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THE NEWS MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY IN GHANA (1992-2000)

WILBERFORCE SEFAKOR DZISAH

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
University of Westminster for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

The study critically examines the role played by the news media in a modern African democracy. The issues of democracy and the theories that drive them are mostly either Euro-centric or Anglo-American. The perspective offered by this thesis showed that Africa has a unique system which calls for a hybridised approach to the study of media and democracy. The functioning of a state-owned media, insulated from governmental control by the 1992 Ghana Constitution alongside privately-owned media is a phenomenon worth the undertaking.

What the study has done was an engagement with normative theories of media and democracy to determine whether or not the news media and more particularly, the newspaper media contribute to democratic development of Ghana. In this context, a comparative analytical study of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, state and private entities respectively, underpinned the enquiry into the possible influences on elections, checks on democratic accountability and promotion of multiparty politics. Crucially, Ghana's return to the path of multiparty constitutional democracy since 1992, has potentially equipped the news media with muscles to engage the state-managers in ways that may significantly reduce the incidence of power abuse.

With some degree of democratic consolidation, the focus of the news media, and even political activists, has significantly shifted towards the ensuring of democratic accountability and responsibility, and administrative transparency. Undoubtedly, the newspaper media as the 'Fourth Estate' has a constitutional mandate in Ghana, for ensuring that political power-wielders operate within the standards required for 'good governance'. An insight into how the exploits of the newspaper press acts as a catalyst for debate, deliberation and argumentation leading to opinion formation, in the political and democratic sphere in Ghana has been undertaken. This arguably has had an influence more widely in the continent of Africa.

Within the framework of unearthing the dynamics of the newspaper press role in the democratic process for the period 1992-2000, a combination of methods were employed to analyse the research data. Importantly, the findings arising from the investigation, informed by the methodological strategy of triangulation, has assisted in addressing most of the research questions using the critical comparative framework.

The effectiveness of the Ghanaian media in the democratic process is circumscribed by deep partisanship that wash over the political landscape. However, the bifurcation in the newspaper press offered by private/state ownership and control has arguably been a major contribution to the development of democracy as it allows for pluralism and diversity. This therefore defies the Western-held view that state-owned newspapers are an anathema to democratic development and progress. A major finding emerging from this study has been the combination of two different models of news media ownership contributing to the building of democracy in an African country. The emergence of findings in relation to the role of the state/private dichotomy in newspapers all promoting multiparty democracy in Ghana in particular constituted modest contributions to this field of study and may open the door into wider channels of enquiry into the news media and democracy paradox.

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INTRODUCTION

This study investigates how the practice of the newspaper media has assisted in advancing multiparty constitutional democracy embarked upon by Ghana since 1992. In the main, it sets out to explain how two of the country's most influential newspapers have aided the nascent democracy, erected in the post 1992 multiparty era, after a long spell of military rule. The newspapers coverage of electoral processes and general political coverage before, during and after elections were essential in deepening the democratic order. However, was their coverage fair and balanced, or driven by unalloyed partisanship? Their activism in contributing to democratic development in Ghana was arguably anchored to their critical independence as a 'Fourth Power' through pluralism and diversity (Ansah, 1991). Theories of the media are important cogs in the wheel of any meaningful democratic development. Models of democracy show that the news media are the bedrock on which any meaningful democratic practice could be deemed viable or irrelevant in a given society.

The study used a multi-strand methodology which involved triangulating data, particularly quantitative and qualitative comparative content analysis, observation and in-depth interviews (thematic analysis). It is important to state that content analyses assisted with measurement of statistical data, while its textual component addresses the contexts within the text for the sake of depth and for establishing a comparative framework. Findings arising from the emerging themes have justified the use of this multi-strand method as a complementary tool. Primarily, the comparative analytic study addresses the following questions:

- To what extent have newspapers helped establish democratic accountability? Has political news coverage in-between elections undermined or helped deepen the democratic process in Ghana?
- What has been the relationship between newspaper ownership and party-politics in Ghana? Does ownership of newspapers affect political coverage?

- What has been the role of the specific Ghanaian newspapers before, during and after elections? And have individual newspapers influenced the democratic process in the post-1992 constitutional era?
- What does a comparative analysis of the state-owned *Daily Graphic* and privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* tell us about the Ghanaian press during the period under review?
- What is the implication of future press coverage of the electoral process for Ghana's emerging multiparty democracy?

Crucially, the study addresses issues of how private/state-owned newspapers can contribute to multiparty democracy. In this way, it is significant to note how newspapers from different ownership and control structures have assisted in enhancing the political and democratic public sphere. Within this context, the constitutional spine given to the *Daily Graphic* has been a positive development in insulating it from governmental control. Issues of democratic accountability, ownership and how the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has influenced electoral processes since 1992 have been unearthed in this study. Clearly, the newspaper media's support for democratic growth and its promotion of pluralism and diversity within the political and democratic public sphere was at the heart of this study. The normative theories of the media and democracy provide a theoretical grounding from traditional Western liberal perspectives, which are at times at odds with the variants in the African context and particularly Ghana.

It must be stated that the relative success of the 'third wave' democracy in Ghana, after the one-party governments, followed by the military dictatorship (Carothers, 2002) since its inauguration in 1993 has significantly changed the political discourse of the prior demands for political participation and contestation, to those of crystallizing democracy through 'good governance'. The gladiator-fashion of the newspaper media's engagement with perceived political opponents has been identified as mainly a manifestation of the feud-mentality that is characteristic of Ghana politics (Maxwell Owusu 1986). The media has been the vehicle for the political combatants to fulfil their objectives over the years.

The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* are the largest circulating daily newspapers in the country with the former selling around 150,000 copies and the latter currently between 50,000-60,000 copies. The operative term 'currently' is used because the *Chronicle* was formerly a weekly, then a bi-weekly, becoming thrice weekly editions and finally a daily. Though Ghana's population is estimated to be 21.6 million (World Bank, 2006) the readership of newspapers is hampered by the relatively low rate of literacy of 74.8% (CIA, 2006, Cited AMDI, 2007: 5) and low circulation capacity on the part of the newspaper establishments, particularly the private press. Whilst it is believed that more people read the newspapers than the figure circulated, it is done through the system of sharing which I termed 'recycling'. An opinion leader in a village setting in Ghana who buys a newspaper generally ends up sharing it among six or more people. Economic factors and other considerations are arguably responsible for this state of affairs plaguing the newspaper press in Ghana.

The two newspapers were chosen because they were, and continue to be among the most influential newspapers in Ghana in terms of political journalism coverage. They have also played very important roles in Ghana by way of their engagement in political coverage, which provided useful support for Ghana's recent democratisation process. This contribution is worth investigating especially from the perspective of how their coverage of specific political stories provided an underlying energy for democratic development. The *Daily Graphic*, founded in 1950 by Cecil King, is one of the oldest daily newspapers in Ghana today. It was then owned by the British Mirror Group Company, also known as the Overseas Newspapers Incorporated, headed by Cecil King (Mytton, 1983: 40). Originally a private newspaper, it was sold to the Ghana Government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, shortly after the country attained self-rule.

The *Ghanaian Chronicle* was established in 1991 by the company General Portfolio Limited owned by Nana Kofi Coomson and Nana Antwi Darkwa. Its rise to importance was very quick. A major catalyst to the *Ghanaian Chronicle*'s meteoric rise to rival traditional media giants like the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* has been its focus on investigative journalism. It also benefited immensely from funds made available to it by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organisation (UNESCO), which sought to support private initiatives aimed at promoting education and providing information to the citizenry at the emergence of constitutional rule.

The *Daily Graphic* stated its mission to be a liberal, non-partisan, objective, development-oriented newspaper and to serve the national and the public interest. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* claims that its goal is to serve society by being a true watchdog through its commitment to investigative journalism, a defender of human rights, and non-partisan promoter of issues of national interest (Gadzekpo, 1996: 16).

Rationale for the Study

I settled on this topic with the aim of adding an intellectual discourse to media development and its attendant democratic evolution in Ghana since the return to multiparty constitutional rule in 1992. At no point in the history of Ghana has the news media enjoyed such freedom of the press and the atmosphere which enabled it to play an important role as a watchdog of the society than the post 1992 era. It is on this basis that I was persuaded to seek a deeper understanding of how the news media assisted the democratic process by way of informing and educating the citizenry and becoming the watchdog over those holding political office in particular and political parties in general. I considered it also essential to research the ideological praxis of the two newspapers to see if it revealed influences in their political coverage or any biases in political thinking in Ghana's multiparty constitutional setting.

The choice of the two newspapers, state-owned and privately-owned, is new in comparative media study in Ghana. An understanding of the workings of the two papers in a constitutional democracy such as Ghana will help stimulate debate not only about questions of ownership and control, but more importantly about how these differences were transformed into an underlying energy for the sustenance, growth and development of an electoral multiparty constitutional democracy in Ghana since 1992.

A comparative analysis of the two newspapers with different editorial orientation and control will help unravel the ideological dimensions of their contribution to

democratic development. Partisan considerations and manipulation of the newspaper media as well as delving into whether or not journalists are encumbered in their reportage on the basis of where they work will be part of to this inquiry. In brief, the thesis is an attempt to explore how the news media, particularly the newspaper media contribute to the democratic and political public sphere in Ghana from 1992-2000.

Between 1992-1996 most of the opposition parties in Ghana boycotted parliament, leaving only the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), and its partners in the Progressive Alliance (PA) to control the legislature. The major opposition parties did not participate in the 28 December 1992 parliamentary elections after losing the 3 November 1992 presidential elections. They accused the governing party, which transformed itself from the military government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) into a political party of vote rigging. In this boycott, almost ninety-five percent of the Members of Parliament (MPs) were representatives of the ruling NDC, which was the major partner in the progressive alliance. The remaining five percent of the Members of Parliament came from the minority partners in the alliance, namely the National Convention Party (NCP) and the Egle Party (Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere Party).

It has to be noted that since the 1992 parliamentary boycott which was ended after the first term of the constitutional government in 1996, a landmark event in Ghana's post independence history, the private media eventually assumed the label 'opposition media' as against the State-owned pro-government media. Therefore the contribution of both the state and private news media to the emerging democratic evolution needs to be explored. What makes it even more compelling to focus on the newspaper media, is the absence of private radio and television in the period 1992-1996, leaving the private newspaper media as the alternative to the state-owned media.

Ghana has held four successive democratic elections since 1992, the last one being December 2004 with one to be held three months after the submission of this thesis.. The expansion of the frontiers of freedom of expression and the re-establishment of constitutional democracy, have thrown up some useful dynamics worth researching in a nascent democracy. The dynamics of changes being experienced have also spawned a large numbers of actors in both the newspaper media and in politics.

Given that the news media in Ghana is either state-owned or private, the control of the state-owned media by successive ruling governments therefore places a heavy responsibility on the private media to hold the government to account not only as the 'Fourth Power'¹ but also as a force of opposition outside parliament. In order to fill the political void created by the opposition parties' boycott in the first four years, the privately-owned newspaper press assumed the role of an opposition group.

The boycott ended after the first four years of the first term of constitutional rule in 1996, a landmark event in Ghana's post independence history when the opposition parties contested for political power and duly took their seats in parliament. It is in the above contexts that I propose to analyse these two major newspapers of Ghana, for an in-depth enquiry covering the years 1992-1996 and 1997-2000.

I chose the particular years of chronological focus for this project because of the important historical events that unfolded during these periods of time. Importantly, after the 2000 elections there was a leadership change in Ghana, the first time in its history when a constitutionally elected government was replaced by another one through the ballot box. How the newspapers in question helped in the political communication process, resulting in the electorate replacing one constitutional government with another is one of the research questions I shall seek some answers to. The watchdog function of political communication on the part of the newspaper press between elections is also part of this study's enquiry. Furthermore, any intellectual discourse involving media and democracy, I deem, can provide the synergy for explicating the various notions, theories and models of these two concepts. Media and democracy are expected to complement each other. Even though politicians 'hate' newspapers which do not support them, there is a nexus relationship which makes them highly intertwined. It is difficult discussing the media without reference to democracy and vice versa.

¹ That is the media are regarded as the fourth power under the separation of powers and outside the three organs of the executive, legislature and the judiciary because of its watchdog role.

The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one deals with the theoretical framework. A critique of various theories of communication and democracy relevant to the study has been explored. In this light, issues of normative theory of the media, public sphere as engendered by the private-state dichotomy, democratic models and theories and related issues of democratic governance all formed the basis of argumentation and analysis. The researcher's own professional experience and first hand knowledge adds an impetus to the critique.

The second chapter is a discussion of the dialectics offered by African media and democracy perspectives. It is a critique of Western concepts as juxtapose against those articulated and argued as being unique to Africa. It deals with the concept and practice of the African liberal idea as it relates to the debates of media and democracy in Africa. A useful ingredient of this chapter is the debate surrounding modernity, developmental concepts and African civil society.

In chapter three, the study explores the historical framework of politics and the press in Ghana. The chapter discusses the role of the newspaper media in the evolution of democracy from the colonial to the post independence era. The role of state-owned and privately-owned newspapers shall be explored. The various media and democratic theories that form the basis of Ghana's constitutional and unconstitutional development are also examined.

Media ethos is captured in chapter four. It discusses the newspaper media and practice as a whole. A critique of radio, television and to some extent the internet in national life has been done and used as appendix. Ethical issues and professional training in the media has been discussed. A critique of why this study has privileged the newspaper media over other news media resonates clearly in this chapter alongside the background information in respect of the two newspapers at the heart of this study, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

The fifth chapter addresses the research questions and the methodology for the thesis. The research questions have been contextualised to serve as a signpost for offering a critique of the methodological approaches necessary for understanding phenomena.

The main thrust of this chapter, is the various methods used by both scholars and academics to collect, collate and analyse data. This involves a critique of the various methodological tools such as comparative content analysis, in-depth interviews and the sampling techniques deployed in the field to gather data. The practical hands-on approach in explicating data is articulated. The greatest asset of the methodology has been the ability to triangulate data, a useful tool which ensures that most of the research questions have been addressed.

Chapter six is devoted to qualitative analysis of the in-depth interviews as shown by the thematic method deployed. The depth of this analysis throws up very important findings, offering us a unique complementary dimension and relational features as critiqued in the theoretical framework. It represents a significant step towards addressing the study's research questions.

Chapter seven deal with quantitative and qualitative (textual) analyses framework. Analyses of the two newspapers at both the quantitative and qualitative level have been offered. The chapter engages with interpretation and description of statistical data generated from the coding process. In this case, statistical tables, graphs and pie charts have been constructed to assist with interpretation, description and analysis. The quantitative content analysis arguably generated very interesting findings necessary to support others produced by the qualitative methods applied. The partisanship, bias, fair/balance reportage, non-partisanship as well as placement of the stories about politics, elections and accountability as they relate to political news, general news, editorials, feature articles and letters-to-the-editor were clearly discovered. Their influence on the three main categories resonating through all aspects of the analysis has been identified and articulated.

Under the qualitative analysis, the deployment of analytical semantics and aspects of socio-linguistic analysis also produced interesting findings. In analysing texts, the position of the newspapers as it relates to their commitment to democratic accountability and the deepening of multiparty politics, has been uncovered either implicitly or explicitly. The textual or contextual analysis under this chapter further provides us with clear directions on whether their ownership structure influences their reportage in order to influence or direct the outcome of elections or the political

process in general. Furthermore, the textual analysis reveals the implications that the news media/newspaper coverage has on the democratic process as gleaned from their reportage and general coverage of issues bordering on politics, elections and accountability.

The findings emerging from the analysis have been discussed and theoretical arguments in the thesis has also be revisited to confirm or otherwise the theoretical arguments and their relation to the research questions. The findings have shown that the comparative analytic approach in exploring the newspaper press' contribution to the democratic and political public sphere, their promotion of electoral constitutional democracy, democratic accountability, ownership persuasions on the multiparty democracy have emerged.

The last chapter is the conclusion. A comprehensive summary of the dialectical positions presented in the theoretical arguments, the discussions, the methodological strengths and weaknesses and the value of the project as evidenced from the findings has been presented.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Framework

1.0 Introduction

The central role of the news media in nurturing democracy has been subjected to various interpretations. This study's focus on the news media's contribution to democratic evolution in Ghana examines the newspaper press' influence in shaping the thoughts of the electorate. It is argued that the media enable voters to exercise their democratic right in helping them decide between competing interests. The criticality of information and education it provides to the electorate in making political choices available to them, are some of the fundamental principles that serve to underpin the representation of public opinion.

An independent news media is a *sine qua non* in a democratic society since it helps keep the governors of the governed in check. The government is arguably only a trustee of the collective will of the people. Its actions should, therefore, be regulated by the force of public opinion. The media is arguably the most potent organ to mobilise, shape, assess and represent public opinion. The media and democracy are generally upheld as being inextricably linked (Curran, 1995). The purpose of this study is to research into the news media and precisely the newspapers role in assisting democracy to flourish or otherwise. In this way, the critique is centred on how the two complement each other in order to bring about a qualitative output in the much vaunted sphere of democratic politics.

The theoretical arguments which will underpin this chapter are more inclined to the normative theories of the newspaper press and democracy. The normative theory around which the thesis is built focuses on the *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert *et al* (1956). This is then enlarged to include the variant developmental and democratic participant theories (McQuail, 1983, 2005; Hachten, 1981, 1992). Within the broader framework of the critique, I also engaged with other traditional liberal theories within the libertarian normative tradition. The chapter examines the news media's public sphere role in relation to various centres of power in the context of

deepening their democratic contribution. Theories and models governing democracy such as the direct, representative or pluralist democracy have also been engaged with.

1.1 The Democracy Debate

My research is interested in media and democracy. American scholar Fukuyama (1992) posited that of all the forms of government that has straddled human existence, from theocracies, monarchies to aristocracies, and from fascism to communism in the twentieth century, “the only government that has survived to the end of the century has been liberal democracy” (1992: 45). Liberal democracy, according to Fukuyama, is representative democracy and this is also referred to as constitutional and pluralist democracy. He adds,

What is emerging victorious is not so much liberal practice, as the liberal idea. For a very large part of the world, there is now no ideology with pretensions to challenge liberal democracy (1992: 45).

Offering a definition of liberal democracy, he argues that it is a form of rule in which the citizens are free to “choose their own governments through periodic, free and fair, secret-ballot, multiparty elections, on the basis of universal and equal adult suffrage” (Ibid: 43). He pointed out however, that liberal democracy alone does not guarantee equal participation and rights. In this way, the fulcrum of liberalism is its emphasis on pluralism which not only allows individual freedoms but also is most restricted to the organisation of the market as the main elixir for addressing the needs of society (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). But this cannot be taken to be wholly ideal or essential for democracy in that pluralism or representation has been reduced to holding periodic elections, emphasising rights and freedoms and allowing for freer market of goods both tangible and intangible as McChesney (2000) describes them and for holding aloft the banner of profit.

In as much as Fukuyama established a theoretical basis for liberal democracy as the only feasible model to have successfully survived ideological battles and practices, African scholars such as Nyamnjoh, disagrees with his assertion of using periodic elections as a means to arrive at the democratic paradise as preached by liberal theorists. He views this kind of democracy as ‘face-powder democracy’ (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 24). A real democratic culture, he insists, must be seen beyond the electorate just exercising their franchise. Democracy, Nyamnjoh argues “means more than the

occasional election of leaders who excel in callous indifference to the predicaments of their people” (Ibid: 24).

Liberal democracy, which Fukuyama also contends to be reflective of modern representative government, has been criticised by others as inferior to the participatory democracy (Direct Democracy) of the Athenian ideal. For example, according to Dunn (1993), democracy is the

old but vigorous idea that in human political communities, it ought to be ordinary people (the adult citizens), and not the extra-ordinary people who rule. The power and appeal of the idea come from its promise to render the life of a community something willed and chosen to turn the social and political existences that human beings share into a texture of consciously intended communication. In a democracy, the people (the demos), its human members decide what is to be done, and in so deciding they take their destiny into their own hands (1993: v-vi).

In providing a further insight into the democratic ideal, Dunn insists that modern liberal democracy does not offer its citizens the right to decide what is to be done and therefore they do not have their destiny in their own hands, adding: “they do not because they cannot” (Ibid). It is evident that under the traditional participatory democracy, the citizens using the majoritarian principle are part of decision-making process².

However, major weaknesses identified in its practice were arguably responsible for democratic improvements that propelled the human race to the modern liberal and other democratic systems (cited Drah, 1996: 53). If indeed it was so, then the modern liberal representative democracy in which the majority are passive actors cannot be said to satisfy the criteria of opinions, freedoms and rights of expression and assembly

² By implication, Dunn is of the view that the participatory democracy of the early Greek States could not be attained in contemporary democracy due to certain inhibiting factors. It therefore strengthened the point that there is no utopian situation in reference to the type of democracy best suited for mankind. Dunn fails to note that Athenian democracy is fundamentally flawed because women, the low-born and slaves had no part in it. A slave-owning democracy is a contradiction per se. But he sees the Athenian democracy as an ‘extraordinary invention’ because it allowed for freedom for the citizens insisting on the definition of the citizen which excludes women and slaves (Ibid: 424). It is also imperative for us to understand how it was suitable at the time for such an ideal to work. What Dunn fails to see in ‘Direct Democracy’ is the obviously small populations and settlements around which the system was interwoven. But as noted by Rousseau, with increases in population and huge settlements springing up, the Athenian system is close to impossibility in any modern democratic environment. “Direct democracy, the participation in the *agora*, is suited only to small states and organisations in which the people find it easy to meet and in which every citizen can easily get to know all others” (cited in Keane, 1994: 169). As noted by Plato, the participatory ideal amounted to imposing “mediocrity over excellence, amateurism over professionalism, anarchy over order, in short, ignorance over true knowledge” (cited in Drah, 1996: 53).

in anyway. How representative are the elite who are free from ignorance and are knowledgeable compared with the illiterate and uninformed citizen?

Of note is the major shift in democratic development between the sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries which rendered the Athenian prescription nugatory. It was considered the most inimical form of government, in for example England and other parts of Europe by the aristocratic and propertied classes. The Lockean maxim of 'no taxation without representation' finally shut the door on the Aristotelian prescription of a "form of government which is conducted for the benefit of the poor" (Moore Junior cited Drah, 1996: 53). In its place a representative government was born. Modern representative democracy was seized by the aristocracy and the middle class. The revolutions that swept across the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the American and the French versions being reference points in modern history, are noted for their attempt to reorder a system that was now appropriated by the middle class (Mill, 1962: 193).

