revenue generation, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to increasing tax revenues by 15%, and it has also identified measures to increase non-tax revenue.

The government has also recognised the need to improve the efficiency of public service delivery, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to improving the performance of the public service, and it has also identified measures to improve the efficiency of public service delivery.

The government has also recognised the need to reduce the fiscal deficit, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to reducing the fiscal deficit by 5%, and it has also identified measures to cut expenditure and to increase revenue generation.

The government has also recognised the need to ensure sustainable growth, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to ensuring sustainable growth, and it has also identified measures to promote private sector development, to increase foreign direct investment, and to improve the business environment.

The government has also recognised the need to ensure effective governance, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to ensuring effective governance, and it has also identified measures to promote good governance, to strengthen institutions, and to ensure transparency and accountability.

The government has also recognised the need to ensure social inclusion, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to ensuring social inclusion, and it has also identified measures to promote poverty reduction, to improve access to basic services, and to ensure equity.

The government has also recognised the need to ensure environmental sustainability, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to ensuring environmental sustainability, and it has also identified measures to promote sustainable development, to protect the environment, and to ensure that natural resources are used sustainably.

The government has also recognised the need to ensure economic stability, and it has identified several measures to achieve this. The government has committed to ensuring economic stability, and it has also identified measures to promote monetary discipline, to ensure price stability, and to ensure that the economy is resilient to shocks.
**President directs Finance Ministry**

**To cushion any increase in petroleum prices**

By Albert K. Salie

**Handy Power Protection**

The President has tasked the Ministry of Finance to work out how to cushion any increase in petroleum prices for a corresponding salary adjustment of civil servants. The adjustment, he said, would not be tied exclusively to the petroleum sector.

**HANDBY POWER PROTECTION**

**ACDRs, others have no place in military**

By Linda Adoboe Akonor

The Minister of Defence, Dr Kwame Addo Kufuor, said yesterday that quelling ACDRs, the June 4 Movement and the Alhaji Maktar Ben-Ali’s forces in the country’s military barracks.

The minister also stressed that the celebration of the June 4 and the 11 December Revolution will not be tolerated. Hence, the government has ordered the就不 (the Supreme Court has ruled that no public funds should be used to fund the hillside for the new army barracks).

The Defence Minister explained that the government has taken this decision because it was unable to come out with other viable options. The minister also added that the president has ordered the army to ensure that the same is strictly adhered to.

**Govt to grant 1,000 prisoners amnesty**

By Charles Benoi Ochine

The Government is to grant amnesty to about 1,000 prisoners on Independence Day, March 6, as part of measures to decongest the country's prisons. The beneficiaries will, however, not include rapists, murderers and hardened criminals, but it is likely that about 300 of that category of criminals, based on their degree of criminality, will have their sentences commuted or reduced.

The Minister of the Interior, Alhaji Malik Al-Amin, who announced this in Accra when a visit to the Southern Command, the minister also added that the activities of the National Manpower Institute (NMI) would continue in the country (the NMI has been closed on the ground that its activities are illegal).

The minister also added that the government has ordered the military to ensure that the same is strictly adhered to.
**Adjust salaries**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

**President**

"Continued from P. 1 result of the high cost of living and other factors, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government's development policies aimed at putting them to any advantage of the employment of the citizens, so should the models to the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of each person's action.

She said members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) have expressed concern about the circumstances and urged the government to take immediate action.

**ACDRs, others**

"Continued from P. 1, 1970, Chief of Staff Maj-Gen. Frederick Mahama, today, through the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), included an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction.

The minister said the military had contributed to the running of schools, among others. The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.
To the Minister of Finance

By Joe Amoako-Tuffour

The Minister of State (Media Relations), Mr. Tamasaba, said that the government has identified a $23 billion expansion of the media industry as one of its top priorities. This is expected to not only boost media freedom, but also to contribute to the country’s economic growth. The government has set aside $500 million to support the media sector, with an additional $200 million to be provided by international donors.

The government has also announced the creation of a media council to regulate the industry and ensure that media freedom is upheld. The council will be chaired by a former Supreme Court judge, who will be appointed by the government. The council will also have representatives from the media industry and civil society.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government is also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.

The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy. The government has also committed to ensuring that the media industry is not only free, but also profitable. This is in line with the government’s objective of making the media industry a significant contributor to the country’s economy.
There is great joy in farming — Nana Bonsu

By Timothy Gobah

The 17th National Best Farmer, Nana Kwesi Bonsu, has said there is joy in farming and advised the youth to venture into agriculture to increase food production.

He said the youth who are unemployed are advised to venture into agriculture to increase the production of food for everyone.

The National Best Farmer, Nana Kwesi Bonsu, has said there is joy in farming and advised the youth to venture into agriculture to increase food production.

He said the youth who are unemployed are advised to venture into agriculture to increase the production of food for everyone.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country, he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year’s National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the ‘Vendors and Farmers’ Association to set up pilot farms for the training of farmers in the city and will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.

He explained that the building, when at the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city and will attract more people into farming.
We'll promote farming

1. Excitement all the way

2. Joy in farming

3. Let peace prevail at Aseere — Nii Amarkyi

1. Excitement all the way

"We'll promote farming," agreed Dr. Abdul Qadir, chair of the School of Agriculture, University of Ghana. The announcement was received with enthusiasm in the farming communities, and the government's commitment to improving the agricultural sector was welcomed.