While the wheel of representative democracy rolled on to include the ordinary people, courtesy revolutionary upheavals, critics like John Stuart Mill (1962) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1945) were, with hindsight, quick to point to the dangers of the exclusion of the minority affluent class. Mill's philosophical arguments for democratic practice are two sets of ideas which he claims have been misguidedly conflated. He refers to the 'pure idea of democracy' which he defines as "the government of the whole people equally represented" and "democracy as commonly conceived and hitherto practised" which is "the government of the whole people, exclusively represented." According to Mill, the first is "synonymous with the equality of all citizens", while the second strangely confounded with the first "is a government of privilege, in favour of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the state" resulting in the "complete disfranchisement of minorities" (Mill, 256-257). The articulation of the concerns of the privileged and educated classes about the 'tyranny of the majority' was seen as an attempt to restore some credibility to a discredited privileged class (Ibid). Imperatively, their contention was that individual talents and excellence could flourish best under enlightened, aristocratic monarchy. But both were quick to admit that a society's average intelligence was a function of the active participation of its members in public affairs.

In the absence of such participation, people would become selfish and even anomic. It needs to be pointed out that while to deTocqueville (1945) and other French liberals, liberty was the condition of intellectual and cultural progress, for Mill, the condition was active participation. Mill states:

...the ideally best form of government is that in which.... Every citizen [is], at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general (Ibid: 195).

Mill's argument if put in the context of the time was an attempt to distinguish 'false' from 'true' democracy. The former constituted an imposition of majority rule; while the latter was institutionalised through representative government which in turn accommodated minority sentiments and opinions.

But as Keane (1994: 168) explains, the concept of democracy cannot be taken to explain whatever is thought to be. Keane argues that democracy is normative in that it follows a clear set of rules and has elemental implications. He elaborated on the normative implications and procedural processes to mean "who is authorised to make collective decisions and through which procedures such decisions are to be made, regardless of the areas of life in which democracy is practised" (Ibid). Unlike Plato's argument of mediocrity and ignorance ruling over knowledge and excellence, Keane sees the concept of democracy as a combination of clear procedures which leads to consensus building. In effect, the ultimate in democratic participation is capacity building that ensures qualitative and quantitative involvement of all segments of society in the process.

McNair (2003), writing on democratic participation also recognises the normative principle of equal participation through universal adult suffrage irrespective of status in the society. Constitutional provisions and guarantees, he notes, provide some clarity in the performance and discharge of functions in a democracy and ensures alternatives. He argues that democracy's main vitality is an "agreed set of procedures and rules governing the conduct of elections, the behaviour of those who win them and the legitimate activities of dissenters" (2003: 18). He also argues for a sizeable percentage of the population being engaged in the democratic process in order to give it that broad appeal, acceptance and participation. McNair adds that democracy ought to provide the necessary political choices for the electorate among the competing

political parties, and the election of the candidates only through rational and informed decisions of the electorate (Ibid). Garnham (1992) also affirmed this position articulated by McNair when he argued that democracy not only deals with freedom but the knowledge necessary to activate choices through political judgement of the various alternatives opened to them. He asserts:

... the rights and duties of a citizen are in large part defined in terms of freedom of assembly and freedom to impart and receive information. Without such freedoms it would be impossible for citizens to possess knowledge of the views of others necessary to reach agreements between themselves, whether consensual or majoritarian, as to either social means or ends; to possess knowledge of the actions of those to whom executive responsibilities are delegated so as to make them accountable; to possess knowledge of the external environment necessary to arrive at appropriate judgement of both personal and social interests (Garnham, 1992: 364).

The rationality and informed choices argument was clearly activated by Mill. His contention is that society's average intelligence and active participation in the democratic process is:

The first element of good government... being the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, the most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves (1962: 195).

As we debate the essential features of a democracy model, it is only prudent to touch on the livewire of modern liberal ideas as represented by the political party system. We must recall McNair's references to the liberal idea as it provides for the necessary political choices among the electorate through competing political parties (2003:18).

This idea of political parties or divisions has been fully accounted for by Maier (1993) (in Dunn, 1993: 135). He traced it to eighteenth century England where political friends in parliament ensured the acceptance of common policies and secured the offices they wanted. Thus, the political party gradually "made politics into a predictable living and an instrument of governance" (Ibid: 135). Maier argues that the institutionalisation of political parties in a democracy has helped "transformed opposition from conspiracy into acceptable dissent" and therefore provided a vital channel for an otherwise virulent and potentially lethal rivalry into a workaday and tolerable antagonism of "ins and outs" (Ibid).

A further boost to the liberal idea has been captured by Keane (1994) when he calls for institutionalised divisions of state and civil society. He contends:

...self organising (international) civil society which is coordinated and generated by multilayered (supra-national) state institutions, which are in turn held permanently accountable to civil society by mechanisms – political parties, legislatures, communications media – which keep open the channels between state and social institutions (1994:169).

Sociologists like Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, according to Maier (1993), also argued very forcefully for a strong civil society to shape the structure of democratic politics. They proposed the “organisation of civil society to stabilise the fast advancing democratic politics” (Maier in Dunn, 1993: 132). This view is shared by Holmes when he states the position of theorists in Europe and America on the power of the state which has to be curtailed. He argues:

If they viewed the state as an agent of coercion that must be restricted, they saw civil society as a sphere of freedom that must be enlarged (in Lichtenberg, 1990: 21).

Comaroff and Comaroff (1999) also applaud the organisation of civil society in a democracy arguing that its presence has been to assist checks on any capricious use of political power. However, they view its place in modern western liberal societies as part of the free market capitalist order designed to curtail the power of society by “trumpeting instead the uncompromising autonomy of the individual, rights-bearing, physically discrete, monied, market driven, materially inviolate human subject” (cited Nyamnjoh, 2005: 29). Therefore, a major drawback on what Durkheim and Comte perceived to serve as a democratic bulwark against the unrestrained use of political power by the rulers, has in modern times been transformed into another realm of power concentration within the social polity and in the hands of the powerful minority, who claim to represent and speak on behalf of civil society (Comaroff and Comaroff, cited Nyamnjoh, 2005: 29).

Despite the plausible arguments and claims to the utopian formulations by liberal democratic thought and practice, Keane warns of the dangers in celebrating the liberal idea or the representative parliamentary democracy as the ‘alpha and omega’ of political forms (1994: 169). He attacks modern democratic practices and the loud claims in the western world to democratic idealism, as a semblance of “a homeless drunk staggering uncertainly in search of a lamp-post for support if not illumination”

(Ibid: 170-171). What Keane tries to argue is located within the philosophical basis of the substantive grounding principle of Tom Paine, Mill and Locke's natural rights maxim, and the Marxian ideology of the triumph of authentic democracy as derived from the class struggle. The ongoing struggle and debates as to the imperfections of the liberal idea, and the cries and echoes of the world's majority population still smarting under the shackles of poverty and deprivation, even after the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and other parts of the world, remains a blot on the conscience of the purists of the flawless liberal idea and practice (1994: 171).

Fukuyama's argument which projects the liberal idea as the unchallenged ideology into the new millennium is in need of examination. According to McChesney (2000), modern-day democracy as a term has been widely used to the extent that "it has lost much of its specificity and meaning" (McChesney, 2000: 4). He laments the abuse of the concept of democracy which now even applies to tangible and intangible products. Products consumed by many in modern times are referred to as 'democratic' while those by a tiny minority are considered 'undemocratic'. As if this was not enough, McChesney also points out the constant reference to anything good being 'democratic' while offensive behaviour is described in unpalatable terms. Words like 'Fascist' or 'Hitler-like' are used to describe "negative behaviour regardless of any actual relationship to the Third Reich or fascist politics or politics at all" (Ibid). Using the United States as a classic example, he questions its characterisation as a democracy. It is his view that this description of the United States as being democratic has to be properly evaluated based on the "assumptions and values of the person making the claim" (Ibid).

McChesney is quick to add that the reference to the United States as a democracy is premised on the enjoyment of individual rights and freedoms, the freedom to exercise the vote in an organised election and "when abuse of power is held in check by a constitution and laws and a legal system". He disagrees with this. He does not see this as providing the necessary succour needed for democratic idealism and practice. He thinks the concept of democracy as practised in the United States for example, is devalued by the inability of the majority to have a direct say in the decision-making process, and as he puts it:

Many key decisions are the province of the corporate sector and most decisions made by the government are influenced by the powerful special interests with little public awareness or input (Ibid).

McChesney, however, concedes that in as much as citizens in the democratic western world do not have control over how political decisions, which affect their lives, are made they do “retain the right to vote in elections and thereby remove politicians from office” (Ibid: 5). What McChesney fails to address is that American democracy in the main is manifest in only its superb local government system and not in neo-imperial citadels of Congress and the White House. This is based on the fact that the citizens have the power to elect officials directly and by simple majority they take their seats in the councils and municipalities. This is not encumbered by the discriminatory Electoral College arrangement for the occupant of the White House. The case of majoritarian democracy is undermined by this arrangement in which the President is elected by a few representatives and the winner of the popular vote could be denied power. The case of the controversial 2000 American presidential electoral contest between George Bush and Al Gore are important reference points.

Importantly, Nordenstreng identifies a simple thread that cuts through most democratic theory and practice. This position is likened to the one articulated earlier on in this chapter by Rousseau related to individual rights and liberty and those of the equality, collectivism and the recognition of the community (2006: 42).

The democratic debate as articulated by the sources reviewed here has thrown up the necessary linkages and symbiotic relationships that are in need of connectivity to the news media argument as an intertwined concept. McChesney in his critique of democracy, which he prefers to call ‘liberalism’ or even neo-liberalism, believes in democratisation that ultimately will ensure “reducing social inequality and establishing a media system that serves the entire population and promote democratic rule” (McChesney, 2000: 5).

In this case, deliberate misinformation and distortion are a concern because they have the potential of shortchanging the democratic process. Political information is “a central resource for democratic participation” (Carpini and Keeter, 1997: 5). Citizens cannot make meaningful political decisions without accurate information provided by

the press-media about the choices before them and the likely consequences of those choices.

This reference to the media takes us to the next phase of our debate. And this has to do with fleshing out the various arguments for and against media's role in a democratic process.

1.2 Media Theory and Philosophical Argument

The press-media which is variously regarded as the Fourth Estate and later assumed the term watchdog of society has a unique history and origin. Its central role in society and later in democratic governance as key player compelled Edmund Burke (1729-97) to refer to it as the Fourth Estate (Cited McQuail, 2005). This description came about as Burke sought to explain the power relations of the press vis-à-vis those of the other powers in Britain, the Lords, Church and Commons. In equating the political power wielded by the press to others referred to now as the three pillars of the state (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary), Burke based his assessment on the power and oxygen of publicity enabled by the press. According to McQuail "the power of the press arose from its ability to give or withhold publicity and from its informative capacity (2005: 169).

This informative capacity has influence on the way and manner the press-media operate. Wilbur Schramm (1964) describes the mass media as an instrument for taking the social temperature. However, its function is more than taking the social temperature. The political and economic imperatives are determined by the level of media influence in the given society. It provides the fulcrum for gauging the accountability of political leaders and other influential elements in society. In the contention of Kunckzik, the level of temperature being high or low is determined by the various activities which characterise the full or partial participation of the people (Kunczik, 1988: 87).

The history of the press is linked to press freedom. This is evidenced by the restrictions imposed on the early press through censorship following the 'Gutenberg miracle' in mid-fifteenth century Europe (McQuail, 2005: 25). For a clearer

understanding of the media debate, we need to briefly explain the relevant '*Four Theories*' of the press.

1.2.1 Authoritarian Theory

Authoritarianism as a press theory, as elucidated by Siebert in the introduction to the '*Four Theories of the Press*', emerged during the Renaissance. According to Siebert 'truth' was considered the preserve of a few wise men instead of the aggregate intelligence of society as a whole. "Thus truth was thought to be centred near the centre of power. The press therefore functioned from the *top down*" (1963: 2). In this context, the political authority represented by the English monarchy in the Renaissance period had absolute control of the press and decided which information was suitable for consumption by the readers and "policies the rulers thought they should support" (Ibid). Private ownership was strictly at the discretion of the English royalty and was conferred on a few privileged individuals by the granting of special permission for the purposes of eloquently espousing the policies supportive of the established monarchy. Any publication which was considered critical, or what was termed 'dishonourable', could be revoked without notice (1963: 2-3). This practice was rooted in the notion of a press-media that was completely government-controlled and regulated. It was justified by those who applied it as necessary to protect and preserve a divinely ordained social order. Violators risked jail sentences or revocation of licenses. This allowed for all manner of censorship and repressive laws.

1.2.2 Libertarian Theory

It has been stated by Siebert *et al* that agitation for more political and religious rights under the emerging democratic ideal of the late seventeenth century, and through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, acted as a catalyst in pushing for a truly libertarian model for the press. They have argued that:

the libertarian theory reverses the relative position of man and the state as we saw in the authoritarian theory. Man is no longer conceived of as a dependent being to be led and directed, but rather as a rational being able to discern between truth and falsehood, between a better and worse alternative, when faced with conflicting evidence and alternative choices (1963: 3)

The philosophical basis of the libertarian theory is the independence of the press from governmental control. Its guiding principle is its ability to present all sides of the issue, and to act as an effective check to any encroaching autocratic tendencies of the rulers on the governed. All contending ideas must be subject to fair scrutiny in the 'free market place' of ideas by all irrespective of status, influence, majority or minority (Ibid: 4).

In deepening the basis of this theory its proponents argue that libertarianism is predicated on the proviso that if individuals could be rescued from the arbitrary restrictions imposed on the press-media by Church and State "they would "naturally" follow the dictates of their conscience, seek truth, engage in public debate and ultimately create a better life for themselves and others" (Baran and Davis, 2003: 96). Curran (2005) sees the liberal media theory as a check on the state (2005) and the watchdog role of the media. This function, he argues, is meant to surpass all other functions irrespective of their vital role in society. Curran states that "only by anchoring the media to the free market in this view is it possible to ensure the media's complete independence from government" (2005: 122).

1.2.3 Social Responsibility Theory

Modifications to the libertarian theory, and concerns of its drift into the hands of a few powerful elite who now control all the channels of communication, necessitated the call for the 'Social Responsibility Theory'. The power of media owners and managers who decide what media product is fit for public consumption is thought to have eroded the original spirit behind Mill's 'free market place' of ideas principle (Baran and Davis, 2003). The right of the individual to free expression is linked to his or her ability to reason and be guided by thoughts which are believed to be a moral right and necessary to uphold and not hand over to external control (Peterson, 1963: 96).

The social responsibility theory of the press was born out of the 1947 United States Hutchins Commission report on the role of the press in the society. However, while some members of the commission held fast to the libertarian ideals of a totally unregulated press, others favoured some measure of regulation, fearing that the

marketplace of ideas was “too vulnerable to subversion by anti-democratic forces” (Baran and Davis, 2003: 108). This position was that an “unregulated mass media inevitably served the interests and tastes of large socially-dominant groups”, warning that “small, weak, pluralistic groups would be either neglected or denigrated” (Baran and Davis, 2003: 109). While recognising that the libertarian marketplace of ideas was not self-regulating, the commission was nonetheless apprehensive that any form of regulation might trigger official control, thus, social responsibility arose as a compromise theory. It challenged media practitioners to devise new strategies of serving their communities, while seeing themselves at the vanguard of the struggle to preserve democracy in a world that was drifting inexorably toward dictatorship. By fostering pluralistic groups, the media would be erecting a wall of protection for democracy. A summary of the principles behind the social responsibility theory as elucidated by McQuail (1983, 2005) and Hachten (1981, 1992) are:

- Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of being informative, truthful, accurate, objective and balanced
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions
- The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups.
- The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and rights of reply
- Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention can be justified to secure the public good
- Journalism and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market (McQuail, 1983, 2005: 171-172; Hachten, 1992: 22).

1.2.4 The Soviet-Communist Theory

The *Soviet-Communist* theory which is premised on Marxist thought and determinism has some resemblance to the authoritarian model. The state is the absolute owner of the press (Siebert et al., 1963: 5). Offering an insight into the *Soviet-Communist*

theory, Schramm stated the media's subordination to the state. As part of the state machinery, the media exist to support, promote and further the advancement of the socialist system and its organs of power and control. Its thrust is the 'cost-covering' principle and to assist in social construction by supporting the leaders to mobilise the population for the attainment of efficiency in production (Schramm: 140-141).

A vivid summary of the theory provided by McQuail and Kunczik explains its main trajectory as follows:

- Removal of the profit motive (respectively the cost-covering principle) of the media.
- Secondariness of topicality in news presentation.
- Whereas the authoritarian press theory was strictly status quo-oriented, the press in Soviet theory is development and change of society (attainment of the communist stage) (1983: 93-94; 1988: 48).

As noted by Nordenstreng (2006), the *Four Theories* filled an intellectual gap in establishing the relationship between the media-press and the different levels of governance. However, the classic '*Four Theories*' came under heavy criticism for oversimplification in framing history and for "its analytical inadequacy" (2006: 36). As noted by other scholars including Hallin and Mancini (2004), the era of the *Four Theories* is passed and that there is the need to move on to "the development of more sophisticated models based on real comparative analysis" (2004: 10). McQuail (1983, 2005) and Hachten (1992) have earlier recognised the intellectual defects within the classic and offered variant models such the development and democratic participant. However, it can be argued that within the scope of this thesis, the *Four Theories* and the Habermasian arguments in respect of the media and democratic public sphere are very useful in relation to Ghana just as the variants which I now move on to discuss.

1.2.5 Development Model/Concept

The Development model/concept has its origins in the theoretical postulations of Wilbur Schramm (1964) and Daniel Lerner (1963). According to McQuail (2005), it arose out of the need to articulate a specific paradigm for countries emerging out of colonialism and under-development. It is the contention that the normative 'four theories' were purely Western concepts with no historical and cultural connection to

the problems confronting the press in Africa, Asia and South America (2005: 178). These under-developed countries are constrained by finance, the required infrastructure and manpower capacity to adopt the free-market models mostly driven by private-sector led press as practised in the Western world. In the view of McQuail these countries in transition to independence believe that they owe a duty to their citizens to fulfil certain obligations instead of leaving the market to the force of price mechanism, which is lubricated by demand and supply imperatives. It is their contention that “social responsibility comes before media rights and freedoms” (McQuail, 2005: 178). This viewpoint is seen as a simple relapse into authoritarianism as articulated by Siebert (1963). Viewed as an amalgam of the authoritarian and Soviet-Communist press praxis, this de-westernised model was originally thought to fill the gap between the developed and the developing countries in all spheres of life. This is corroborated by Hachten, who argues that the developmental concept is an “amorphous and curious mixture of ideas, rhetoric, influences, and grievances” (1992: 34). In the words of Rosemary Righter (1978), the central component of the concept is its rejection of the Western model as encapsulated in the normative theory. The *four theories* are believed to be stripped of the necessary oxygen to address the concerns of the unequal world. In order to fill the void created by this theoretical lacuna, the media “instead of backing diversity and free flow....must adopt a didactic, even ideological, role of explaining to the people their part in forging a new social order” (Righter, 1978: 14-5). The thrust of the development concept or model as articulated by McQuail is its normative synergy to promote positive development, ensure autonomy and cultural identity of these developing countries caught in the quagmire of the West and East ideological battle which greatly informed the basis of the ‘*Four Theories*’. Some of the basic ingredients of the concept as explained by Hachten (1981, 1992) and McQuail (1983, 2005) are:

- The media therefore should support authority, not challenge it. Dissent or criticism has no place, in part because the alternative to the ruling government would be chaos, it is argued. Freedom of the press, then, can be restricted according to the development needs of the society.
- Information (or truth) thus becomes the property of the state; the flow of power (and truth) between the governors and the governed works from top

down as in traditional authoritarianism. Information or news is a scarce national resource; it must be utilized to further the national goals.

- Implied but not often articulated is the view that individual rights of expression and other civil liberties are somewhat irrelevant in the face of the overwhelming problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy, and ethnicity that face a majority of these nations (Hachten, 1981, 1992: 36; McQuail, 1983, 2005: 178).

1.2.6 Democratic-Participant Theory

The fear element of control of the news media under the developmental concept is grounded on the belief that it promotes authoritarianism and lack of accountability on the part of the rulers. For the Western normative theory, the elemental deficiencies of control and ownership of the media by the few corporate behemoths necessitated the need for a variant model (Hachten, 1992: 22). The democratic participant theory was advocated as the logical option to satisfy and address the inadequacies raised. Its essential features are to help democratise communication. Its main thrust is to revolutionise news media practice by democratising an industry considered too over-centralised, too closely tied to big business in the capitalist world and overly driven by commercial interests in favour of a horizontal and rural-based communication. In effect, the principle underlying this theory is to reverse the perception of the news media as a distributive agency to one of communicative machinery of not passive listeners but as active suppliers in the market (McQuail 1983: 96). It is imperative to recognise that the main argument located within this theory is to seek a solution to the needs, interests and aspirations of the recipients of information in a political setting. It is meant to provide a theoretical space, with direct control of the news media by members of the community in which it operates. Democratic participant theory will, therefore, offer the community localised forms of communication and social interaction through the use of the news media to establish relations with the state. Such an arrangement, its proponents believe, creates space for non-coercive human association through obligatory state provision of support for community news media devoid of control and agenda-setting.

The basis of democratic-participant theory is the argument that the news media, being a powerful social institution, is too awesome, too sensitive and too critically important to be entrusted to a handful of owners and operators, the fear being that such a monopoly may serve to marginalise a critical segment of the populace. The theory reasons that the populace has an inalienable right to information, the right to answer back and the right of the majority and the less privileged to be actively involved and participate in political communication. Folarin (2002: 35) has likened the news media option of the democratic-participant theorists to the equivalent of “grassroots democracy”.

1.3 The Theories and Their Explanatory Power

McQuail (2005: 27) explains how in 1644 Milton the English poet spoke out for a libertarian press, resulting in the abandonment of censorship measures. Siebert (1956) documents this intellectual proposition when he recalls the struggle for freedom of the press from the shackles of authoritarianism of the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century Europe and the United States in general. He mentions Milton, Mill, Locke, and Paine among the early corps that provided the resistance to licensing (1963: 45).

Britain is credited with the fight for press freedom from state control. Kunczik (1988) records how English parliamentarians in 1649 introduced a bill in parliament to argue against the state’s continued control of the press. The bill states:

if a government wants to act justly and in accordance with the constitutional principles then it will have to be necessary for it to hear all voices and all opinions. But that is possible only if it grants freedom of the press (cited Kunczik, 1988: 16)

Milton for example, criticised press restrictions as not only stifling the right of the individual’s infinite capacity to think but also to exercise his inalienable right to dissent and the use of his own discretion in judgement of what is good from bad (Ibid). Kunczik also cites Milton as having attacked censorship, arguing that if allowed to be used by the subaltern intellects could result in submerging the ‘truth’. Censorship, Milton stated:

would make it impossible to find the truth by public argumentation because, free public debate at the end of the day served the common good. Truth could be found only if one considered the possibility that others could also be right.

In argument and counter argument, one could arrive at the truth (cited Kunczik, 1988: 16).

Milton's idea of the 'self-righting process' and the 'free market place of ideas' is an important ingredient in shaping the liberal theory of the press (cited Siebert, 1963: 45). The libertarian theory according to Siebert, functions to inform, entertain and educate and above all to help discover the 'truth' in order to act as an effective watchdog of the society over the rulers (Ibid: 51).

Mill on the other hand argued for free ventilation of opinions in a free and democratic press. He, however, warned that the power and ability of one to express one's opinions should not be held up as enough safeguard for the promotion of free expression but one that seeks the truth by allowing for conflicting opinions to freely circulate which ultimately spring up the truth (cited Siebert, 1963: 46). However, Hallin (1994) is of the view that free circulation of ideas alone is not a guarantee of critical rational debate and the uncovering of the truth. He thinks it is subject to manipulation and therefore argues:

it is neither realistic nor necessary nor even desirable, for public debate to be strictly 'rational'... Political dialogue has always involved passion and spectacle; just like 'reason,' they have been used sometimes to manipulate and pacify, and sometimes to push consciousness to a higher level" (1994: 9).

The contention here is that adulterated debate easily pushes political debate to the point that economists call "diminishing returns". At that point, public debate ceases to inform, to engage, and to stimulate the power of thought and seek the truth.

Kunczik, commenting on the early press salutes Friedrich Engels (1839) as one of the many credited with the courage of resisting the censorship noose being tightened around their necks. Engels in a rebellious mood argued:

I will not be prevented from writing freely by censorship; let them strike out as much as they like from what I have written, I shall not become a child-murderer of my own thoughts...(cited Kunczik, 1988: 17).

The resistance to authoritarianism in the early press is wide and varied. Thomas Erskine (1793) using the liberty of the press as enshrined in the British uncoded constitution reiterated the natural rights of the individual to freely express himself on issues of importance for the society as a whole. At the trial of Tom Paine in England

who was charged with seditious libel, Erskine stated “every individual citizen has the right to the oxygen of publicity” and as Keane captured it:

the government of citizens’ tongues, brains and eyes is inadmissible. Liberty of the press is an imprescriptible natural right, given by God. It cannot be infringed by any earthly power, and certainly not by individuals against government... Every man may analyse the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, warn his fellow citizens against their ruinous consequences (Thomas Erskine 1793, cited Keane, 1994: 4).

What this tells us is the right of the press-media to scrutinise the actions and inactions of the rulers to the ruled. The press-media in the contention of Erskine has the power to demand democratic and political accountability by exposing corruption and other abuses in the system. This development was an important part of the entrenchment of a democratic culture in which citizens openly demand accountability from their leaders. It contributes to politics being “cut down to size” (Blumler & Gurevitch, 2000: 163) so that citizens can begin to look at their leaders as public servants whom they can (and do) hold accountable.

The contention is that the watchdog role of the news media is one of the most solid arguments advanced by the liberal pluralist theory. Its main thrust has been to mount surveillance on the state and its agents as to guard the public purse and the resources of the people. For Curran, it is one critical aspect of democratic underpinnings of the news media (2005).

The argument about accountability has been explained by Lipset as the “ability to determine who in government is responsible for a decision or action and the ability to ensure that officials are answerable for their actions” (1995: 9). Press-media accountability is also premised on the understanding that it scrutinises those holding responsible, elected or appointed, offices in trust for the citizens. This is mostly tenable in democracies where there are institutional and legal safeguards to ensure those in public and state organisations charged with public mandate to account for specific actions, activities or decisions to the public from which they derive their authority (Ibid).

Whatever the enormous importance and vital role of the watchdog function for example, Curran calls for sobriety not to view this theory as an end in itself arguing that “it is perhaps quixotic to argue that it is so paramount that it should dictate media policy” (2005: 124). However, in the context of Ghana and most African countries undergoing democratic transitions, the canker of corruption and the mentality of politicians entry into politics being influenced by a possible short-cut to riches, the watchdog role of the news media is still very relevant. The traditional liberal theory, which is lubricated by pluralism, is best served by watchdog journalism as a central component for democratic development and survival if poverty is to be eliminated.

Despite the efforts of the early liberal theorists to fight for a freer press in order to check the creeping abuse of state power, human rights and corruption, the threats posed to the news media and democracy represented by the private-state dichotomy is today more exacerbated by both internal and external factors than could not have been envisaged in the past. While the libertarian and social responsibility theories are based on the ‘free market place’ of ideas and the ‘self-righting’ process, and eloquently espoused private ownership of the press, there are those who still believe that the state ought to own newspapers of its own. This debate is further fuelled by the position of Curran, who believes that both have inadequacies which are not likely to serve the ultimate points in society’s quest to enjoy the best (Curran, 2005).

However, the case study of the private-state dichotomy as it relates to Ghana has shown that both can co-exist and help promote healthy debate and informed opinions within the public sphere. In the case of the *Daily Graphic* for example, though a state-owned newspaper, it has a constitutional backing under article 162 of the Ghana Constitution to be independent (1992). Its main vitality has been the constitutional framework which empowers the National Media Commission (NMC) in article 167 (a) “to promote and ensure the freedom and independence of the media for mass communication or information” and subsequently in 167 (c) “to insulate the state-owned media from governmental control (1992: 114). This safeguard, it can be argued, appears to have provided space to the state-owned newspaper alongside privately-owned entities such as the *Ghanaian Chronicle* to render valuable democratic service and promote multiparty development and growth.

The power and recognition given to a constitutional body such as the NMC to ensure the independence of the news media is an essential tool for building a free and just society. An independent newspaper press in a democracy, according to Keane, are “justified by their ability to maximise freedom in the sense of individual or group autonomy” in that a free press remains the only bulwark or antidote against the incipient abuse of power by those who wield and exercise it (1994: 175). Clearly, Keane argues that democracy depends on an informed citizenry. The capacity to arrive at rational and intelligent decisions is influenced by the quality of information available, and that they are allowed to have access to various sources of opinion (Ibid). The newspaper press’ role in a democracy is to enhance “information equality” by allowing more citizens access to political information. What this means is that the news media has the onerous responsibility as an “agency of information and debate that facilitates the functioning of democracy” (Curran, 2005: 129) beyond the scope of surveilling the state and its agents.

According to democratic theory, the very survival of democracy depends on information and communication (Barber, 1999). The informed “consent of the governed” is a cherished principle of representative democracy (1999: 582). Perhaps this is even more crucial in societies undergoing democratic transitions. Without sufficient information, citizens, may not adequately evaluate the alternatives before them and the consequences of their actions. This view is further deepened by Barnett and Gaber (2001) in their contribution to the press debate. Commenting on political journalism, Barnett and Gaber identified three useful contributions that the news media in a democracy ought to do to enrich the process. They identify the conveyor status of the news media as a vital cog in the wheel, in that they report important concerns and problems that need attention of the rulers from:

the ground to policy-making elites, governments and elected representatives; acting in other words, as tribunes of the people who can convey through the mass communication process the distilled consensus of the multitude to its representative law-makers” (2001: 11).

The duo also stressed the provision of:

accurate, intelligible and comprehensive knowledge about contemporary political issues to the electorate, allowing citizens to formulate their own informed responses and if they choose - to participate accordingly (Ibid).

Barnett and Gaber applaud political journalism for promoting debate and reporting the outcome, which ultimately contributes to the process of opinion formation. In effect, they view political journalism as providing the platform for citizens to freely ventilate their views through debate which is invariably geared towards arriving at a collective position (2001: 12).

Importantly, the market mechanisms driven by the forces of demand and supply are at the root of the libertarian doctrine of a privately-owned press. The co-ordination of the market mechanism by the forces of demand and supply inevitably promotes alternative choices, products of quality and diversified information, from which the public have the propensity to sift and select (Siebert, 1963: 52). An encroachment through state intervention in the market has been considered an intrusion into an area viewed as the preserve of the private sector. Libertarian purists, as explained by Siebert, are convinced that:

out of a multiplicity of voices of the press, some information reaching the public would be false and some opinions unsound. Nevertheless, the state did not have the right to restrict that which it considered false and unsound. If it did, it would inevitably tend to suppress that which was critical of the state or which was contrary to the opinions of government officials (1963: 51).

The capacity of the citizens to digest information, discard what they consider inimical for public edification and accept what serves their needs and aspirations as well as the community represent an endorsement of Mill's 'self-righting' process. Clearly, the libertarian theorists' view resisting government involvement in the ownership of the press seeks to prevent the sliding back into the shackles of mundane authoritarian practice. Instead, a privately-led press could bring out the individual genius in private capital mobilisation for diversity and press pluralism. Siebert, articulating further the libertarian position writes:

...anyone, citizen or alien, who had the inclination should have the unrestricted opportunity to own and operate a unit of mass of communication... it was also assumed that the mass media would operate in a capitalistic society in which free enterprise was a guiding principle. This meant that the instruments of communication would be privately owned and would compete in an open market (1963: 52).

The dominant liberal position which emphasises the free market press being privately driven, according to McQuail (2005), does not indicate an absolute freedom; but this power, he argues, ought to be used with sobriety and to respect the "wishes and

interests of the state ... even if the right to criticise is preserved” (2005: 162-163). From the standpoint of Curran, the independence of the press in a democratic environment is meant to deepen the democratic culture and prevent subversion of free opinion of the citizens, and to allow the press in the liberal representative democratic arrangement achieved, to “facilitate this intricate system of representation, and democratise it by exposing intra-organisational decision-making to public disclosure and debate” (Curran in Dahlgren and Sparks, 1995: 31).

Developing the argument to explain the use of the space for debate and the power relations within the free press market of the liberal political public sphere, Curran draws on classical liberal theory which allows the press, as an independent organ, to facilitate debate in the public sphere which he describes as:

the space between government and society in which private individuals exercise formal and informal control over the state: formal control through the election of governments and informal control through the pressure of public opinion (Curran in Dahlgren and Sparks, 1995: 29).

Crucially, the basis of a freer media operating in the free market place of ideas is diversity and its perceived advantage of offering plural voices to the voiceless. Curran has also argued that “the assumption is that, if there is a significant level of competition, there is no lack of diversity” (2005: 137).

1.4 Ownership, Control and State versus Private Debate

The libertarian’s postulations on the free market place and private ownership of the press have failed to take into consideration the point that the practise of the press is not limited to the enclaves of western democracies. Their basic arguments are hinged on a capitalist economic model as the only fulcrum on which the press and democracy can thrive. Hence, capital mobilisation within the private sector is mostly tenable in societies with an averagely modest income base and solid economic infrastructure. This, therefore, makes the private ownership argument of the newspaper press, within a framework of liberalism a little suspect, as large areas of the modern world live in abject poverty. In such a situation, the argument in support of private ownership cannot wholly be feasible if the people are to be part of information production and dissemination and for the multiplicity of opinions to be of value in a democracy. And as Ansah (1991) argues, if the ‘free market’ determines who should establish and

operate a newspaper for example, then those who have the financial clout and the requisite capital will control the press and the democratic process could be undermined by self interest (1991:18).

Ansah expressed his disdain for this kind of arrangement which obviously will keep the state or the government out of the operation of any means of communication. This arrangement cannot be said to be representative of the wishes of the population they are supposed to serve. In terms of control, then, there is only a shift in the locus of power from the political leadership, as in the authoritarian and Soviet-Communist system, to the financial elite in the commercial arena. Ansah's position on this form of development is that the libertarian postulations allow for control of the press by minorities in the democratic process. It is in their discretion to decide on the interests they wish to promote in the society, as it suits their political and financial agenda (1991: 18). The argument against a wholly private media being the key to a freer society in a free market place of ideas truly begs the question. For the private media, the licence to pursue a narrow agenda other than commercial interests is also an important factor which should not be lost sight of. For example as Hasty reveals of the private press in Ghana, the claim to fight for human rights and serve as watchdog of society has seen the Editor of the *Free Press* newspaper, Eben Quarcoo justifying "guerrilla journalism based on rumours and provocative accusations" (2005: 113). Therefore, it is not only the profit motive which is an issue but arguably the pursuit of a narrow agenda, to settle personal scores, is also of value when dealing with the private ownership argument. On the other hand, while Hasty has expressed concern about the naïve attempt to justify rumours by some journalists, we must be guided by the lucid points made by Baran and Davis in their articulation of the libertarians view of the media/press that plural voices help distil the 'wheat from the chaff' (2003: 96).

However, McChesney (2000) recognised this theoretical lacuna when he called for a more socially oriented media system capable of serving the interests of all. His call is a rearguard argument in support of a non-profit and non-commercial media environment to promote the well-being of the people, other than those with sectarian and purely financial motives (McChesney, 2000: 6). Under the free market doctrine, McChesney disputes that "society works best when business runs things and there is as little possibility of government interference with business as possible" (Ibid). He

argues that the non-involvement of the state in the running of the press is an indirect marginalisation of a majority of the population. It is within this context that he considers the attempt to keep the people away from the operation of the press as decreasing the value of rational debate and argumentation (McChesney, 2000: 6). According to Curran, the free market could undermine a more critical and rational debate in that "Market-oriented media tend to generate information that is simplified, personalised, decontextualised, with an emphasis on action rather than process ..."

(2005: 130).

While Ansah (1991) laments the locus shift of power from the political realm to that of the financial elite in its control of the organs of communication (Ansah, 1991: 18), McChesney provides an added impetus with the press generating products that suit and perpetuate the dominant class' hold on the poor and hapless majority (2000: 3). According to McChesney, commodification of the press by powerful media behemoths poses a threat to the participatory principle which underlines the liberal democratic ideal (Ibid).

In a narrow sense, the issue of accountability focuses on the ability to account for the allocation, use, and control of public assets in accordance with legally accepted standards and has been shifted into the realm of commercial interest news media, thereby defeating the very tenets of press-media independence. In a broader sense, the accountability of power which the newspaper press is expected to enforce to give true meaning to democracy has become an ally of the corporate sector and the powerful in the society through huge capital accumulation. McChesney's position is that the news media is expected to enforce or be concerned with the establishment and enforcement of rules of corporate governance, avoidance of conflict of interest, and prudent as well as competent discharge of public trust. He proposed a radical overhaul of the private control and profit (commercial) imperative when he stated:

if we value democracy, it is imperative that we restructure the media system so that it reconnects with the mass of citizens who in fact comprise democracy (2000: 3).

The thrust of the debate is hinged on the private versus state press dichotomy and the group which best serves the national interest. Who, then, defines the national interest? Is it the democratically elected government or is it the media mogul or the editor of a

newspaper? If the private media proprietors in Milton and Mill's 'market place of ideas' and 'self-righting' process have the right to inform and shape public opinion, what about the government mandated by the citizens to protect and seek their welfare? Ansah (1991) succinctly elaborated on this grey area when he recognised that while government control of the press can be very debilitating and even crowd out dissent, the private-led press enterprise is neither free from manipulation nor absolved from dictatorial practices. The power of advertisers, for example, has affected the normative role of the press (1991: 17). But for Hasty, the state-owned media, the *Daily Graphic*, encourages suppression of dissent and of oppositional voices under the guise of what the newspaper has termed the 'house style' (Hasty, 2005: 47). What this really means is that there is lack of criticality in the state-owned press.

As Hasty (2005) has argued, political legitimacy is conferred on the ruling officials by the *Daily Graphic* by virtue of its being state-owned, using "state accumulation, populist morality and benevolent patronage" (Ibid). What Hasty failed to do is to contextualise the editorial position of the *Daily Graphic* in the post-colonial era so as to present a more balanced and informed position of its being a tool in the hands of the ruling class to attain political legitimacy. In advancing her argument against state-ownership, she places much emphasis on "personality centred coverage and benevolent patronage", a direct reference to how the former President, Jerry John Rawlings, was covered in the *Daily Graphic*. This cannot be wholly a Ghanaian situation or that of the newspaper simply because it is owned by the state. In Western democracies, the 'who-leads' is also commonly used in media narratives. The focus on the coverage of celebrities and the Presidents of these countries assume pre-eminence status above all other things on the scale.

Writing about the normative ideal of the news media, McQuail refers to the "ideas of right and responsibility that underlie these expectations of benefit from the media to individuals and society" (2005: 162). Expanding further on this theme, he explains how difficult it is to attempt to detach an 'objective' relationship between media and society from its normative or ideological leanings. Normative media theory, he argues, is based on the value judgement principle which explains how the "media ought or are expected to be organised and to behave in the wider public interest ..." (Ibid). It is this normative idea, as McQuail explained, which has further fuelled the

debate as to who truly promotes the public interest³. In the case of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* for example there is an atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion and sometimes hostility. Polarisation of politics in the state/privately owned dichotomy of news coverage has been demarcated by what Hasty identified as professional rhetoric of balance, objectivity and national interest as claimed by the *Daily Graphic* and for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, while these values are not lost on the journalist, it is antithetical to exposing corruption and extraversion in the political system (Hasty, 2005).

Nevertheless, there is a thesis in favour of state participation in the press. Ansah posits that the government has equal right in establishing communication channels for information dissemination to its citizens and not just as a facilitator as argued by market-led theorists (1991: 20). He advocates a system whereby governments like other groups will enjoy the same rights and privileges to establish their own media systems alongside the provision of facilities for private sector media to operate without let or hindrance (Ibid). The problematic aspect of Ansah's proposition is that the safeguards that have been provided for in liberal democracies for the press to fulfil a plural role by offering variety have been found to have fallen short of expectation.

³ In the most advanced democracies of the West, where privately-owned press traditions are held up as the most unique practice in liberal democracy, the debate as to who confers the power wielded by the press and its legitimacy as a whole remains a burning issue. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has encapsulated the power and influence of the press in a few lines:

the press has become the greatest power within western countries, more powerful than the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. One would then like to ask: by what law has it been elected and to whom is it responsible? (cited Rivers et al., 1980: 1).

Another critic who has on numerous occasions taken a swipe at the press influence and its power base as the 'Fourth Estate' in a democracy is the former United States Vice-President Spiro Agnew. Agnew consistently derided the press for their unelected power. He asked:

what do Americans know of the men who wield this power?... Of the commentators, most Americans know nothing, other than that they reflect an urbane and assured presence, seemingly well-informed on every important matter... The American people would rightly not tolerate this concentration of power in government. Is it not fair and relevant to question its concentration in the hands of a tiny and closed fraternity of privileged men elected by no one and enjoying a monopoly sanctioned and licensed by government?... We would never trust such power over public opinion in the hands of an elected government— it is time we questioned it in the hands of a small unelected elite (cited Keogh, 1972: 194-198).

A striking feature of the criticisms levelled against the press, in even the most liberal environments of the West where the libertarian theory is firmly embraced and safeguarded, is the liberal idea itself allowing the press to give coverage to these concerns and be amenable to criticisms of its own inadequacies. Keane explains the undercurrent of this tolerance when he makes reference to *Montesquieu's De l'esprit de lois* (1784) which states: "The liberty to grumble and to complain through a free press helped to liberate England from the heavy, silent fear of despotism" (1994: 27). The contention is that but for the free press, made possible through the libertarian principle no matter its inherent contradictions as a manipulative instrument, modern Britain would not have known political stability (Ibid).

Pluralism, in his opinion, does not necessarily promote diversity. There is every indication that various sources intended to reflect plurality of opinion could be advocating the same viewpoint. When this happens it will lead to the utter neglect of other interested groups within the nation. This position is further identified by Chomsky (1989), when he questions the debates on media and democracy. He asked if they truly addressed the critical questions of fact and value. What Chomsky argues for is very fundamental to the whole debate of the state/private ownership imperatives. It appears evident that the whole argument of the market being the fulcrum for diversity and pluralism is as flawed as liberal democracy itself. And as Chomsky has further stated “while westerners usually equate the marketplace with freedom of opinion, the hidden hand of the market can be almost as potent an instrument of control as the iron fist of the state” (1989: 7).

It needs to be situated, the arguments in this dissertation within the parameters of the development concept of Africa and Ghana side by side the Western world’s universal theorem. In the case of the private-led newspaper media performance, there are protagonists of this model who insist that the Western media theory is imposed on the rest without due regard for the cultural and historical realities underpinning these under-developed countries. Proponents of the latter viewpoint think the Western media, represented by large media conglomerates and controlled by few wealthy elite in the name of capitalism or the free-market, are nothing but part of the international conspiracy to dominate the other regions of the world economically and politically (Hachten, 1992: 36).

The underlying synergy of this argument draws on the ideological considerations which underpin not only the private/state press dichotomy but also the broad framework of their organisation, ownership and control within a democratic setting. Ansah claims that while the free market place theory allows individuals and groups to set up the press as a commercial profit-making venture, there are also latent considerations behind such establishments (Ansah, 1991: 20). One of these, the public interest principle, as espoused by McQuail (2005) could arguably be undermined as private ownership is also influenced by certain social and political philosophies which are likely to advocate such positions in the opinion and editorial columns. To believe absolutely in a realistic provision of a general forum for the expression of various

shades of opinion is to fall under the spell of utopianism. Even if the free market place private press attempts to achieve fairness, accuracy and a certain objectivity, “one cannot rule out the taking of categorical positions on specific issues reflecting particular ideological options” (Ibid: 20). Hall supports this assertion when he argues that “journalists operate within a framework of power because they are a part of a political and social system” (1973: 15).

Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) also expressed contending views on the independence of the press and explain why the power of the press, as it cants towards the powerful elite, has compelled society to draw guidelines for the purpose of containing its excesses and for the benefit of the particular societies where it is practised. Regulating mechanisms and processes are used by the news media and political institutions to streamline their activities as “all political systems generate principles derived from the tenets of their political cultures, for regulating the political role of the mass media” (1995: 19). It is their contention that such regulating mechanisms are essential because of the immense contribution or the role the news media play in the political process and should therefore not be left on its own like a loose canon (Ibid). The news media, they further explain, play a key role in enabling individuals to be informed, taught to seek information, and, if effectively educated, to critically assess and appraise information, to transform information into knowledge and understanding, and thus to make citizens capable of participating in democratic discussion and deliberation (Blumler and Gurevitch 1995: 19).