Dr. Qadir emphasized the need for investment in agricultural research and development to increase productivity and sustainability. He highlighted the importance of supporting farmers, especially smallholder farmers, in accessing markets and financial resources.

"Farming is not just about growing crops; it's about ensuring food security and economic development," Dr. Qadir said. "We must support farmers to adapt to climate change and improve their livelihoods." He added that the government was committed to creating a conducive environment for the growth of the agricultural sector.

1. Joy in farming

"Joy in farming" was the theme of the day as farmers across the country celebrated the government's commitment to promoting agriculture. The event was part of a broader strategy to transform the sector and ensure food security.

Farmers showcased their produce, including vegetables, grains, and livestock. There were also demonstrations of new technologies, such as precision agriculture and sustainable farming practices.

"The government's support is crucial for our survival," said one farmer. "We are grateful for the opportunities that are being created for us." Farmers expressed their enthusiasm for the future of agriculture in Ghana and the potential for increased economic opportunities.

1. Let peace prevail at Aseere — Nii Amarkyi

The situation in Aseere, a town in the Upper East Region, was described as tense. The Minister of Food and Agriculture, Nii Amarkyi, met with community leaders to discuss ways to promote peace and stability in the area.

Mr. Amarkyi emphasized the importance of community engagement and the need for a collaborative approach to resolving conflicts. He highlighted the role of the Ministry in facilitating dialogue and the provision of resources to facilitate peacebuilding.

"It's crucial that we work together to ensure peace and stability," Mr. Amarkyi said. "We must create opportunities for economic development and ensure that the benefits of these efforts are shared equitably among all members of society." He added that the government was committed to supporting peacebuilding initiatives and ensuring that all residents felt included.

The minister also urged community leaders to play a active role in promoting peace and reconciliation. He encouraged them to lead by example and work towards creating a safe and inclusive environment for all.

"Peace is a collective responsibility," Mr. Amarkyi said. "We must all work together to ensure that Aseere is a place where people can live in harmony and respect for one another." He expressed his confidence in the ability of the community to overcome its challenges and build a brighter future.

---

*Daily Graphic, Sunday, August 1, 2021, p.3*
Help Africa exit debt trap — Amako

By Albert K. Salle & Torl ele

The government has announced the release of an amount of GHc17 billion of the HIPC initiatives bears fruits

GOVT RELEASES GHc17BN FOR PROJECTS

Council refused Ya Na’s request for reinforcement

By Emmanuel Quaye

The government has announced the release of an amount of GHc17 billion of the HIPC Initiative to the various Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs)

The funds are to be used to fund various projects, including education, health facilities and community projects.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Yaw Osafo-Masfo, disclosed this at a news conference in Accra yesterday to shed light on the status of the HIPC initiative and the benefits so far accruing from it.

The news conference was attended by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, and the acting Minister of Finance, Mr Agbesi Akuamoah.

Giving guidelines for accessing the funds by the various assemblies, he said each assembly should submit a list of proposed projects to benefit from the first tranche of 50 per cent of the approved allocation and all satisfactory progress on the implementation of the first tranche, the balance of 50 per cent will be released.

He said the prioritised list must be submitted immediately for the funds to be made available to them.

The Ministry of Finance, Mr Yaw Osafo-Masfo, disclosed this at a news conference in Accra yesterday to shed light on the status of the HIPC initiative and the benefits so far accruing from it.

The news conference was attended by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, and the acting Minister of Finance, Mr Agbesi Akuamoah.

Giving guidelines for accessing the funds by the various assemblies, he said each assembly should submit a list of proposed projects to benefit from the first tranche of 50 per cent of the approved allocation and all satisfactory progress on the implementation of the first tranche, the balance of 50 per cent will be released.

He said the prioritised list must be submitted immediately for the funds to be made available to them.

The Ministry of Finance, Mr Yaw Osafo-Masfo, disclosed this at a news conference in Accra yesterday to shed light on the status of the HIPC initiative and the benefits so far accruing from it.

The news conference was attended by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, and the acting Minister of Finance, Mr Agbesi Akuamoah.

Giving guidelines for accessing the funds by the various assemblies, he said each assembly should submit a list of proposed projects to benefit from the first tranche of 50 per cent of the approved allocation and all satisfactory progress on the implementation of the first tranche, the balance of 50 per cent will be released.

He said the prioritised list must be submitted immediately for the funds to be made available to them.
Help Africa exit debt trap

Continued from P. 1

Africans today face a worsening debt trap. A study by the World Bank has found that 45% of African countries are in debt distress, with 14% in the most severe form. This means that they are unable to service their debt, which makes it difficult for them to access new funds for essential services like education and healthcare.

The debt trap is caused by a combination of factors, including the high cost of borrowing, the lack of access to alternative sources of funding, and the low GDP growth rates in many African countries. This puts a strain on the government's ability to meet its debt obligations and pay for essential services.

The debt trap is a serious concern for many African countries, and it is important that they take steps to address it. This could include negotiating better terms with creditors, increasing domestic revenue, and improving the efficiency of public sector spending.

It is also important for the global community to recognize the debt trap as a serious issue and provide support to African countries to help them exit it. This could include providing debt relief, increasing aid flows, and supporting reforms that will help African countries to grow and become more self-reliant.

In conclusion, the debt trap is a serious issue for many African countries, and it is important that they take steps to address it. The global community也应该认识到这一点，并提供支持，以帮助非洲国家摆脱债务陷阱。