Mytton (1983), in analysing the role of the media also adds to the debate about how the media ought to be organised. He states:

some see the media as part of the ideological apparatus of societies dominated by ruling classes; others, as providing for the expression of competing ideologies within a relatively free competitive or pluralist society (1983: 5).

In his contention, and judging from the intrusiveness and persuasive character of the news media, its role in shaping political and social attitudes, he says it will be suicidal to think of democracy without the news media or information as a whole. Mytton (1983) also faults those critics who think that there is no symbiotic relationship between the media and democracy. He avers:

It is not possible to think of politics in isolation from communication, yet much has been written about politics both from an analytical and historical perspective, without explicit consideration of the communication processes which pervade political life (Ibid: 6).

While the role of news media in the promotion of democracy has been acknowledged by Mytton (1983), there are others who are concerned with the tilt of power of the news media in serving the rich and the powerful in the society. Barnett and Gaber expressed their discomfort about how the news media has canted towards the powerful in society thereby taking from it its purported independence. They argue that “the vital function of independent and critical political reporting is being progressively undermined to the benefit of those in power” (2001: 1). They, however, contend that in spite of the concerns raised against the news media gravitating towards the powerful, it has not wholly neglected its normative functions of providing information which the “citizens require in order to make informed judgements about their political leaders and participate effectively in the proper functioning of the state” (Ibid). They cite Walter Lippmann’s metaphor of the news media being the “beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision” (2001: 2).

However, Ansah (1991) cites Dean Rusk, a former United States Secretary of State as one of those who questioned the very basis of the authority of the news media or journalists to inform and shape public opinion. He also attacked the media’s legitimacy as the ‘Fourth Estate’ when he remarked:

let’s get rid of this genial myth of the fourth estate...That this should be so would seem to be elementary, because the American people have nothing to say about who are the publishers and editors and reporters and columnists. We cannot admit in our constitutional system room for something called a ‘fourth estate’ which has no democratic base (1991: 19).

Dean Rusk’s criticism directed at the media cannot be wholly true because the news media has an audience to whom they are answerable by virtue of patronising media products or by rejecting them.

The role of the news media in political coverage could arguably influence citizens’ decision as to their assessment of the government and the minority political parties. This may result in the way they vote in elections. Thus, news media contents might

influence their opinions, attitudes and behaviour. Barnett and Gaber succinctly capture these concerns when they ask: “Does the content of political journalism matter?” (2001: 11). They intimated that if one analysed the way “politics is reported in the press”, there is ample evidence to conclude that political journalism has “a material effect both on the individuals exposed to it and on society as a whole” (Ibid). It is their contention that “there is an implicit thesis that ‘good’ political reporting (however defined) must be beneficial for democracy and that ‘bad’ political reporting must somehow be damaging” (2001: 11).

Curran (1995) has also argued that the news media are capable of helping to realise the objectives of society through agreement or compromise between conflicting interests. This is done by providing a platform for conflicting interests to argue their points of view and present all sides of the issue at stake (1995: 38). The essentialism of divergent views, as engendered by the media, reflect the dominant liberal ideology of freedom of expression as espoused by liberal thinkers such as Milton, Mill, and Locke (Siebert et al., 1963: 6). This also reflects in the argument advanced by Habermas (1989) when he states:

... a legitimate decision does not represent the will of all, but is one that results from the deliberation of all. It is the process by which everyone’s will is formed that confers legitimacy on the outcome, rather than the sum of already formed wills (1989: 42).

Jurgen Habermas (1989), in his normative ideal of the public sphere as a forum where citizens are free to discuss matters affecting their individual and general societal concerns advocated a rational critical discussion based on the equal participatory ideal and skilful communication as the power of argumentation.

Curran (1995) has criticised the media for abandoning its traditional function of providing accurate, balanced and objective information to help the citizens to make informed choices. He laments over the problems afflicting modern liberal democracy and the political process in general, and traced the malaise to the manipulative power by the news media in the sphere of political communication by the powerful elite to satisfy their agenda, resulting in what he termed re-feudalization of society. He writes,

the media were an accessory to this ‘refeudalisation’ of society. They functioned as manipulative agencies controlling mass opinion, in contrast to

the early press which had facilitated the formation and expression of organic public opinion (1995: 38-39).

Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) have argued that party-tied news media systems tend to produce a high degree of partisan content, which in itself provides “dissensual rather than consensual issue agendas, giving rise to in turn to a higher degree of conflict over issue priorities among electors dependent on the media outlets” (1995: 23). On the other hand, they have observed how a more independent news media system is more disposed towards generating fair and balanced information content for the consumption of the electorate. This autonomous position “will consequently perform primarily ‘moderator’ and ‘watchdog’ functions which will tend to activate ‘liberal citizens’...”(Ibid).

However, this has not always been the case as the news media have the tendency to enter into the political arena and play the role of active participants instead of being vehicles for carrying opinions from and to the citizens on the part of the political establishment and vice versa. It is in this context that Dahlgren and Sparks (1995), commenting on the coverage of issues by the media, note:

instead of reporting politics, the media are active participants in the political process ... events are manipulated to provide the maximum impact. Debates are structured so that extreme points of view can clash to maximum effect, increasing ratings but doing little to contribute to the formation of discursive public will or opinion (1995: 66).

It flows from this that instead of reporting on political processes which is one of the fundamental roles of the press, journalists, have become active participants in the political manipulation process thereby doing little to generate debate and in the end do not help the people to express their opinions on issues. It is only when discursive public will or opinion is formed that the media can be said to give equal opportunity to all shades of opinion. Democracy and the public sphere in modern times need a more refined communication strategy in order to understand a complex phenomenon. Dahlgren (1991) sees the level of efficiency of the public sphere as an index of democratic performance. He states:

... how well the public sphere functions becomes a concrete manifestation of society's democratic character and thus in a sense the most visible indicator of our admittedly imperfect democracies (Dahlgren in Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991 : 2).

The press-media in a democracy fulfils this need of providing information, and in turn facilitates the construction of the public sphere for debate in order to make critical rational decisions. The debate within the sphere through the information provided by the press-media could be enriching for democracy and participation in the democratic process.

Debate could become a concrete manifestation of the deliberative and dialogic functions of the public sphere, which are popular participation and rational-critical discussion. The question of who takes part in public debate is as important as that of the quality of the discourse (Schudson, 1995: 192). Habermas' concept of the public sphere pays special attention to the centrality of rational-critical discussion. It is not enough to participate in public affairs. Political discussion should be rational. That is, special attention must be paid to the presentation of claims, evidence, arguments and counterarguments. For these reasons, newspapers ought to be truthful, balanced and ensure objective presentation of facts to assist the democratic process of diversity and pluralism in order to enrich multiparty democracy.

Lasch (1990) proposes that the public debate function of the news media is more important for democracy than their information role. Of course the public needs information, too, but he adds:

the kind of information it needs can be generated only by vigorous debate in the public sphere which ultimately assist in quality opinion formation and informed decisions resulting from the press/media's role as active agents in the public sphere (1990: 1).

Lasch also argues that information, "usually seen as the precondition of debate is better understood as its by-product" (Ibid). Although he seems to overstate this position, it is essential to assume that information and debate are more complementary. Lasch's views about the civic virtue of the ideal public debate are appealing:

It is only by subjecting our preferences and projects to the test of debate that we come to understand what we know and what we still need to learn. Until we have to defend our opinions in public, they remain opinions in Lippman's pejorative sense - half formed convictions based on random impressions and unexamined assumptions (Lasch, 1990: 7).

The newspapers' information role, in which it holds the governors accountable to the citizenry and ensures and facilitates debate and informed choices through quality of debate, has the tendency to influence and contribute to the building of the political and democratic public sphere. Popular participation in public debate, where opposing arguments are given "a respectful hearing" and countered by persuasion, or accepted on their merits, is educational; it cultivates the "virtues of eloquence, clarity of thought and expression, and sound judgment" (Lasch, 1990: 8).

The degeneration of modern news media of political communication and the creation of cleavages within the news media as an information conveyor belt to and from the rulers and the ruled has led Curran to refer to this development as a disturbing and emerging social structure based on power and influence. The news media's tag as a manipulative agent remains a source of worry to many experts. Barnett and Gaber emphasised this concern when they reiterated what they believe ought to be the role of the political journalist in a liberal democracy. Journalists, they note "should be able to act as reflectors of the public mood, that is relaying to government concerns of the citizens and use their media to trumpet those concerns and campaign on their behalf" (2001: 12).

By being true watchdogs, the press-media has a democratic responsibility to hold the rulers accountable to the governed and in check. This normative role has a bearing on the overall performance of the media in a liberal multiparty setting. It is the ability to play this role fairly which will confer legitimacy and authority on it as they try to assert their libertarian and social responsibility functions.

While various arguments has been put forward to explain the merits and demerits of the press' role in a democracy be it under the free market or state/government ownership and control, it needs to be emphasised that despite the concerns raised against the creeping undemocratic tendencies of the libertarian principles as regards the private or commercialisation of news media products, McNair provides us with the last gasp relief when he contends that:

the democratic process is now less encumbered because of wider consciousness brought about by the exercise of the vote and the influence of public opinion (2003: xiii).

The contention is whether the exercise of the vote and public opinion formation under the modern arrangement in which the media is very dominant could be said to transform democracy. This is more debatable from the standpoint of the manipulative character of the media to set agenda and skew debate in a way as to benefit sectarian interests.

1.5 Conclusion

In the construction of the fundamental building blocks for the sustenance of a truly liberal democracy debate, the sources reviewed indicate that while the news media arguably still function as a dominant power in the public sphere in a liberal democracy, its manipulative power through ownership, control and ideological imperatives and the shift towards the preservation of the interests of the more powerful could arguably debilitate its perceived role in society as a watchdog. I have also sought to point out, using the positions presented by various writers, that the news media liberally promotes the normative ideals postulated by mostly the traditional liberal theory. This appears to affirm its place as the 'Fourth Estate', even though there are strong views regarding its manipulative character in a more demanding commercial environment controlled by media oligopolies and behemoths.

Crucially, the normative theories of media and democracy have been useful tools in critiquing the trajectory of this study. Arguably, while the *Four Theories* have lost their efficacy in modern pluralist societies, it is equally important to acknowledge its continuous role in democratic transitional systems such as Africa. Writers such as Hallin and Mancini share this view by advocating for a more "sophisticated theories" (2004: 10). However, their "sophisticated theories" alluded to in my view had not impacted on the intellectual and academic debates as the traditional normative ideal even if as Nordenstreng puts it "the problem of the classic was that it collapsed into one level of consideration at least three levels of analysis: philosophical doctrines, political systems, and press systems" (2006: 37).

The next chapter will provide an insight into the various processes that promote and undermine the media and democratic development from the standpoint of the Africa

liberal idea in order to build a regional framework within which to situate the thesis focusing upon the news media's contribution to democracy in Ghana.

CHAPTER TWO

The African Perspective of Media and Democracy

2.0 Introduction

A deeper understanding of the media and democracy debate in Africa has to be situated within the socio-cultural and political realities, practices and traditions which shaped them before and after the European advent. Discussing media and democracy in Africa with fifty-four independent countries is an impracticable proposition. What, I intend to do therefore, is to attempt some factual generalisations. This is to be done from the geographic perspective of Sub-Saharan Africa as the main reference point

This chapter seeks to offer a debate on media and democracy from the position of how Africans view, operate and practice these laudable concepts using different models and theories. The search for an alternative democratic and media system has been ongoing since African countries begun attaining self-rule after centuries of European colonialism. African countries have been experimenting with new concepts and institutions in their attempt to adapt to the global environment and serve the needs of their people. In the political sphere, most African countries since independence have been swinging from one model to another. They have experimented with multiparty liberal democracy, either the parliamentary or the presidential system. They have also tried other systems considered to be authoritarian or dictatorial, be it the one-party system or military regimes with their attendant economic prescriptions to boot. Political ideology, according to Paul Ansah (1991) “has been characterised by certain eclecticism with borrowings from various sources, including local traditional sources” (1991:1). Crucially this eclecticism Ansah alludes to played an influential role in shaping African press-media systems. As noted by Siebert et al “the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates” (1963:1). African countries have experimented with all the world’s political and economic ideologies, with their media systems to match, but continue to wallow in poverty and under-development. With the collapse of the Communist Soviet Union with its alternative political and economic ideology to draw on, Africa was left with a very narrow choice in the global ideological warfare and has been compelled to embrace liberal democracy. The choice of one-party, and in some cases Socialist

models were a direct result of the neglect and refusal of the Western world's preparedness to either support or grant them self-rule.

Democratisation, as it is now referred to (Nyamnjoh, 2005), has been seized by African nations since the late 1990s and is still in vogue. It must be made clear that the triumph of capitalism over the Marxist ideological paradigm suggests that this is the only game left to play, specifically against the prescriptive imperatives of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank agenda to which most developing countries were forced to succumb. How the process is oiled by media theory and practice needs to be explored.

Africa cannot pretend to be an 'island' unto itself when it comes to discussing issues of media and democracy within the global geo-political context. Their specificities cannot therefore, hold them hostage from progress in the fast and advancing global world driven by technology and scientific sophistication for the betterment of mankind. However, ignorant of the African liberal idea, the western scholars and theorists of the news media and democracy debate misguidedly placed Africa within their characterisation as it relates to the traditional *Four Theories* of the press discussed in chapter one. In generalising western philosophical thought and idealism in news media and democracy, Colin Sparks (2000) provides a vivid example of this theoretical confusion when he explains the general trend of the focus of the normative traditional *Four Theories* espoused by Siebert et al (in Curran and Myung-Jin Park 2000: 36). According to Sparks, while the theories possess enormous "explanatory power, both at the pedagogic and at the investigative levels", and lay bare the normative philosophy behind them, the "authors had no qualms in making it clear to their readers that the American way was better" (2000: 36).

What this dissertation has sought to do thus far is to point out how the western idea has been imposed on Africa without cognisance of its peculiar history, culture and time-tested traditions which nurtured it over the centuries before the European advent. Sparks further dissected the differentiated ideological basis of the *Four Theories* when he argued that this seminal work is primarily set out for understanding the media systems in the United States and the former Soviet Union. Their central theme, he avers, is the organisation of the market and the state as they relate to the media,

the opposition of free market and state direction has an elegance, a symmetry, a lack of redundancy, and a completeness that gives it paradigmatic status. What is more, this polarity tells us something true and important about the mass media: there really is a difference between the ways in which the market shapes the media and the ways in which the state shape the media (Ibid: 37).

This seminal work by Siebert et al. provides us with a demarcation of the political systems that lubricate the western world's democratic paradigms as set out in capitalism/liberal democracy and communism/socialism. Curran and Myung-Jin Park (2000) corroborate this assertion when they argue that geo-political imperatives of the world's media system influenced the division of the world into three major camps:

the free world of liberal democracy (competing libertarian and social responsibility models), the Soviet-totalitarian sphere; and authoritarian societies, a rag-bag category that included most of the developing world, the fascist experience, and the West in its pre-democratic phase (2000: 3-4).

This categorisation has been maintained even in later modernisation theories about the world systems as represented by both democracy and the media. According to Curran and Myung-Jin Park, theorists on modernity argue that the western model is unique and has to be embraced by all (Ibid). In this context, African countries were made to believe that all they need to do is transform their cultural and socio-political institutions from their perceived primitive traditional origins into the western world's model of modernity. Modernists therefore posit that when these societies are driven by good communication, the problems of poverty, disease and squalor will be a thing of the past (Lerner 1963: 350). According to Lerner (1963), the magic of modern communication acts as a catalyst in the transformation of "traditional societies into modernity as it helps to broaden their horizons" (Ibid: 348). Indeed, not only is the power of communication basically performed by the modern news media a healthy diffusion tool for modern practices for the transition from 'tradition' to 'modernity' in Africa, but also seen as a positive agent in the political process. The media, Lerner argues, wields a transformative power as it informs and moulds opinions about the political process and converts citizens into active participants in the political process. He contends that "the connection between mass media and political democracy is especially close" (1963: 342).

The tradition and modernity argument are very vital in understanding the media and democracy debate. As Curran and Myung-Jin Park explain, tradition as discussed in modernisation theory is looked on as backward, defeatist and conservative and therefore has no locus as a legitimate feature of civil society. A significant feature of communication as held by modernisation theorists and as opposed to tradition, is that communication is a “trust-building exercise between leaders and the led, rather than as an open-ended system of collective dialogue” (2000: 5).

This characterisation is not only problematic but exposes the blatant ignorance of some early theorists in the West as to the real democratic and communication imperative of what the African diversity entails. Wilbur Schramm (1963) makes a bold attempt to see into this cloudy mirror as advanced by both modernisation theorists and the inherent weaknesses in the philosophical foundations of the normative press theory. He writes:

it is probably wrong for us to expect a country which is trying to gather its resources and mobilise its population for a greater transitional effort to permit the same kind of free, competitive and sometimes confusing communication to which we have become accustomed in this country (1963: 55)

2.1 The African Colonial Legacy

Turning to the origins of Africa’s media development within the context of its political development, a clear understanding and critique of the African media and political evolution and practice will have to look to the past, present and future. Graham Mytton (1983) has acknowledged how “Africa’s modern print and electronic media developed as the direct and indirect result of contact with Europe” (1983: 37). Mytton documents how some African societies developed written language but lacked the technology of printing. This literacy and technological gap was filled through the European advent, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Mytton explains how printing and literacy was achieved in various European languages mostly English, French, Portuguese and German (Ibid). William Hachten had earlier pointed out this when he stated:

mass communications are not indigenous to Africa. A crucial element in the development of mass communications in Africa, both past and present, is the nature and extent of European influences. Differences in colonial experiences help explain differences in media systems (1971: xv).

Hachten's assertion of mass communication being alien to Africa, even though he noted that other forms of communication existed seems a sweeping generalisation without any empirical evidence or the often misguided viewpoint of looking at the topic through the Western world's prism. This sidesteps the point that Africans had a developed mass communication system within the context of their original societies – use of runners, talking drums and direct assembly. An explanation of the implications of the European entry into the continent as offered by Mytton is similar to Hachten's position. Mytton, although acknowledging the existence of other forms of communication added that with the intrusion of European communication technology:

traditional oral forms of communication, which played a central role in the maintenance of social and political order- ensuring continuity and reinforcing values and norms of behaviour – was gradually confronted by quite different form based on the new technology of print and generally, on a foreign language (1983: 37).

Additionally, by the new communication demands of colonial geography, desperate of lumping areas together into so-called state boundaries, this new arrangement of partition not only violated but also vitiated the original states and affected their mass communication systems and development.

Africa's first newspapers produced for the colonisers, according to Mytton were likely to be those which appeared during the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt in 1797 (Ibid: 38). Other newspapers, according to his account, were the *Cape Town Gazette* of South Africa established in 1800 and the *Freetown Royal Gazette* of 1801 (Ibid). Crucially, there were other press initiatives within this period. Jones-Quartey recalls how the establishment of the press in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) acted as an elixir in quickening newspaper revolution in most British colonies of Africa. The *Royal Gold Coast Gazette* and the *Commercial Intelligencer* were founded in Accra on April 21 1822 by the British colonial Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy. As Jones-Quartey explained,

...the founders were themselves the rulers and could have wanted only mostly to publish a newspaper to keep them and others informed about their own actions, not to criticise these (1975: 2).

Mytton also documents the establishment of the *Liberian Herald* by Charles Force in 1826. The newspaper, he recalls, was the product of freed slaves from the Americas with its motto: "Freedom is the brilliant gift of Heaven" (1983: 38). Not to be outdone, indigenous Africans began to venture into the newspaper business. Frank Barton (1979) reveals that Africa's first native editor and publisher of a newspaper was Charles Bannerman of the Gold Coast (Ghana). Barton explains how Bannerman started the *Accra Herald* in 1857 and later the *West African Herald* in a "hand-written form which for years was recognised by the authorities as a semi-official organ of the area" (1979: 17).

Francis Nyamnjoh (2005) also reveals the colonial beginnings in the print media in Africa and presents an account of how missionaries started Nigeria's first newspaper '*Iwe Thorin*' in the Yoruba language and later in the English language (2005: 40). He also claims that before independence, only a handful of countries had the privilege of newspapers. Nyamnjoh perceives Nigeria as a hub of newspapers and attributes this to its attractive and developed commercial sector (Ibid). The entry of native Africans into the publishing business, Nyamnjoh avers, acted as a catalyst for their agitation for self-rule, particularly in British administered colonies. However, the situation is different in Francophone colonies on the continent. According to Nyamnjoh, unlike the British colonies where the British tradition of a free press was tolerated even if reluctantly, the French colonial power did everything to frustrate a critical press in its colonies. Where they existed at all, they were mostly to serve the white settlers in these societies and not the generality of the public (Ibid).

While they discouraged the indigenes to establish newspapers, Mytton records that the early newspapers to appear in French-speaking Africa, south of the Sahara were *Le Reveil du Senegalais* (1886) and *L'Union Africaine* (1896) all published and edited by Frenchmen. Significantly, during this period, there were no African-owned newspapers in the French colonies until the twentieth century when the "first newspaper to be owned and edited by an African appeared in 1935" in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. (1983: 41). Mytton further establishes that the different objectives of the French concerning the press in the colonies were two fold:

the policy of the French was to form small native elite, known as *evolues*, who learned their language and culture. It was also French colonial policy for there to be larger concentrations of Europeans in their territories (Ibid: 41).

This meant that newspapers established in French primarily served the Frenchmen and a small coterie of Africans who identified more closely with French culture. This was to the detriment of their own native cultural values, a direct opposite of what pertained in Nigeria and the Gold Coast (Ghana) where the relationship was historically more of fruitful engagement and not assimilation (Ibid).

Commenting on newspaper birth and growth in Southern, Central and Eastern Africa, Nyamnjoh states that it was basically a European creation aimed at providing information, education and entertainment for the large white settlements “leaving the black readership at the mercy of an irrelevant content and in search of alternative channels of communication” (2005: 40). For Mytton the press in this region “had a somewhat patchy beginning”. He mentions the Germans as the first to establish a newspaper in Tanganyika in 1885 known as *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* to be followed by *Msimulizi* (‘The Reporter’) which was the brain-child of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) (1983: 44). Jomo Kenyatta, a stalwart of the African liberation struggle was on record as having established *Mwigwithania* in the Kikuyu language in 1928 (using the Kikuyu Central Association as a cover), a language the British colonialist could not understand or read unlike Swahili (Ibid). In the view of Mytton, the establishment of these networks provided a “critical factor in African nationalism” (Ibid).

In Southern Africa, Mytton mentions the existence of a small but important African press in South Africa as at 1884. John Tengo Jabavu, a Xhosa, Mytton recalls launched the *Imvo Zaba Ntsundu* (‘Native Opinion’), a crusading newspaper, which spearheaded the agitation for African political rights. Those which followed in its footsteps were *Iswi la Bantu*, established by Reverend Walter Rubusana, a founder member of the African National Congress (ANC); *Ilanga Lase Natal* (1906) by John Dube, later the ANC’s first president, among others (Ibid: 50). The growing influence of the African press to mobilise African opinion against the white settler policies, compelled the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Chamber of Mines in South Africa, to establish the *Umteteli wa Bantu* (‘Voice of the People’) in 1921.

“Nominally, it opposed the colour bar, but it also opposed any action against it as well as the formation of African trade unions (Ibid). Mytton adds that the *Bantu* press newspaper group was a similar venture, a partnership with the Argus Group. Their main goal was to try in a paternalistic way to help mould African opinions in a certain direction, so as to retain the sphere of influence and domination over Africans (Ibid).

The African press in the early struggle against European colonialism, according to Nyamnjoh, could be said to be “technically and economically inferior to the press in the West” (2005: 41). However, it provided inspiration to the Africans who cherished the crucial role it had played in asserting their dignity. On the other hand, the African press was one of despair for the colonialists as it gradually eroded their hold on power and authority (Ibid). The stiff resistance faced by the early press in West Africa and the effort by the colonial authorities to maintain a firm hold on power culminated in the promulgation of all sorts of inimical laws. Clement Asante cites the Criminal Code Amendment Ordinance 1934, which spelt out how the Gold Coast (Ghana) press were to be prosecuted for raising discontent, printing, selling, or distributing seditious matter (1996: 4). Most of the newspaper content emanating from the African press was considered subversive. In this light, Nyamnjoh captures the deep-seated aversion the colonialists had for the African press. He likened Nnamdi Azikiwe’s newspapers to a plague that was afflicting the whole country and disapproved of his radical assertion of independence for and pride in Africa and African values (Nyamnjoh 2005: 41).

2.2 Post-colonial Press in Africa

Mytton (1983) has posed some crucial questions as to what kind of press would the new Africa have? Which of the various legacies would influence the post-independence press? Was it to be the relatively independent tradition of free expression of political argument, criticism and competition that characterised some of the English language press of pre-independence West Africa? Or would African governments control the press and so prevent the ventilation of alternative views and stifle opposition voices?

With Europe's general reluctance to grant independence to the colonies, most African countries had to resort to unorthodox methods. The various skirmishes between the nationalist forces and the colonial powers accumulated a bitter colonial past which had an influence on the post-independence era. The colonial governments were totalitarian, using authoritarian methods to keep their hold on power in the colonies. It was no surprise that though the colonialists left a legacy of constitutional multiparty arrangements at the eve of independence and thereafter, most newly independent countries tended to slide back into the authoritarian patterns of governance which they had been subjected to for centuries. Freedom of the press, which was used to fight for self-rule, was quickly replaced by inimical press laws which ultimately gagged free expression on important national issues. As Hachten reveals, while the colonial press was repressive in many ways and served sectarian white settler interests, the post-colonial press was no different either. They were either the mouthpiece of the government or bore the brunt of draconian laws heavily laced with censorship measures (1993: 3-13). This was so only within the context of the competition for power as it shifted from the colonialists to the African political class.

Hachten (1993) argues that the main justification to have their own press paradigm was for African countries to seek refuge in the demands of nation-building, issues of under-development and their traditions and cultures, in order to control the press. The notion that emerging nations, coming out of centuries of colonialism, need the press for national construction and development was identified because of its potency as multipliers in education and information dissemination (1993: 51-54).

Africa and the rest of the developing world, unable to compete in the global media environment and due to its own peculiarities after emerging from colonialism, sought refuge in the 'Development Journalism' paradigm. This model or theory which is outside the traditional '*Four Theories*', according to Michael Kunczik, emerged in media discourse sometime around 1967. It was to differentiate journalists of developing countries and their communication needs, from those of the advanced western democracies (1988: 83). This concept of journalism places emphasis on constructive reporting of events which are of internal and external importance. Its thrust is the positive portrayal of national development. And as explained by Kunczik,

its main focus should not be on day-to-day news but on long-term development processes. Western models of journalism are seen as not transferable to developing countries (Ibid).

Kunczik's assertion for an alternative model to the western-inspired theories and models is premised on the little understanding of the traditional media theories or models in most developing countries (Ibid). Other proponents of development journalism such as Vilanilam, encapsulates it as "journalism relating to the projects and programmes launched in an economically backward country to provide certain minimum living standards to its people" (1979: 33). This definition according to Rajasundaran, tends to characterise all journalists working in Africa and other developing countries as engaging in the "discipline and practice of communication in the context of developing countries" (1981: 17). But Quebral has criticised the attempted labelling of journalists working in the developing countries as development journalists. She condemns the characterisation, without cognisance of their news reports and their professional ethics, as an intellectual fallacy (1973: 25). To this end, Quebral set out to contextualise development journalism when she describes it as the

art science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic and social equality and the larger fulfilment of the human potential (Ibid).

From such a broad framework of views emerged the question as to what constitutes 'development journalism', and 'developmental journalism'? Sussman provides an intellectual distinction, when he argues that development journalism's main role is "spreading government views"⁴ while developmental journalism could be regarded as "government-say-so-journalism"⁵ (1978: 77). Kunczik offers a more lucid explanation, which cites Aggarwala (1978) as having deepened the understanding of development journalism when he describes it as:

a new form of investigative reporting whereby the journalist's job on a development news beat is critically to examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation, and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is (Aggarwala 1978, cited Kunczik, 1988: 84).

⁴ This in my context is journalism that repeats government propaganda

⁵ In this case, journalism that does not challenge government views and policy

This explanation provides some semblance of the fundamental watchdog function of the press as pertains in western libertarian theory and practice. However, whether journalists operating within these countries in Africa apply development journalism to ensure political accountability of those in power and to mould public opinion independent of the state has to be explored and empirical evidence provided. The questions which need asking and to which answers are required are whether development journalism is a socio-cultural and political phenomenon synonymous with Africa and other third world countries? Why has the fusion of western and third world models not helped Africa to attain economic and political progress experienced in the western world?

Nyamnjoh expands this debate by asserting that African leaders, under the guise of development journalism, persuaded the critical private press to subordinate "its watchdog role against the excesses of the powerful and the privileged" (2005: 43). He adds that when the call for support for development and the nation-building paradigm proved illusive and became rhetoric rather than reality, the bubble began to burst. African governments co-opted the press. In place of articulating the development paradigm, they rather drew inspiration from and added to the rich repertoire of repressive colonial laws to keep the probing press and civil society in check (Ibid). However, as Ansah (1991) argues, at independence African countries, particularly those previously under the British colonial yoke, inherited a press system which was relatively free. He explains that under colonial rule, the British administrators provided an atmosphere of liberty even if reluctantly and to a limited extent. This freedom or liberty, Ansah notes, "allowed nationalist leaders to establish their own newspapers and distribute them; these newspapers became important tools in the fight against colonial oppression" (1991:6).

Ansah forcefully argues for the retention of private ownership of the press as inherited from the British tradition. He claims it has an essential role to play for the survival and sustenance of democracy in any country, be it in the developing or the developed world ((Ibid: 7). The persuasive and communicative power of the press for education, information and for inspiring the citizens, he states, are not the only essential features a country needs. A democratic government which is accountable to the people who put it in power is a useful corollary for all the organs within the state to strive towards

achieving the goals and objectives of the nation. The press in his contention constitute a vital institutional framework of policing the democratic system, monitoring it and scrutinising government policy, to ensure that performance matches promise (Ibid).

Political pluralism, therefore, encourages the establishment of private (independent) newspapers by interest groups to advocate various causes as a healthy reflection of diversity of opinions, ideological imperatives and cultural solidarities. In this context, Mytton acknowledges how in Nigeria, the British tradition of an independent press has been sustained despite suffering a setback due to military interventions in national politics (1983: 57-58). He laments the systematic and gradual decline of the private press in many post-independence African countries including Ghana, Ivory Coast, Zambia, Cameroon and Malawi (Ibid: 58). The decline or gradual take-over of most of the private press initiatives after independence was accelerated by restrictive laws which were used to stifle the press. These laws which were applied by the colonialists have been modified and tightened by African governments in their over-zealousness to clamp down on the political opposition and others who held contrary views to that of the state. Nyamnjuh, commenting on the legal frameworks regulating the press, notes how even in Nigeria, considered to have the most robust and vibrant press in Africa, journalists have to:

struggle with a battery of laws which the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) considers inimical to journalism or media practice in general and a disincentive to the development of the profession (2005: 71).

Nyamnjoh reveals that these repressive laws regulating the press are being relaxed in some countries as a result of what he termed the 'second liberation' which became necessary chiefly due to the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This development, he emphasised, is reflected in some form of toleration of opposition views and criticisms (Ibid: 72). While he lauds the transformation going on, he is quick to add that these provisions are selectively applied through resort to extra-legal measures, thereby taking from the private press purported total independence it needs to function fully as the 'Fourth Estate' (2005: 72). Bernadette Cole (1995) cites Sierra Leone as one of the African countries where the laws of libel, sedition, treason and preventive detention are on the statutes. These laws she bemoans are surreptitiously applied to control, cow or silence the critical press (1995: 60). In order to insulate them from being caught in the legal noose, most

journalists operating under these legal frameworks have resorted to self-censorship (Ibid). This phenomenon is not unknown in the media in advanced countries given the demands of national security needs. Helge Rønning views this development as “internalised assumptions of what is expected of the media” and concludes that it is more “restrictive to critical journalism than any pressure by political powers in many African countries” (1994: 8).

Despite the arguments in favour of the private press offering a panacea for Africa’s myriad of problems, after the apparent failure of the development journalism paradigm to bail it out of under-development, there is still a strong resistant force with abundant faith in state participation in the press. According to Ansah, the state-ownership theorists contend that the press has to assist in forging national cohesion and unity, ensure a sense of identity and help in integration and development (1991: 16). Most African leaders, he argues, are of the view that it does not make political sense for them to provide services such as education, health and shelter for their people while they are denied the right to own newspapers and dissemination of information which they consider part of their mandate (Ibid). Invariably, using development as a bargaining chip, the proponents of state-ownership contend that they need their own press to disseminate information about their programmes, priorities and other major policy initiatives rather than to rely on organs over which they have no control. David Edeani justifies government ownership of newspapers when he reiterates that governments’ failure to participate in the newspaper industry,

would mean handing over the thinking of the people, formation of public opinion and direction of public rule to a few people who may have the means and leisure to print newspapers (1985: 48).

He has a point here. It is arguable that in a multi-party democracy, a party which emerges victorious in a fair contest must retain the right through its own press to present and defend its programmes and views. What is revealed is the virtual failure of the post-independence experiment to build on a particular model of democratic and press institutions bequeathed to them at the dawn of independence.

Drah (1996) notes how most African governments oscillated between civilian and military rule from the late 1960s to the early 1980s (1996: 64). Military rule, he explains, became the norm rather than the rule. According to him, efforts at

democratisation within the period in countries like Ghana (1969-1972, 1979-1981) Benin (1970-1972) and Nigeria (1979-1983) were jettisoned by the military (Ibid). While forms of democratic institutions were not firmly in place on the eve of independence in most African countries, their own inability to nurture them and adhere to their principles could be partially blamed on the colonial factor. The totalitarian culture of colonialism had left Africans with a legacy they considered worth pursuing in the midst of intractable problems and to keep opposition at bay, something they were not used to. In place of multiparty democracy, there mushroomed 'one-party democracies' (Drah, 1996: 64).

Presenting a further insight into the resort to 'one-party' system of government, Drah reveals how political ideology and philosophical arguments have been put forward to deride multiparty democracy and justify 'one-party' rule. Extolling its uniqueness to the African condition, former president of Sierra Leone, Siaka Stevens described multiparty democracy as "a system ... of institutionalised tribal and ethnic quinquennial warfare euphemistically known as elections which contributes an open invitation to anarchy and disunity" (1996: 65).

In Malawi, former president Kamuzu Banda was considered president for life using the mythology of religion as a cover. The *Malawi News* derided those who called for multiparty democracy and tolerable opposition. This organ of the state sought refuge in quasi-theological arguments to dismiss the call for a role for the opposition to check abuse of power as an aberration. It claimed:

there is no opposition in Heaven. God Himself does not want opposition - that is why He chased Satan away. Why should Kamuzu have opposition on earth? (Drah, 1996: 65).

While some of the arguments justifying a 'one-party' system of government could be said to be self-serving and amount to turning logic on its head, some are so convincing as to convert even the most ardent apostle of liberal democracy. As a proponent of 'one party', Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania posits:

where there is one-party, and that party is identified with the nation as a whole, the foundations of democracy are firmer than they can ever be where you have two or more parties, each representing a section of the community (Drah, 1996: 65).

The philosophical grounding of this argument is suspect. Nyerere did not refer to any empirical research, which findings point to an aggregation of all segments of the population of Tanzania having identified or embraced single-partyism. This simplistic reductionist view on conformism compelled Arthur Lewis to describe unipartyism as a subterfuge by the new post-independence African leaders. In his estimation, it was a deliberate ploy "to purchase a perpetual lease on power and to privatise the state for far less altruistic reasons" (Lewis 1965 cited Drah 1996: 65-6). The 'one-party' system, Drah maintains, is not only obnoxious but intolerable as it allows the leaders to enact laws which are inimical to free assembly, expression and association. Such laws as preventive detention, criminalisation of free speech and assembly were wittingly or unwittingly meant to suppress and cow opposition elements into mindless subservience. According to Drah, this only helps to spawn underground violent opposition groups. These groups, diverse as they might be, became united in the common purpose of destabilising the government (Drah, 1996: 65). Within this context, armed revolts by these underground groups become the only option to replace governments which were entrenched in power through the manipulation and appropriation of the state machinery. In Africa, military interventions in the political arena have been lauded and condemned depending on the beneficiaries. Liberal theorists justify the overthrow of 'one-party' dictators as the only alternative for allowing multipartyism to flourish. The overthrow of military or civilian constitutional despots who used extra-constitutional methods to stifle opposition and remain in power for many years, under the guise of democratic elections, also needs to be addressed. According to Awoonor:

the side of the debate that condemns all African military interventions as undemocratic is palpably naïve, self-serving or downright uninformed. The history of armies in the creation of and consolidation of western European nation-states confirms that these armies too were part of the political formations that gave expression to democratic movements across imperial Europe (1997: 7).

Both the 'one-party' system and multiparty democracy encouraged political patronage in Africa. Employment and appointment to key positions depended on loyalty to the party or government. Qualification and competence was sacrificed on the altar of political patronage. The end result, according to Drah (1996), was over-bloated, inefficient government bureaucracy whose only destination is economic doom and total collapse of government machinery (1996: 67). Drah argues that the economic

malaise cannot be wholly placed at the doorstep of autocrats and 'arm-chair' democrats. He reveals that between the late 1960s and early 1980s, Africa's turbulent political environment has been exacerbated by the harsh economic palliatives imposed on it by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Under the guise of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), most African governments, be they democratic or one-party, and constrained by financial resources, had to apply these prescriptions. Most insurrections and internal conflicts arose from the harsh economic realities which worsened the poverty situation and resulted in armed revolts in many places (Drah, 1996: 67). The political and policy failures notwithstanding, a new wave of change swept across Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s referred severally as the 'second-liberation'.

2.3 The Press in the 'Second-Liberation'

The collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had an impact on the African situation. According to Drah (1996), at the time the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, at least thirty-eight countries in Sub-Saharan Africa "were reeling under autocratic civilian single party and military regimes" (Ibid: 69). The collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union meant there was no ideological 'god-father' on whom to lean for survival and support in the new geo-political arrangement. This confirms Francis Fukuyama's assertion that "there is now no ideology with pretensions to challenge liberal democracy" (1992: 45).

Democratic transitions were hurriedly put in place in Africa with most countries drawing elaborate constitutions willingly and unwillingly. The press, which had been muzzled and emasculated and virtually became the ventriloquist of most African regimes, were accorded a new lease on life to operate in a plural setting. How did the press fare in the light of the 'second-liberation'? A critical prognosis of these institutions and how they affect the new wave of democratisation will help deepen an understanding of news media and democracy in Africa.

All the old arguments for private ownership as against state control of the press were revived. The added impetus in the 'second-liberation' was focused on openness through the adoption of western models of press ownership and democratic

governance. This is better appreciated if we critique press performance within this period and look at the adoption of new forms of operation and practice.

Philip Lee (1995) recognises the central role of communication in a democracy when he contends that “constant interaction with all the people, accessibility at all levels, a public ethos which allows conflicting ideas to contend” is a vital element only when the media provide enormous knowledge and education (1995:2-7). Lee adds that while the press act as the central nervous system in forging participation of all segments of the society in the democratic process, it could also be a vehicle for “uncritical assumptions, beliefs, stereotypes, ideologies and orthodoxies that blunt critical awareness and make participatory democratisation difficult” (Ibid). Nyamnjoh (2005) believes that for the press to function effectively and play its normative role in the ‘second-liberation’, it needs a political and legal democratic culture. The absence of these, he argues, will make the press not only undemocratic but incapable of prosecuting the democratic agenda. His concerns are well grounded due to the lawlessness which accompanied the new wave of democratisation in most African countries with the press arrogating unto itself the power to publish anything without recourse to decency and an ethical standard. He emphasises the importance of observing professional standards defined by ethical norms if the press is to legitimately make any claim to being the ‘Fourth Power’ (2005: 20). Karikari also bemoans low professional standards and amateurism in the press with the advent of the ‘second-liberation’. He acknowledges the systematic improvements in the quality of content compared to the opening of the floodgates for media pluralism at the beginning of the democratisation process in the 1990s (cited Blay-Amihere and Alabi 1996: 17). According to him, there has been the misguided notion of press freedom without cognisance of its attendant responsibilities. This development, Karikari explains, affects press performance and leads to a “widespread tendency towards propaganda, partisanship, speculation and sometimes mystical or fatalistic explanation of reality” (Ibid). Despite these concerns, he derides those critics who see nothing good in the newly emerging press of the ‘second-liberation’. To these critics he responds:

to suggest that the press make no impact on raising public awareness of reality is to be blind to the enormous effects the new press is having on the political landscape (Ibid).

Karikari lauds the new private press for its role in Africa's democratisation and for their courage and bravery in holding governments accountable to the people. He also commended them for compelling the state-owned press everywhere in Africa to modify their perspectives in order to survive in the emerging market, which is being driven by a private-led competitive press. On the transformation in the state-owned press brought about by the vigorous plural and libertarian environment, he stated: "the old wholesale, crude and unabashed sycophancy has given way to varying levels of refinement or even to levels of independence or insulation" (Ibid). For Nyamnjoh, the democratisation of the 1990s has not only strengthened multiparty democracy and media pluralism but also ensured a substantial increase in private newspaper ownership (2005: 53).

However, the praises heaped on the private press in the 'second-liberation' has been described by others as cosmetic and unrealistic. Lush (1998) is saddened by the indifference of the press to the needs of making the education of voters and the voting process a vital part of their arsenal in deepening awareness and for the promotion democracy. He thinks their inadequate coverage of political campaigns – prerequisites for the people to have the benefit of alternative choices have taken much from their purported positive engagement (1998: 47-50). He views this as abdication of their responsibility and function and identifies their obsession with extraneous and irrelevant accounts which exposes their bias and professional myopia. Nyamnjoh (2005) also chastises the private press for their penchant for promoting sectarian interests. His main concern has been their uncritical posturing when dealing with the political opposition. He accused them of stoking fanaticism and extremism instead of being vanguards in curtailing such dangerous traits within the political and social system in the continent (2005: 56).

For Charo and Makali (1998), the performance of the press both the private and the state-owned, in the 'second-liberation' passed for nothing more than scandal mongering. The professional competence of the press aside, they have been criticised for practising 'hate journalism' through deliberate "exaggeration and politicisation of

ethnic tensions and not accurate and responsible journalism” (1998: 1-2). They cite the classic example of ethnic disturbances in two of Kenya’s settlements, Laikipia and Njoro, in January and February 1998 to buttress their position. In a typical ‘chicken and egg’ scenario, the private press with the penchant to see nothing good in government portray the Kalenjin ethnic group of former president Daniel Arap Moi as the villains in the clashes and the Kikuyu ethnic group as the victims. The opposite was the case in the pro-government state-owned press, which concluded that the Kalenjin were the victims (Ibid).

The above blanket criticisms have been rejected by Nyamnjoh. According to him, the African press’ coverage and emotional attachment to ethnicity is a tendency informed by the journalists and the news media predicaments as professionals and institutions for which much is expected in the fulfilment of liberal democratic functions. It is also within the context of the pressures from the people as they clamour for “recognition and representation as cultural, religious and regional communities” (2005: 57).

Providing further insights into the ethnic, religious and other sectarian cleavages as reflected in the Africa press, Dare reveals how the overriding simplistic sense of belonging polarised the Nigerian press in the aftermath of the annulment of the 1993 presidential elections won by the late Chief Moshood Abiola (1998: 15). The Nigerian press, he writes, chose to align itself with ethnic and religious sentiments and solidarities instead of uniting and using their combined energy to challenge legislation designed to license the media - and emasculate them in other ways – and to speak with one voice against the annulment (Ibid).

The reality in the ‘second-liberation’ press in Africa is one of a mixed bag. The press has been accused of turning itself into a hostage to self-righteousness to the detriment of other equally important democratic institutions of state. Its fundamental function has been mortgaged on the altar of political, economic, ethnic and religious expediency. Sesay sums it up thus:

cheap propaganda, rather than reporting issues as they affect the common man, has become the preoccupation of most of our journalists. Most of them are today partisan and as such, have fixed ideas that hardly accommodate the views of others (1998: 267-268).

Awoonor addresses himself to this problem afflicting the African press when he calls for a sense of introspection, which will ensure the toleration of dissenting views. The essence of democracy and free press doctrines are the acceptance of criticism and divergent views. He states:

journalism, which derives its inspiration from personal slight, sense of hurt or unsubstantiated self-importance, cannot help those who indulge in it or the community they claim to serve (in Blay-Amihere and Alabi 1996: 22).

Crucially, the 'second liberation' has affirmed the essence of plural media and its pivotal role in democracy. Their inadequacies notwithstanding, freedom of the press referred to as the 'first freedom' can only flourish when all the organisms of the state are seen to be working independently of the other but toward the fulfilment of the individual and collective goals of the society, that is deepening the democratic culture of free press, free assembly, association and the right to hold contrary views.

Given the various media theories and models that have been applied to the African situation from the colonial to the post-independence era, and the arguments for and against some of these, one may ask: why has Africa continued to lag behind in news media and democratic development? Answers to this question lie in a critical discussion of the African's understanding of democracy to help in the building of a more refined position in the 'second-liberation'.

2.4 African Concept of Democracy

Africa's 'second-liberation' dubbed the democratisation of the 1990s has been afflicted by all kinds of ailments as the loud claims to the 'new wave' of democracy has been touted as the majestic arrival to the kingdom of political and economic bliss. Nyamnjoh (2005) cites Claude Ake and Good for lamenting the blind praises and hallelujahs to the so-called 'second-liberation'. In their view, the new phase of multiparty democracy being projected as the solution to Africa's woes is rather a re-ordering of chairs on the deck of a ship which confines "competition among political elites to the exclusion of the disaffected masses" (cited Nyamnjoh 2005: 28). They argue that the people who represent the lifeblood of democracy have been reduced to 'voter-banks' and occasionally called upon to defend the ambitions of those in political authority. In as much as the dominant western democratic model is held up as the ideal, the case of Africa, as it serves the politician in his socio-cultural and

political aspirations, remains a thorny and intractable issue. Nyamnjoh explains some of the factors that compel scholars in the West to argue that liberal democracy could not work in Africa. He refutes the claims and the descriptions given to African governance systems, in which it is claimed that liberal democracy is totally alien to its needs. Rather, he observes that the liberal idea of the West being forced down the throat of the African is alien and not in conformity with its own time-tested belief systems of democratic participation and governance. As he points out:

implementing liberal democracy in Africa has been like trying to force onto the body of a full-figured person, rich in all cultural indicators of health with which Africans are familiar, a dress made to fit the slim, de-fleshed Hollywood consumer model of a Barbie-doll entertainment icon. But instead of blaming the tiny dress or its designer, the tradition has been to fault the popular body or the popular ideal of beauty, for emphasising too much bulk, for parading the wrong sizes, for just not being the right thing. Not often is the experience and expertise of the designer or dressmaker questioned, nor his/her audacity in assuming that the parochial cultural palates that inform his/her peculiar sense of beauty should play God in the lives of regions and cultures where different criteria of beauty and the good life obtain ((2005: 25-6).

The thrust of Nyamnjoh's argument is that forcing an alien system on Africans will not achieve the desired democratic results. The instability and other conflicts in most parts of Africa since its emergence from colonialism is partially attributable to the systematic efforts to coerce most African countries to imitate the West in the practice of liberal democracy using western traditions, history, culture and ideology as the main signpost for economic and political betterment (Ibid).

This view of implanting western liberal ideology, without cognisance of the time-tested in-built African traditions and cultures that have served them over the centuries, is in his opinion the reason for the resultant despair and the notion that Africa and liberal democracy are not bedfellows. Nyamnjoh (2005) considers the attempt to force the Western liberal pill down the throat of Africans as insensitive, and compares it to the behaviour of:

a Lilliputian undertaker, who would rather trim a corpse than expand his/her coffin to accommodate a man-mountain or a carpenter, whose only tool is a huge hammer and to whom every problem is a nail (Ibid: 25-6).

It is Nyamnjoh's position that the difficulty in implementing liberal democracy in Africa is compounded by the clash of values, and the deliberate or ignorant refusal of Western liberal theorists to recognise the dominant African cultural imperatives, that

could as well assist in domesticating liberal thought and make it more relevant to the need and aspirations of the people. Nyamnjoh (2005), however, is quick to caution that arguments for domestication of liberal democracy in Africa, taking cognisance of cultural realities, should not be confused with the elaborate ploys by “opportunistic dictatorships that have often hidden behind nebulous claims of African specificities to orchestrate high-handedness and intolerance” (Ibid).

Delving into the African concept of democracy, Awoonor (1990) stresses the features of Ghana’s various original democratic institutions which he argues are based on “clan and priestly, age-set or chiefships - designed around a selection system” (1990: 9). He states that the original nations of Ghana structured democratic ideas that interwove rights with obligations and responsibilities, based ultimately on a survival welfare concept that promoted the well-being of all from childhood to the grave (Ibid).

Awoonor reminds us of the effort by the liberal theorists under colonialism to attempt to blend the Western concept with the traditional African democratic concept when he reveals:

though colonialism, through the Lugardian prescription, sought to use some of these traditional political forms, its objective remained purely that of pressing these (including a select number of chiefs) into an imperial regime whose grand design was economic exploitation (1990: 10)

While communism and socialism are seen as the dominant alternative models to the liberal idea in the West, pitifully, the African system of governance has been lumped into this matrix. In Marxism-Leninism, the difference between these and liberal democracy has been identified on the basis of the economic and political organisation of the state. It is the promotion of capitalism (free market), private ownership of the media, individual rights and freedoms as against state control of the factors of production, state-ownership of the means of communication, and group welfare that basically separate the two concepts.

The African concept of democracy goes beyond the emphasis on individual rights and freedoms. Nyamnjoh (2005) avers: “Discussing democracy in Africa calls for scrutiny of the importance of cultural identity in the lives of individuals and groups” (2005:

38). He emphasises that implanting of democratic values and cultures using the western model yardstick is a misnomer in relating to the African condition and concept of democracy and practice. Nyamnjoh argues “the interconnectedness of peoples, cultures and societies through individuals as products, melting pots and creative manipulators or jugglers of multiple identities” is a narrow view of what the African democratic dynamics entail (Ibid).

Nyamnjoh’s idea of the African concept of democracy is a bold attempt to reject what he refers to as ‘reductionist views of democracy’. The contention that democracy may take different forms with reference to history, culture and evolving traditions of a given people is very central to his critique. In this connection he states:

the way forward is recognising the creative ways in which Africans merge their traditions with exogenous influences to create realities that are not reducible to either but are enriched by both (2005: 38).

While shared ideology and other factors are the foundation on which the West based its democratic thought of representative or constitutional politics, African democracy appears to be a more complex phenomenon. Africa’s imitation of liberal democracy tends to promote ethnic and tribal cleavages and solidarities. Elections in modern times under the Western democratic prescription, forced down the throat of most African nations by the most powerful capitalist countries of the world, have only helped revive the incipient ethnic animosities in the choice of national leaders. Claude Ake (2000) captures this viewpoint when he states:

political parties tend to appeal to ethnic loyalties rather than seek a shared ideology and if their partisans have consistently tended to vote along regional and ethnic lines, it is perhaps time to look beyond political parties and liberal democracy as the exclusive way of organising modern politics and government in Africa (2000:31).

Ake further argues that the impracticability of Western liberal democracy is the inability to domesticate the liberal idea. He calls for a hybrid of the finest socio-cultural and political specificities of both the African idea and those of Western democracy (Ibid). He claims that in Africa’s search for a more practicable democracy, “there is very little in the experience of the established democracies to guide and a great deal to mislead it” (Ibid). Western liberal democracy, in his view, concentrates on areas which, compared to the African socio-cultural and political realities, tend to contradict the other forms of organisation both in Europe and Africa. Nyamnjoh adds

to this proposition when he affirms how liberal democratic rhetoric of rights, with emphasis on a narrow neo-liberal focus on the individual falls short of the African understanding of personhood (2005: 36). Ake illuminates his argument of how the liberal democracy model can work in Africa. This, he argues, is only feasible if Africans' are allowed to re-create it to take cognisance of the "notions of participation traditionally associated with the communal political culture of African societies" (2000: 184). This communal political culture is deeply rooted in the African's attachment to ethnicity and a shared sense of belonging. Clearly, there is the need for a new theoretical space, which would blend the Western liberal idea of individual rights and freedoms with the African worldview of cultural solidarities and individuals' interconnectedness with his community (Ibid).

Awoonor (1990) criticises the often held liberal argument which insists that all African countries need to do is to pick democratic seeds from the capitalist gardens of Washington, Paris and London, and to plant and water them, in order that they will blossom as a single misguided policy of promoting international stability and development (1990: xi). This refers specifically to the lack of organic connections between the liberal democratic idea of the West and the history and culture of the Africa reality. Awoonor's assertion here is that liberal democracy was nurtured in a different historical and cultural soil and cannot endure transplantation except when it goes through genetic engineering of sorts. Wiredu (1997), offering an intellectual discourse, reacts to the description of Africa governance systems as being authoritarian in the main and expressly notes that there "is nothing inherently authoritarian about monopartyism and nothing inherently democratic about multipartyism" (cited Nyamnjoh 2005: 35). He argues that since most of Africa has been unable to rise above ethnicity, and construct a public sphere which will have a universal acceptance, there lies the need to test other models of political organisation with emphasis on Africa traditions, culture, historical experiences and communal shared values of economic dependence (Ibid).

In the search for the missing link in African democratic thought and idealism, as juxtaposed against the Western liberal principle, Ramose, advises a cautious African debate and approach which encourages flexibility, negotiation and tolerance. He states:

it requires a concept of democracy that emphasises co-existence and interdependence between the individual and the community, between communities, and between the state and the various cultural communities, its citizens are the subjects of (cited Nyamnjoh 2005: 35).

As a result, he advocates a more productive and creative intellectual enquiry that is not propelled into the Western model pigeon hole mentality, but which deviates from the narrow view of 'African ethnicity as an atavism' and opens into the wider channel of democracy (cited Nyamnjoh, 2005).

This viewpoint has been supported by Wiredu (1997) when he proposes Africa's route out of the murky democratic debate by falling back on the idea of 'consensual democracy'. This he argues will help negotiate a convincing path out of the 'stalling majoritarian democracy' not as an alternative but as a complimentary model. Drawing on the traditional Ashanti 'consensual' model of democracy, Wiredu explains:

this was a democracy because government was by the consent, and subject to the control, of the people as expressed through their representatives. Thus while majoritarian democracy might be based on consent without consensus, the Ashanti system ensured that consent was negotiated on the principle of consensus (cited 2005: 35).

Awoonor (1990) affirms this position when he uses the example of the traditional family council as a microcosm of modern parliament, explaining that:

the family council operates in the most democratic way. Each member has the right to express an opinion, challenge what he considers a wrong decision or a wrong action. Members are free to bring before it grievances on behalf of themselves and their immediate family members. Decisions of the family council are arrived at by consensus (1990: 9).

He identifies discourse as a reflection of the 'first principle in African democratic practice' (Ibid). While proposing the recreation of the African democratic principle, Awoonor conflates the participatory principle of communal political culture of African societies. His emphasis on the common good and participation, he asserts, is not based merely on individual interests but as part of an interconnected whole. He insists that this process is more than taking part to choose or dissent, but is also tied to sharing the burdens and the rewards of community membership in decision-making and community life as a whole (1990: 9).

Furthermore, Wiredu (1997) deepens this brand of African democracy by arguing that majority decisions as they pertain in the liberal Western democratic ideal does not necessary accommodate minority interests and views. In Western liberalism, the ruling party and the majority vote in Parliament becomes binding on the rest (1997: 307). But as noted by Awoonor (1990) and corroborated by Wiredu there is the principle of inclusiveness which leaves no party out of the decision-making process (1990: 9). This position of consensual democracy as prescribed as the African ideal, a typical Ashanti and Ewe forms of participatory democracy, in the traditional Ghanaian system of shared communitarian democracy has been rejected by others as impracticable in modern times. Despite this, democracy can only be said to satisfy a certain criterion, and democracy in any form must be seen to engage with pluralism, diversity of opinion, debate and competing interests. In this context majority views must be accorded the respect of representing the will of the majority (McNair, 2003; Keane, 1994).

Having discussed the African concept of democracy as juxtaposed against the Western liberal idea it is possible now to turn to an integral component of democracy that is, civil society. An in-depth discussion of media and democracy in Africa will also have to explore the organisation of civil society. As an important institutional safeguard in the West, civil society in Africa, as a vital element for democratic development remains a problematic issue.

2.5 The case of African civil society

Comaroff and Comaroff (1993) provide a general understanding of civil society in the West, and those of Africa. According to them, in the Western liberal setting, civil society, which is a voluntary association of interest groups and of “uncoerced membership”, exerts pressure on political authority. The idea has been to minimise the power of society and social structure by “trumpeting instead the uncompromising autonomy of the individual” (1993: 3). This characteristic they insist is difficult to apply to the African situation due to the underdevelopment of the market and the African individual’s inability to attain full economic empowerment due to excruciating poverty and limited institutional structures. Civil society in their view is either weak or non-existent in most of Africa (Ibid). Commenting on civil society in

Africa, Diamond (1994) points out that any idea of its essential features resembling Western patterns and their “standard democratic functions”, will be a misnomer (1994: 4-7). In furtherance of this observation by Diamond, Berman (1998) has dismissed the argument of civil society as being always physically present or existent for its benefits to be realised in a democracy as valueless. He lauds the undying energy of the African even in the midst of co-optation and repression to fight for his or her rights. (1998: 339-40). The notion that, due to weak or non-existent civil society in Africa, people will shut up misses the point. Real life circumstances, he argues:

point to the contrary, that people normally seek alternative channels, sometimes in subtle and masked ways, for fulfilling their aspirations and protecting their interests in such situations (Ibid).

Chabal and Daloz (1999) also add to the debate when they explain what they think of civil society in Africa compared with the conventional Western ideal. For them, economic improvement and the survival instinct of the African in the midst of political manipulation and high-handedness are not offered by membership of political parties or the existence of trade unions. They attribute African resilience to what they recognise as the:

informal networks, ethnic, regional or cultural lobbies including the critical alternative media, within which collective concerns, anxieties, and dreams are discussed and played out (1999: 21).

What this trend of discussion has unearthed has been the difficulty of defining civil society as applicable to non-Western societies using Western democratic indicators. The arguments suggest that there can be no clear definition. A convenient route out of the murk would be to consider Chabal’s proposition of the creation of theoretical spaces which will identify civil society in Africa as mutative and assuming other forms (1992: 87-89). He states:

limiting ourselves to a simplistic opposition between ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ forms of social organisation and human association might only idealise, exclude or obfuscate the social reality (Ibid).

Other scholars like Young (1994), Monga (1996) and Chabal and Daloz (1999) have called for an end to simplistic assumptions which affords the West the opportunity to use its own subjectivities, self-imagination and perversions to ascribe to Africa’s own democratic institutions (Mbembe 2001: 3-9). Comaroff and Comaroff (1999) also caution against using western models and value systems as universal standards for

Africa and for which any deviation is viewed as a failure. They explain how this negates the positive values likely to be explored in African traditions and cultures, to the extent that civil society is taken to mean “a Eurocentric index of accomplishment to which Africa’s indifference becomes a deviation or a deficit” (1999: 17). The common thread which runs through the various positions on African civil society has been to see it as an organic movement which comprise all groups and individuals whose activities will ensure that civil society voices out the affirmation of social identity and the rights of citizenship. But these are not always in “opposition to those in power whose natural tendency is to repress such identities and rights” (Monga 1995: 364; 1996: 149).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided various arguments that take away or add to the media and democracy debate in Africa. The trajectory and thrust of the discussion focussed on the origins of the newspaper press from the colonial origins to the post colonial era. The period of Africa’s colonial press offers a historical narrative and provides the patterns of ownership and control structures as the private-state dichotomy unfolded. It emerged from the discourse that the colonialists established the press to ensure one-way information dissemination. The resistance which followed and the subsequent entry of Africans into the press industry, in what was mostly private initiative have been clearly articulated.

On another level, a critique of the liberal democratic model inherited at independence and its inability to facilitate a truly African public sphere, due to socio-cultural and political difficulties, has been made. In short, the idea of democracy with reference to history, culture and other vital ingredients which identify Africa’s condition has been articulated as not enjoying much consideration in the global discourse on democracy. This explains the failure of most democratic experiments put in place at independence since most of it was externally driven.

Arguments advanced by the protagonists indicate that the press can play a more vital role in democratisation in Africa when it shifts from the liberal concept’s emphasis on the individual as an autonomous subject to those of shared values of individuals being

an organic part of the community. The next chapter will deal with the media and democracy debate within the more critically focused context of Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE

Politics and Press in Ghana: A Historical Framework

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will engage with the Ghana press and its role in democracy. In the case of Ghana, the debate will weave the various strands from the viewpoint of multi-party democracy to one-party and the eventual incursions into political administration by the military. The problem of democratic politics and governance in a developing country could best be explained by a number of factors. In this chapter, I argue that the problem, as it has existed in Ghana since the 1960s, reaching its apogee in the regime of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), could be encapsulated in terms of the country's experiences of the one-party system and those of military dictatorship interlaced with brief periods of multi-party constitutional democracy.

According to Ninsin, in all societies, the struggle between the prevailing social forces of opposing interests is anchored on the intent of securing control over the state or influencing it and getting their respective interests embodied in public policy. This to him is the engine of politics (1991: 21).

Since this study is a comparative one involving two major newspapers - one state owned and the other private, a detailed account of press history in Ghana would help map the shift from the pre-independence era to the post-independence period. In this appraisal, I intend to examine democracy from the standpoint of how Kwame Nkrumah and Kofi Abrefa Busia, (the two main protagonists in the early years of Ghana's political evolution) understood it, and how they used their democratic ideas in relation to the press during their rule, as will other administrations which straddled the Ghanaian political spectrum during the period.

3.1 The Early Press and Nationalism

Ghana was the first black African country south of the Sahara to achieve political independence (in 1957), and is an early beneficiary of press freedom. The history of the evolution of the press in Ghana (then called the Gold Coast) has been well documented by scholars such as William Hachten (1971), Jones-Quartey (1974),

Frank Barton (1979), Asante (1996) and Ainsle (1966) among others. It is important to state that the liberal regime of the press in Britain, the former colonial power, led to its introduction in Ghana. In the view of William Hachten:

mass communications are not indigenous to Africa. A crucial element in the development of mass communications in Africa, both past and present, is the nature and extent of European influences. Differences in colonial experiences help explain differences in media systems (1971: xv).

Ghana is reputed to be the place where the early press in West Africa took a firm root, from where it extended to other colonies even though the first newspapers appeared in Sierra Leone. *The Royal Gold Coast Gazette* and *Commercial Intelligencer* began on April 21, 1822 (Frank Barton, 1979: 17). It was the British colonial Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, who had established a similar newspaper in Sierra Leone, who mooted the idea when he was transferred to the then Gold Coast.

Records show that this newspaper lasted for three years. The *Accra Herald* which took inspiration from the colonisers' need for a newspaper was established by Charles and Edmund Bannerman, in 1857. It was edited by Charles Bannerman, who was acknowledged to be the first African editor of a newspaper. The paper was later renamed *The West African Herald* in 1858 (Ibid). It must be stressed that the Bannerman brothers suffered persistent persecution at the hands of the British colonial authority for publishing stories which were at variance with the dictates of the imperial power.

The success of the *Herald* galvanised others to move into the newspaper industry. Jones-Quartey provides a useful historical account of these developments, for example James Hutton Brew's launching on 24 March 1874 of the *Gold Coast Times* (1974: 6). He noted that this newspaper was the first to be wholly owned by an African. It had the distinction of being critical of the colonial government. According to Omu, this adversarial position of the paper compelled the colonial authority to suspend its publication for some time (cited Asante, 1996:1). Though Jones-Quartey was very critical of colonialism for dividing the world, he pointed out that:

it was the colonisers that in their wisdom and for their own purposes established the newspaper press in each place where they did so, and in that way laid the foundations for the building up of a history of journalism at all in those various territories (1974: 2).

Hachten (1971) had earlier made a similar observation claiming that initially press facilities were largely established for the convenience and use of the colonial authority and the few European settlers. Most Africans were excluded, or were at best an eavesdropping audience. Hence professional journalism was also a European importation and that news media crisis was the result of attempts to expand and readapt the news media to the needs and purposes of independent Africa (Hachten, 1971: xvi.).

Arguably the initiative to establish the early African newspapers came from the Africans themselves, who published newspapers for fellow Africans (Hachten, 1971:4). According to Jones-Quartey, the *Accra Herald* folded in 1873 but brought with it another phase in the history of journalism in the Gold Coast – the establishment of the Gold Coast’s first African-owned fully printed newspaper known as the *Gold Coast Times* which lasted from March 1874 to November 1885 (1974: 9). There were a few other newspapers and other publications, such as the *Gold Coast Independent*, 1885; the *Gold Coast Chronicle*, 1890; the *Gold Coast People*, 1891; and the *Gold Coast Express* which was the first attempt at establishing a daily newspaper in the colony (Ibid).

These newspapers deviated from the traditional role of informing, educating, and entertaining to becoming nationalist mouthpieces, which prompted the colonial government to pass the first press law – the Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1893 (Asante, 1996: 3). This bill, as Omu explains, sought to establish a register of newspaper proprietors to help the authorities identify offending publishers (cited Asante, 1996: 3). Hachten (1971) offers an insight into why the colonisers were reticent to open the gates of freedom, explaining that though the British tradition of press freedom was generally sustained in colonial West Africa, there were moments of suppression when the colonial government was under pressure (1971: 148). In general, however, the colonial administrators showed remarkable tolerance for the African-run papers. As a result many newspapers appeared in the West African colonies.

Others newspapers which helped in the independence struggle were the *Gold Coast Nation*, the *Eastern Star* and *Akuapem Chronicle*, the *Voice of the People* and the

Gold Coast Spectator as well as the *Gold Coast Leader*, which played an outstanding role in the struggle for self-determination as well as changes in socio-political and economic issues in the Gold Coast (Asante 1996: 3).

The British colonial government, who could not sit idly by as its so-called authority was flagrantly questioned and attacked by these nationalist newspapers also set up its own newspaper, the *Gold Coast Pioneer* in February 1921 (Ibid). According to Asante the period between 1930 and 1937 was the most turbulent and most exciting in the history of the press in pre-independence Ghana.

An essential feature of the early press in the Gold Coast was that it was resolutely allied to the nationalist struggle for independence. The nationalistic feelings that were articulated in the pages of these newspapers were later to light the flames of self rule. The African nationalist tradition that pervaded the press in the early 1880s was rekindled by other firebrands such as Casely Hayford, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, J.B. Danquah and I.T.A. Wallace Johnson Asante (1996), among other stalwarts. According to Hachten:

by the twentieth century, British West Africa had assumed its present political boundaries. At the same time there was a continuous series of newspaper-supported anti-colonial protests. The growth of nationalism, though was most evident in the Gold Coast during the first two decades, reaching its apogee in the activities in 1920 of the Congress of British West Africa; a high point in the Pan-West African movement (1971: 146).

In the words of Kofi Awoonor:

the National Congress of West Africa (NCWA) can be described as the legitimate successor to the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (APRS). Its thrust was for a West African Union, through an appeal to African nationalism and racial pride (1990: 120).

In British West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia) the whole nationalist political movement was ignited and nurtured by small political papers in English, and the vernaculars which played a major role in wresting political control from the colonial governments (Hachten 1971:26).

In the context of the NCWA and its leader Casely Hayford also editor of the movement's newspaper *Gold Coast Leader*, Awoonor (1990) writes:

his vision of an African journalist was summed in these words: I would [as a journalist] strive to make it [a newspaper] as perfect as it could be as to literary matter, set-up and finish. I would adopt a firm, bold unwavering policy, courteous in tone and fearless in criticism (1990: 131).

Hayford's sense of fairness to criticise while remaining courteous is evident. This mantle of not caring as to whose ox is gored was to be taken up years later by those who followed, not only in the anti-colonial struggle but also against repression, be it in a constitutional democracy or military oligarchy. Significantly, it was J.B. Danquah (referred to as the doyen of Gold Coast politics) who provided West Africa with a daily newspaper that carried international news supplied by Reuters. As Barton (1979) explains: "This was the *West African Times* founded by J.B. Danquah in 1931, though Accra's first daily was the *Gold Coast Spectator* founded in 1927" (1979: 23).

After the exploits of Casely Hayford, there appeared to be a lull in radical journalism until Nnamdi Azikiwe appeared on the scene. Together with I.T.A. Wallace Johnson (Hachten 1971), they produced the *African Morning Post*, which helped revive West African journalism both in the Gold Coast and later in his home country, Nigeria. A stinging piece in the *Morning Post* titled 'Has the African a God?' in the 15 May 1936 issue was said to have landed both men in court. They were charged with criminal libel by the colonial authority. They were convicted for sedition, jailed for six months and fined £50 each. Their appeal against the sentence was successful. But this victory was not without a price. The colonial government ordered that they leave the Gold Coast. 'Zik', as Azikiwe was popularly called, left for Nigeria and Wallace-Johnson departed to his native Sierra Leone (Hachten 1971: 146).

The tightening of anti-freedom laws against the press by the colonial authority during the period was a result of the irritation caused by the scurrilous materials being published by the nationalist press. The Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance, or the Sedition Ordinance, was passed in 1934.

The departure of 'Zik' and Wallace-Johnson did not diminish the resolve of others to continue with the nationalist struggle and the fight for press freedom to enlighten, inform and educate the masses. The *Ashanti Pioneer* was established in 1939 in

Kumasi to fill the void. This paper, according to Hachten, was an independent paper (1971: 169). Ainslie (1966) notes that the political struggle against colonialism heightened with the formation of the *Ashanti Pioneer* by John and Nancy Tsiboe in 1939, the *Ashanti Times* in 1947 as an in-house publication of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, as well the *Accra Evening News* in 1947 by Kwame Nkrumah, all acting as critical factors in the battle for self-rule (Ainslie 1966: 58).

With the success of the *Evening News*, Nkrumah again established the *Morning Telegraph* in 1949 under the editorship of Kwame Afriyie at Sekondi and the *Cape Coast Daily Mail* with Kofi Badu as the editor to press home the demands for “self-government now”. This got him into trouble with the law (Ainslie, 1966: 58).

According to Barton (1979), “the most potent foreign influence on the press in Africa was the coming of the *Daily Mirror Group* after the second world war”. Their entry into the region saw the establishment of the *Daily Times* in Nigeria, the *Daily Graphic* in Ghana and the *Daily Mail* in Sierra Leone (1979: 31). All the credit, he argued, should go to “a rather strange, aloof Anglo-Irishman, Cecil King, who seemed an improbable choice as the person to take West Africa into the modern post-war newspaper age” (Ibid). For Barton to refer to King as someone aloof is to colour the pill. King to my mind was in pursuit of profit and therefore in serious mood to control the market. The Mirror Group launched the *Daily Graphic* in 1950. Barton explained how the *Daily Graphic* helped revive competition in the newspaper industry. When the *Daily Graphic* appeared, Barton recalls:

a young political firebrand not long back from the university in the United States was editing the highly volatile *Evening News*, one of no less than thirteen local newspapers which eventually fell to King’s competition. Nkrumah’s paper was no match for the professionalism of King’s racy *Daily Graphic* (1979: 35).

In fairness to the other newspapers, mostly owned by Africans with very little capital base, it is to be expected that a new initiative with the huge capital investment which came with it and its superior quality would definitely attract patronage, especially among the elite and the educated class who read newspapers.

With independence on the horizon, Barton (1979) reveals how CPP leaders moved quickly to establish the Guinea Press in 1956 as a countervailing measure to rival the

Daily Graphic and improve upon the professionalism of this key weapon in the fight against colonialism (Ibid). The *Ghanaian Times* emerged from this stable in 1958. The *Daily Graphic* though a private initiative outside the control of politicians, staffed editorially by Africans, never identified with the colonial government. Instead, the newspaper took an active interest in the political and social affairs of the country (Hachten, 1971: 147).

According to Asante (1996) it was clear that Ghana's press industry reached its fullest growth in the 1950's at a time when the country was at the political threshold of independence. Ownership of the newspaper press at this time was therefore of two major categories – government and private (1996: 8).

3.2 Towards Self-Rule

Though there were various anti-colonial movements in the then Gold Coast, notably the APRS and the NCWA, these groups were not organised along a united political front. However, the most potent political group to emerge in the Gold Coast was the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C), founded in 1947. The overriding objective of the U.G.C.C. was:

to ensure that by all legitimate and constitutional means the direction and control of government should pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs in the shortest possible time (Awoonor 1990: 136).

The final thrust towards self-rule was quickened by the arrival of Kwame Nkrumah from the United States via Britain, to become the General-Secretary of the movement. Nkrumah's radicalism and revolutionary approach to organisation set him against the rest of the U.G.C.C.

Kwame Nkrumah saw the need for a fighting newspaper that would help push the struggle into a more radical stance. The direct result of this need premised the establishment of the *Evening News*. This newspaper was to serve as the mouthpiece for the Convention People's Party (C.P.P) which he established when he finally broke away from the U.G.C.C. As Timothy claims:

The paper carried out a relentless campaign of mudslinging against all those who ventured to criticise it or its publisher, Kwame Nkrumah. And the language employed by the paper in trouncing those who fell into its clutches defied all the canons of journalism (cited Asante, 1996: 108).

The *Evening News* (and its satellite newspapers), the first official political party newspaper to be established in the Gold Coast, were all guns-blazing at the opposition National Liberation Movement (NLM). The *Ashanti Pioneer* and the *Liberator*, the mouthpieces of the NLM were in return spitting fire at the CPP and its leaders. Claims and counter-claims of who would win the elections of 1956 became not only cacophonous, but also showed how partisan the press had become (Hachten, 1971).

The nationalist press was established to fight for national independence but had degenerated into a poisonous partisan and sometimes 'bloody instrument of division'. With Nkrumah chalking up victories in the 1954 and 1956 elections, he proceeded to attain independence for Ghana when he tabled his famous Motion of Destiny asking for self-government. The opposition parties boycotted the special session of parliament called to debate the motion. The CPP with its comfortable majority in parliament won the motion. The British took notice and independence was granted to the Gold Coast. Later events were to show how Nkrumah strangled freedom of the press through censorship to suit his own whims and caprices.

3.3 Nkrumah and Post-Independence Press

The sad irony of the history of the press in Ghana was that Nkrumah, who edited the *Evening News* as a private newspaper prior to independence, turned his back on the notion of press freedom. This was partly caused by the conduct of the opposition which was determined to split the country on tribal and regional lines. He would not tolerate dissenting views from the press. Nkrumah (1960) justified his disdain for the private press when he stated:

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 it therefore should not remain in private hands (cited Hachten 1971: 168).

There was a massive clampdown on the private press. After independence on 6 March 1957, the *Ashanti Pioneer* was the only private newspaper which could not be controlled by the government. The *Ashanti Pioneer*, which provided an alternative source of news to the praise-singing scandal sheets of the Guinea Press, was subjected to harassment and eventual take-over on 19 October 1962. The newspaper's editor

and city editor, A.D. Appea and Kwame Kesse-Adu were arrested prior to the eventual take-over. Kesse-Adu spent four and a half years in detention in the notorious Ussher Fort prison for “destructive criticism of the government” (Hachten, 1971: 169). This clampdown on a private newspaper has been described as one of the harshest by a government against a private enterprise, and was “unprecedented even in the 113 years of British colonial rule on the Gold Coast” (Ibid).

Nevertheless, the opposition newspapers’ open support for secession resulted in the drift towards civil and tribal wars. Nkrumah, in spite of his anti-capitalist posture had no option but to move against secessionist appeals to avert the break-up of the nation-state. On the other hand this high-handedness against the press ran counter to what Nkrumah (1960) espoused in one of his scholarly books ‘I Speak of Freedom’, where he argued that:

the imposition of any form of press censorship was an idea most repugnant to me, since it ran counter to everything I had always believed in, everything for which I had struggled in my life. Freedom of expression had been one of the essential rights for which I had fought. I had gone to prison for daring to say things the colonial administration had not liked (1960: 50).

It must be stressed here that while the *Pioneer* was opposed to Nkrumah’s government and played its proper role as a watchdog, the tribal posture of the paper in supporting leaders of the N.L.M, who sought to use tribalism to attain political power, was a big blot on the image of such a newspaper. Hachten (1971) saw the mission of the newspaper differently, and argued that the newspaper remained a bulwark against tyranny and oppression and a signpost for free speech and expression. He pointed out that the newspaper,

undoubtedly had a loyal following and was a quavering but determined voice for freedom of expression in Ghana. The *Ashanti Pioneer* enjoyed an international reputation because it had always fought for its principles and its editors had gone to jail for them (1971: 177).

Nkrumah’s offensive against the private press reached its zenith when he later bought the *Daily Graphic* from the Mirror Group after the company decided to pull out of Ghana in 1963. The *Graphic* was placed under government trust. Hachten, in a statistical comparison of the *Ghanaian Times*, the *Evening News* and the *Daily Graphic* revealed that while the *Ghanaian Times* had a circulation of 12,000 in 1964 compared to 17,000-20,000 for the *Evening News* edited by Eric Heyman, a political

intimate of Nkrumah, the *Daily Graphic* was far ahead with a circulation of 106,000 (1971: 168-9). An important ingredient of the *Daily Graphic's* commanding performance in the market was the retention of its independence even after it had been bought by the government of Ghana (Ibid). This independence of the paper somehow contradicts the assertion by Hachten that Nkrumah was opposed to critical journalism when he became the head of State. It is clear from this debate that there remained some level of freedom for the paper to operate without let or hindrance.

In spite of Nkrumah's absolute control of the press, papers like the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Evening News*, which identified fully with the CPP and the government, occasionally criticised the top brass of the party and government (Asante, 1996). This was seen to be in order so far as it was not coming from the opposition political parties. Asante documents how the *Ghanaian Times'* exposure of Krobo Edusei, a prominent cabinet minister in the Nkrumah government, for corruption led to his dismissal⁶. Though Edusei was later reinstated, the *Times* had caused considerable damage to his reputation (Asante, 1996: 108). It is arguable that if such newspapers could expose sleaze in Nkrumah's government, without any reprisals of the editors being dismissed, then the judgement that Nkrumah was totally intolerant of a free press is somewhat unfair.

The development paradigm as a central component of the newspaper press function has been lucidly expressed by Awoonor (1996) when he advised journalists to let the combative spirit with which they come by their stories "inform your ultimate desire to be part of the construction of peace and the enhancement of the process of development" (in Blay-Amihere and Alabi 1996: 22). The desire of Nkrumah to see rapid transformation of the emerging nation by harnessing all the organs of mass mobilisation into action is further gleaned from Awoonor's (1996) articulation of this important factor as a pre-requisite of post-colonial journalism. Commenting further on the developmental agenda he urged African journalists to

⁶ The minister's wife had bought a golden bed at the cost of £3000 in London. The newspaper raised alarm at what it considered a clear case of ostentatious living by a minister in a government that proclaimed to be Socialist in orientation and outlook. The paper even accused him of attempted bribery to silence it from exposing the scandal. It alleged that Edusei offered \$500 for it to drop the story

listen to what the farmers and fishermen will tell you, how new roads have been built in their villages so they can send their produce to the market, or the new well that gives them good water (Ibid: 23).

It is in this context that one has to evaluate Nkrumah's attempt to use the organs of communication and mobilisation for the eradication of poverty, disease and under-development, which confronted the newly-born nation called Ghana.

3.3.1 Nkrumah and Democracy

Nkrumah's understanding of democracy is anchored on the democratic philosophies of Aristotle and Abraham Lincoln. According to Nkrumah (1963), democracy, if we are to accept the Aristotelian description, is the law of the state that directs:

that our poor shall be in no greater subjugation than the rich nor that the supreme power be lodged with neither of these, but that both shall share it. For if liberty and equality, as some persons suppose, are chiefly to be found in a democracy, it must be so by every department of government being alike open to all; but as the people are a majority, and what they vote is law, it follows that such a state must be a democracy (1963: 83).

Nkrumah saw rabid capitalism as anti-democratic phenomenon and that true democracy was only re-erected and restored by Abraham Lincoln's concept of government. By implication, Nkrumah had endorsed the Western concept of democracy. However, he argued against a democratic model which imposed class monopoly on the state. Democracy, he insisted, ought to be exercised by all and for the benefit of all. Expressing his understanding of the concept in Washington D.C. in 1951 after his release from prison in Ghana, he stated:

we are aiming to work under democratic principles such as existed in Britain and in the United States. What we want is the right to govern ourselves, or even to misgovern ourselves (Washington Post, 1951: 4).

An insight into Nkrumah's understanding of the concept of democracy showed that he had some faith in Western democracy. His admiration for it was evidently made clear. What he disagreed with was external interference and internal usurpation of the rights of the citizens to be in control of the affairs of the newly emergent nation. Explaining this position he stated that they (nationalist leaders) engaged in the liberation struggle in order to afford Ghanaians the freedom of worship, association, speech, expression of thought without harming their neighbour or jeopardising the

state (Nkrumah, 1960: 50). Nkrumah's position stems from his long-standing antipathy to colonialism and his subsequent mistrust of 'neo-colonialism'.

According to Ninsin (1991), at independence in 1957 Ghana enjoyed a multi-party system of governance. There were parties other than the Convention People's Party (CPP). This, he argued meant that the people had the liberty to express their views freely, whether or not they ran contrary to those of the ruling party and government (1991: 23).

It is imperative to realise that the freedom to hold and express contrary views and organise meant that people could take on public officers for acts deemed to violate public norms and fundamental human rights. These opportunities in a multi-party setting with its attendant freedom of the press were firmly curtailed in the 1960s, 1970s and the 1980s (Ibid). The road to one-party dictatorship and military intransigence and authoritarianism started with Kwame Nkrumah. Using its majority in Parliament, the CPP legislated for a one-party state after a national referendum had voted for a 'one-party' state. This singular act meant the imposition of limits on freedom of speech, expression and association. This ultimately reduced social diversity to uniformity (Ibid).

Nkrumah's resort to the one-party state, which he saw a means for halting lawlessness that was creeping into the body politic, was at variance with his stated claims to democracy. He had earlier on underscored his own democratic philosophy when he stated that "there was no sense in fighting for freedom from British authoritarianism, winning it, only to see it glide into another dictatorship" (1960: 50). But after independence, Nkrumah signalled his distaste for multi-party democracy and the application of authoritarianism to governance. As Manu (1991) has observed:

even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind. Without discipline, true freedom cannot survive (in Ninsin and Drah 1991: 7).

Such inconsistency and deviation is exposed when Nkrumah's (1973) views about democracy and his resort to the one-party state are revealed. However, to justify his hold on power, through crowding out any credible opposition to his rule, he argued

for the one-party state by comparing the conditions in Ghana to those of Britain, France and the United States during the early days of building their nations and their democracies (1973: 388).

In office, Nkrumah began to review the multi-party system because of its imperial pedigree as being an alien and a neo-colonialist system, designed to perpetuate social cleavages within the newly independent nation state. Manu cites Nkrumah as having emphasised that a state can be said to be neo-colonialist, or client state, if it is independent *de jure* and dependent *de facto*. Explaining this concept further, Nkrumah stated:

that the main sphere in which we must strive to defeat neo-colonialist intrigues is within the movement for true independence; that is, with a progressive political party which forms the government (cited Manu 1991: 16).

It is important to state that this is the process through which Nkrumah wanted to arrive at the neo-colonial concept, a process defined by a multiple set of significant events that confronted the newly elected government. In rationalising his one-party argument against multipartyism, he employed the imagery of neo-colonialism being gigantic, and which can only be eradicated using revolutionary confrontation with the imperialists by drawing on the strength of the exploited and disinherited masses. He said Ghana was in a state of war and through the one-party system Ghana can regain nationalism, Pan-Africanism and socialism (Manu, 1991).

According to Nkrumah (1973), the Ghana main opposition party had been so virulent that it failed to see anything good in his government. It went to the extent of attempting to stall economic and social development. In this regard, he firmly suspected the Western democracies of supporting the opposition against his government. He took a swipe at the Western democracies when he reminded these 'mature democracies' to compare Ghana's problems of national reconstruction and not from their advanced state of development. Ghana's difficulties, he stressed, should be viewed with a sympathetic eye by equating them with Europe's own problems at the time of the birth of their nations (Ibid).

In one of his attacks against the West and the Ghana opposition, whom he suspected of being involved in a plot to undermine his government, Nkrumah claimed that his

enemies tried to take advantage of the illiteracy of Ghanaians, a condition left behind by British colonialism “to plant and water the seeds of resentment and grievance” including tribal politics in the country. In his words:

they tried to demonstrate to the world that they, the opposition, had been right insisting that we were not ripe for independence.... No occasion, no event, was too small to exploit in order to discredit both Ghana and the government before the world and reduce the high prestige which our struggle and attainment of freedom had won for Ghana. Not often, surely has an opposition been so active in sacrificing the interests of its country to serve its own ends in disrupting the essential national unity (1973: 389).

In the context of alleged external intrigues, Nkrumah explained how his overseas critics and adversaries were bent on destroying his regime even before he got started at independence. In a specific reference to the foreign press, he said “nothing was too small to be twisted as evidence in misrepresenting the strength and quality of my government” all aimed at justifying the fiction of the growing strength of the Ghana opposition (Ibid: 390).

Awoonor (1997) argues that any intellectual debate which sought to provide a one-sided criticism of Nkrumah’s declaration of the one-party state in 1964 would be inadequate and without balance. In his view, evaluating the very character of the opposition that faced Nkrumah at independence, the desire to “redesign an alternative political order to the British dispensation”, which has no historical linkage with Ghana’s own traditional democratic institutions, are useful ingredients necessary for analysing his resort to the one-party state. The concentration, Awoonor contended, was on a national parliament to the disregard for local political institutions, thus prescribing a parliamentary culture he described as having no solid traditional foundation (1997: 3).

Offering further insights into the actions of Nkrumah’s one-party state, Awoonor claims that:

his ultimate resort to the one-party state cannot be dismissed as merely the product of political megalomania. It was dictated, as a result of the events of violence, by the need to forge national unity and consensus for his larger national and Pan-African agenda (Ibid).

Indeed, Nkrumah was not the only initiator of this political pattern of governance. The Italian dictator, Mussolini (Manu, 1991) was known to have adored one monolithic national movement, which inhibits competition⁷ (in Ninsin and Drah, 1991: 16-17). It is important to point out that Nkrumah never believed in fascism but rather his affinity was more with the Marxist states which also embraced the one-party paradigm as opposed to the multiparty model. However, Nkrumah's experiment could not hold back other contenders for power in post-colonial Ghana.

3.4 The Press under Military Regimes

Military regimes do not have any locus because they are not based on the stated consent of any identifiable political constituency. They can be said to derive their power from the barrel of the gun. As Ninsin (1991) explained, they do so by "appropriating genuine social discontent for their own advantage" (1991: 24). In contextualising Ninsin's argument, it is clear that military regimes, as evidenced in the governments of the National Liberation Council (NLC) from 1966-1969; the National Redemption Council (NRC) of 1972-1975; the Supreme Military Council (SMC I&II) of 1975-1979; the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) of 1979 and the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) of 1981-1992 do not concern themselves about their legitimacy. They therefore can decide to abolish independent political institutions in disregard of social reality. Their focus was to clamp down on the press and reduce it to mere echoes of sycophancy and docility. The undemocratic posture of the military dictators point to one basic weakness that is, they govern in total disregard of cherished democratic norms and rights (Ibid). Though Ninsin may be right in his argument, evidence abounds to the effect that the military on seizing power tried to forge alliances with the press in order to retain some credibility and carry out the administration of the country (1991).

Ghana's independence (Order in Council, 1957) and first Republican (1960) Constitution made no explicit provision for press freedom. According to Karikari

⁷ According to Manu, Mussolini once stated: Fascism has never attempted to clothe its complicated and powerful mental attitude with a definite programme, but has succeeded by following its ever-changing individual intuition... We fascists have always expressed our complete indifference towards all theories; we have had the courage to discard all traditional, political theories. It is sufficient to have a single viewpoint, the nation (in Ninsin and Drah, 1991: 16-17).

(1998), what was considered closer to any reference to press freedom could be gleaned from Article 13 (i) of the 1960 Constitution. This stated that:

subject to such restrictions as may be necessary for preserving public order, morality or health, no person should be deprived of freedom of religion or speech, of the rights to move and assembly without hindrance or the right to courts of law (1998: 164-5).

Bennion (1962) enriched the discourse when with a legal interpretation of this constitutional provision to include the freedom of 'speech' through the media of mass communication (cited Karikari, 1998). This constitutional ambiguity, Karikari explained was clarified in the subsequent 1969 document. Article 22 of the constitution explicitly spelt out the plural nature of the press and its place in a democracy. This was again improved in the 1979 constitution. In the 1979 constitution, Article 28 makes it illegal for the government to enact laws which will require licensing for the publishing of newspapers as provided for in Article 93 of the same constitution (1998: 165).

With the military straddling the political landscape for the greater period of Ghana's independence era, Karikari noted that the multi-party democratic governments of the Progress Party (1969-1972) and the People's National Party (1979-1981) were more liberal and tolerant of free speech and press freedom than the Convention People's Party and the military governments which ruled by decrees (Ibid).

Karikari argued that the most repressive legal instruments against press freedom had been the various newspaper licensing laws and decrees enacted in the period of the one-party and unconstitutional regimes. He states:

the first one, the 1963 newspaper licensing law legalising state monopoly under the Nkrumah government was repealed by the multi-party parliament in 1970. It was resurrected in 1973, repealed again in 1979, and was restored by the PNDC in 1985 (1998: 165).

There appears to be some confusion in Karikari's account. If his assertions of tolerance and liberty of the press, being pronounced under constitutional governments are correct, then the Nkrumah administration of 1963 was qualified to be included. By 1963, Nkrumah and his government had not resorted to the one-party. The CPP was still ruling the country under the 1960 constitution.

Karikari posited that in times of authoritarianism, the press are the first object of attack. It is his contention that journalists were not only intimidated but also repressed and co-opted into the machinery of sycophancy, adulation and subservience (1998: 169). This notwithstanding, it was not every journalist or the press, especially the privately-owned, which became submissive to the whims and caprices of military despotism. He explained that if journalists and the press were seen to be playing to the gallery, their timidity was only a reflection of the behavioural patterns of the larger society smarting under the barrel of the gun. He argues that:

just as the whole of society relapses into a 'culture of silence' in reaction to widespread state repression, so does the press often recoil into a shell of caution, self-censorship and acquiescence (1998: 169).

The origins of the Ghana military, Awoonor (1997) observed were the creation of colonialism and as part of the imperial agenda, and "their orientation hardly changed after independence" (Awoonor, 1997: 6). Their existence is anchored on the presumption of protecting democratic institutions. The adoption of the one-party state by Nkrumah and those of authoritarian rule under the colonial administration share common characteristics. However, as he has further argued, because they were designed to protect the capitalist ideology of the British, they found the Nkrumah regime totally alien to their orientation. The Western world hailed the 1966 coup d'etat (Ibid). But as Ninsin (1991) pointed out, the overthrow of the Nkrumah administration could have been the exploitation of genuine social discontent by the citizenry against creeping tyranny (1991: 24). The execution of the coup and the overthrow of the Nkrumah government could be said to have set the stage for subsequent military adventurism into Ghana politics.

Thus there was hope that there would be relief from the abolition of freedom of association and of the press by the military's incursion into Ghana politics on 24 February 1966. Subsequent governments, however, were to assume same oppressive posture when they also muzzled the press.

The National Liberation Council (NLC), as the military government was known, initially restored press freedom. The libertarian ideal espoused by the NLC was to fulfil the so-called new air of freedom the junta had brought to Ghanaians. The new junta freed detainees, amongst them political activists who had been thrown into jail

under the Prevention Detention Act of 1958 by the Nkrumah-led CPP (Barton, 1979). The *Ashanti Pioneer* had reappeared on the news media scene. According to Barton, Colonel Akwesi Afrifa, one of the leading architects of the 1966 coup who later became head of state, sent a goodwill message to the *Pioneer* on its reappearance. He wrote:

those of us who carried out the coup did so in the firm belief it would create the needed atmosphere for freedom of expression, the bedrock of democratic institutions. We fought so that our newspapers should be free to begin the process of democratisation. Liberty is here with us. But I had a feeling of disappointment and sometimes dismay when I see the quality of journalism that still lingers. I am aware that the press is owned by government. But that is no excuse for mediocrity and sycophantic adulation (Barton, 1979: 46).

This open support for freedom of expression was soon to be tested. As part of the divestiture of state holdings programme, the NLC proceeded to off-load the state-owned pharmaceutical company set-up by Nkrumah through Hungarian assistance. An agreement was hastily reached between the junta and an American company, Abbott Laboratories, to take over the company. The *Legon Observer* attacked the terms of the agreement. The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times*, the two main state newspapers, ran editorials that were very critical of the government's action.

The first sign of danger to the press was to come from a terse statement by Afrifa (now a Brigadier). He declared: "journalists would not be victimised for speaking their minds as long as they work within the law" (Barton, 1979: 47). This contrasted very sharply with what Afrifa had said earlier when he attacked journalists who worked during the Nkrumah era of sycophancy and mediocrity. A surprise move that reflected the growing gulf between mere declarations of intent and actual deeds, the editors of the state-owned newspapers were dismissed as a result of the controversy generated by the Abbott affair. As Barton puts it:

the entire press world of Ghana was rocked on its heels. The military's civilian Commissioner of Information, Kwabena Osei Bonsu, resigned in protest, saying the firing of the four men ... jeopardises the freedom of the press to which the NLC had irrevocably committed itself (1979: 47).

Another journalist who seized the opportunity to put the NLC under the searchlight was Chris Asher, owner of the *Palaver*. According to Barton, Asher had earlier published a newspaper called the *Western Tribune*. It had a short life because his maiden issue carried two stories - 'Workers Laid Off in Western Region' and 'The

Tragedy of Tribalism'. The NLC considered this offensive, resentful and insulting to journalistic decency. Asher was placed in Protective Custody for sometime. Upon his release, he set up the *Herald* in 1969. As Barton further explains, the military was preparing to hand back power to a civilian government and the head of state, the same Afrifa now a Lieutenant-General, called on the electorate to support Kofi Busia's Progress Party in the elections. During yet another period of hope for the future prospects of a freer press, pent-up feelings were expressed in no uncertain terms in a *Herald* editorial. As Barton recalls:

Chris Asher felt it was no service to the country for the final act of the military to give the seal of approval to any one party, and the *Herald* came out with a stinging editorial saying that it was unfortunate that the Head of State, could descend to the level of jungle politics and become the champion of 'political khakistocracy' which, said the *Herald* would be the worst form of government (1979: 49).

Clearly, the apparent danger ahead due to the partiality of the military government with vested interests in the return to constitutional multiparty governance had been sounded by Asher.

3.5 Busia, Democracy and the Press

Throughout his long drawn out ideological struggle with Nkrumah, he had consistently espoused the tenets of liberal democracy and its attendant rule of law and human rights. His democratic philosophy and its conceptual framework are contained in his book "Africa in Search of Democracy" (Busia, 1965). Busia believed that respect for every human being, and the promotion and recognition of racial equality are essential ingredients in democracy. These must go with such other things as freedom of speech, protection from arbitrary arrest, freedom of assembly, of conscience, and of religion. He further emphasised that the role of the rule of law should be made to limit the power of a government in a democratic country in order to safeguard personal freedom (1965: 100).

Busia deepened his concept of democracy and how it should be practised in the new Ghana when he stressed the existence of a judiciary that should be completely independent of the Executive. Democracy, he argued could only flourish where human and moral values of the individual, such as honesty, integrity and restraint exist. In furtherance of his democratic philosophy, Busia noted that a major feature of

democracy is its accommodation and promotion of pluralistic societies as seen in traditional Africa (Ibid).

The right of the press and other media of communication, political parties, an elected parliament and an established opposition party to freely criticise the ruling government without intimidation or harassment are fundamental issues that cannot be forfeited under any democracy. Busia declared that “every citizen has the right within broad limit” to participate in the government (1965: 100).

In as much as Busia rededicated his abundant faith in multi-party politics, he failed to recognise the dangers inherent in the proliferation of parties as they militate against political stability⁸. In his comparison of Marxist-Leninist and Western democracies, Busia remarked that whereas Western democracy makes provision for more effective safeguards against tyranny and also expresses more concern for freedom and initiative of its people, there are no such safeguards in the judiciary of the former Soviet Union (1965: 162-4).

This argument by Busia is diametrically opposed to what McKeen (1955) had earlier challenged. The latter argued,

toleration of dissenting opinions can by no means be said to constitute the essence of democracy but one of its secondary aspects and one which can develop only under special conditions. It is a well known fact that French bourgeois democracy was established during the terror of the Kings and consolidated under the Napoleon regime, neither of which was characterised by the toleration of dissenting opinions. But once it was established, bourgeois democracy tolerated dissenting opinions only so long as it did not threaten capitalist domination (1955: 26).

The failure of the independence experiment under Nkrumah, to his authoritarian approach, was a reminder to the Constituent Assembly that drafted the Second Republican Constitution. Kofi Abrefa Busia, who was opposed to Nkrumah's Socialist (Marxist) thought and practice, and lost consistently in popular general elections to his political rival, was now in his element.

⁸ The classic example of France before General Charles de Gaulle, when over a dozen political parties which adorned the political landscape precipitated political instability until the intervention of de Gaulle through a coup d'etat. It is necessary to point out that all these principles espoused by Busia as intrinsic to democratic order seemed a mere rehash of the very features expressed and widely written about by earlier Western proponents of democracy as represented by Tocqueville, Milton, Mill, Locke, and Paine among others.

Busia won a landslide in the general elections held on 30 August 1969. He defeated K.A. Gbedemah of the National Alliance of Liberals (N.A.L), who had fallen out with Nkrumah during the CPP administration and went into exile. The original CPP was banned from contesting the elections. By this singular act, the very democratic credentials Busia espoused were negated when the citizens were denied the freedom of association and choice through this ban. As an exponent of liberal democracy, Busia's tacit support for this unconstitutional act, designed to hand him victory, smacked of hypocrisy and double-standards. This was an obvious lack of any commitment to what he had preached and eloquently expressed in his various writings on democracy.

However, flashes of Busia's commitment to press freedom became evident when, as newly elected Prime Minister of Ghana's second democratic attempt he stated that his Progress Party government was "irrevocably committed to the establishment of a free press in Ghana" (*Pioneer*, 14 September 1971: 1). As proof of his commitment to liberal democracy and press freedom he repealed the Newspaper Licensing Law introduced under Nkrumah in 1963, which required publishers to obtain a licence before they could publish. This singular act of his faith in liberal democracy inaugurated the advent of independent newspapers. These included *Palaver*, *Tribune*, *Spokesman*, and *The Voice of the People* among others. It was indeed the first time that the press was given the latitude to operate without any inhibition. The question however was whether this situation was sustainable.

The first test of Busia's resolve and commitment to libertarianism was to come from the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, and in particular Cameron Duodu, its editor. He disagreed with the Prime Minister's policy of dialogue with apartheid South Africa. In frank language, Duodu tore Busia's dialogue policy into shreds when he argued that: "the only true revolution will come from inside South Africa, and will be the result of the African population not to tolerate any further the inhumanities and injustices." Duodu was dismissed (Asante, 1996: 53).

Furthermore, the true independence promised to the press began to fade very quickly. In the same year Kofi Badu, editor of the *Spokesman*, was charged with libel. Badu

was said to have communicated a false statement likely to injure the reputation of the Busia government (Ibid).

The British parliamentary system which has been the alternative pole on which Busia hung his political ambition and democratic pretensions, especially the fundamental ingredient of rule of law, was in serious danger when he held political power. Busia's theoretical postulations on human rights, toleration of dissenting opinions and respect for the judiciary as an independent arm of government were to remain mere articles and declarations of intent. As noted by Oquaye:

the Busia government dismissed 568 civil servants and wrongfully rejected the Supreme Court's decision that the government's powers in this connection were limited to offices established by the N.L.C. There was also a genuine concern that in some cases some opponents of the Progress Party were aimed at and eliminated and that the occasion was also used to settle personal and tribal scores (1980: 186).

These flagrant abuses of fundamental human rights, cloaked in constitutional democratic pretensions by Busia, was to be tested by the those affected by his intolerance of people holding contrary political views and being members of parties other than his own Progress Party. Awoonor (1990) explains that one of those affected, Kwaku Sallah, took his dismissal to the Supreme Court. The Court's judgement described the dismissal as illegal and unconstitutional. Busia who was part of the team which drafted the Second Republican Constitution of 1969, which made explicit provisions for an independent judiciary vested with the powers of protecting civil liberties, became furious. The judgement he said,

was politically motivated. And if the judges wanted to play politics, he was ready to take them on. Above all 'No Court' could compel him as to who to employ in his Civil Service or to reinstate any dismissed public servant (1990: 169).

Ocquaye (1980) also criticised this unconstitutional move of Busia. He argued that the 'No Court', 'No Court' chants impacted negatively on his government. Again, the Busia government did itself a disservice by this act when it was apparent that the government was manned by people who had criticised Nkrumah's harsh treatment of members of the judiciary resulting in the dismissal of Sir Arku Korsah (then the Chief Justice), Justice Van Lare and Justice Akuffo Addo after the Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Crabbe treason trial (1980: 186).

3.6 Acheampong and the Press

On 13 January 1972 Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong staged the second successful coup d'état in Ghana's history. The second democratic experiment was therefore overthrown. The constitutional government of Busia was replaced by a military junta, the National Redemption Council (NRC), subsequently replaced by the Supreme Military Council one and two.

The failure, or overthrow, of the 1969 constitutional order can be traced to several factors. The military's tasting of the 'goodies' and perks which go with holding political power could be said to be one of the reasons for these interventions. Awoonor (1997) offers a more cogent argument - the refusal of the political class to address the basic issues considered quintessential to any search for true democracy. Some of the fundamental requirements often overlooked, in his opinion, were the problems of under-development, nationalism and the over-zealousness of national leaders in adopting colonial or Western models lock, stock and barrel (1997: 5). Crucially, it reconnects with Ninsin's (1991) argument of factions exploiting social discontent for pursuing a narrowed political agenda.

Though the 1969 constitutional administration allowed and tolerated opposition, Awoonor (1997) insists that there were inherent denials of participation to some adult citizens in the decision-making process. The prohibition of former office holding members in the Nkrumah government from participating in the democratic process of 1969, and the subsequent ban imposed on the CPP provided the platform for people to question the adherents of true democracy who claimed to hold aloft its banner. This obvious defect and the quick return of the military into politics in 1972, Awoonor suggests, provides the opportunity for a serious evaluation of the constitutional arrangement which was made in 1969. In his view national elections to elect national leaders and parliamentarians merely provided:

a hall of mirrors in which the evolving faces and antics were the reflections of a national malaise and social incoherence, a pantomime at which the voters were merely the frustrated and dissatisfied audience (1997: 5).

The press was not left out of the change. The new 'redeemers' moved quickly to replace the editors of the state-owned press houses. The press, as a target for both democrats and dictators, emphasised its important role in the chess-game of politics.

Those editors replaced were J.W.K. Dumoga (*Daily Graphic*), A. Kutin-Mensah (*Ghanaian Times*) and Anthony Ghansah (*Weekly Spectator*) (Asante, 1996: 60).

The new military junta took draconian measures to ensure that the press toed the line. Acheampong's rear-guard move to whip the press into line resulted in the promulgation of the Defamation of Newspapers Decree of 1972 (Ibid: 60).

The liberal political regime that enabled the independent press to operate under the Second Republic had collapsed under its own weight of myopia, democratic pretensions and obvious contradictions. Alternative sources of news and information had been muzzled and absolutely stamped out. According to Clement Asante:

in July 1972 the government enacted the National Redemption Council Control of Publications Decree which banned the publication of the *Pioneer*, a national daily and the *Echo*, an Accra weekly. The decree made it an offence for anyone to publish, distribute, sell or offer for sale newspapers (1996: 60).

Acheampong, in 1978, with the support of the state-owned press, decided to ride on the rough road of a kind of constitutional arrangement considered to be a novelty. Following calls from the Ghana Bar Association and other professional bodies for him to hand over power to a constitutionally elected administration, he conceived the idea of a Union Government. It was to be a non-party amalgam of civilians, police and military forming a government. In Acheampong's words "party politics in this country brought division, nepotism and all other evils, we do not want the party system at all" (Asante, 1996: 231).

With dark clouds hanging over his so-called Union Government arrangement following demonstrations and strikes by civil servants and professionals including doctors and other groups, Acheampong was ousted in a palace coup. His Chief of Defence Staff, General F.W.K. Akuffo, became the head of state under what was known as SMC II (Asante, 1996).

The SMC II did not spare the press either. It made changes in the editorship of the state-owned media, replacing those who showed blind loyalty to Acheampong. Having read the political temperature of the nation correctly, the SMC II proceeded to draw up a timetable for the return of the country to a multiparty civilian rule. A

Constituent Assembly was nominated to draft a new constitution. However, before the elections could be held, there was another revolt within the military that saw the SMC II also dismissed.

3.7 The AFRC Interregnum and the Press

The genesis of this next coup had its antecedent in an abortive mutiny on 15 May 1979. Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, who was standing trial as the chief architect of this mutiny, was sprung out of prison to lead the 4 June 1979 insurrection. Awoonor (1984) described it as a class action by the other ranks against the military oligarchy, which had become mired in the miasmatic murk of corruption. The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) was born. It has to be noted that at this stage in Ghana's political evolution, the military has become a regular feature on the political scene. Importantly, the history of armies in the creation and consolidation of Western European nation states, Awoonor (1997) argued, confirmed how armies were also part of the political building process that gave birth to democratic movements across Europe⁹ (1997: 7).

The regime headed by Rawlings, Awoonor (1984) recalled, lasted for three months and handed over power to President Hilla Limann, the presidential candidate of the People's National Party (PNP), which won the free and fair 1979 elections organised by the AFRC (1984: 6). However, Asante (1996) has argued that the period of the AFRC was too short for it to make any meaningful impact on the press. Even though it tried to make some changes at the *Graphic*, it failed, as Elizabeth Ohene, who was pencilled in to become its editor, declined the appointment. Ohene's stand against the execution of three former heads of state and the top brass of the SMC was recognised as courageous in the face of 'Let the Blood Flow' chants raised by the students in the universities. Her resistance to such demands was an article published in the *Daily Graphic* headed: 'Death Not the Answer' (1996: 73). This was one singular show of bravery in the face of gun-toting, dangerous soldiers whose anger was bursting at the seams. It exposed the cowardly men and women of the profession of journalism who

⁹ The June 4 1979 action by the underprivileged class in the military was described as: the emergence of the foot-soldier, that much abused sub specie to the European class ridden oligarchies, as a human being with the right to fair and just treatment was a small step towards the attainment of the democratic idealism already given expression to by the rising working class all over 19th Century Europe (1997: 7).

played to the gallery. It was time to show that they must be left alone to practice what they knew best, rather than be at the behest of any group of insurgents or constitutional despots.

Ohene had previously called for the scrapping of the Ministry of Information during the period of General Akuffo. This, she believed, would ensure press freedom and public accountability. Ironically, twenty-three years on, with the change of one constitutional government to another through multi-party elections in the year 2000, Ohene was to become the Minister for Media Relations in the J.A. Kufuor government of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in 2001. This time around she did not see anything wrong with this Ministry and became its Minister until she was reshuffled.

3.8 How the Press fared under PNP and PNDC

The press under the Limann-led People's National Party (PNP) could be said to be liberal. However, there were some skirmishes over the appointment of editors for state-owned press houses. While the Press Commission, established under the Third Republican Constitution, was largely seen to be the body to perform such a function, the PNP government claimed to have that constitutional right and went ahead to do so. It brought it on a collision course with some editors and senior journalists on the *Daily Graphic* (Asante, 1996). The government was taken to court and it lost. This was one of the preludes to another coup d'état led by Jerry Rawlings on 31 December 1981, when the government of the PNP was overthrown. In its place came the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

As the direct consequence of this coup, most of the independent press that begun flourishing under the civilian administration evaporated into thin air. This latest military regime was also not in the mood to tolerate criticism. The *Ghanaian Voice*, *The Echo* and *The Catholic Standard* were banned at different periods. Though the PNDC muzzled press freedom, it nevertheless allowed some independent newspapers to operate. It is debatable as to whether they performed critical roles as watchdogs for society. The *Free Press* newspaper, according to Asante, went under because of the authoritarian laws of the regime that did not give it the leverage to present the

alternative news (Asante, 1996: 108). It is necessary to explain the operation of the press under the PNDC under three broad categories: (i) The authoritarian political environment (ii) The wide discretionary or interventionist powers of the office of the Secretary (Minister) of Information, and (iii) The Newspaper Licensing Law 1989 (PNDC Law 211) which provided legal backing to and systematised the arbitrariness inherent in the PNDC regime (Karikari, 1998).

The PNDC's clampdown on press freedom reached its zenith when it promulgated the Newspaper Licensing Law (PNDC Law 211), which came into effect on 6 March 1989. By this law journalists, and other operators in the publishing industry, were required to obtain authorisation from government before they could publish. The period of the PNDC saw the detention of some journalists who were critical of its administration.

The ascent of the PNDC to power through force compelled some privately-owned newspapers to voluntarily cease publication. This, in the words of Karikari was done in anticipation of the regime's hostility towards the press. The *Echo* and the *Palaver* he recalled were either forced to close down or had their printing houses invaded by revolutionary militants for publishing stories considered too critical of their military heroes (Karikari, 1998). The *Free Press* newspaper for example had a taste of military repression during the period of the PNDC. Journalists on the newspaper including the publisher, the late Tommy Thompson, were regularly arrested and detained without trial. The repression reached its zenith when the PNDC government arrested and imprisoned the editor of the paper John Kugblenu. Fear gripped the entire press world of Ghana. Those who could not stay longer in the kitchen because of the heat being generated by the PNDC's intolerant posture had to run into self-imposed exile (1998).

Indeed the PNDC's means of controlling the press had been further boosted by the powers given to the Secretary (Minister) for Information. His functions included censoring and policing the press as to ensure that materials considered critical of the regime did not get into print. With the PNDC Law 211, which required a publisher to obtain licence from the Information Secretary before publication of a newspaper, the government minister was invested with the powers to revoke such licences when he or she found it necessary. The result of this repression, according to Karikari was the

growth of a private press which was dominated by tabloids that specialised in reporting quasi-pornographic stories, mysticism, superstition, sports and lottery as the only publishable issues (1998: 171).

This development cannot help a government which is interested in gauging the mood of the people and information dissemination for critical national action. The repressive laws violate the fundamental rights of the people and the media to hold views contrary and report same from the top to the bottom and vice versa.

3.8.1 The Transition and Tolerance

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the pressure on the PNDC from the international donor community to return the country to constitutional multi-party democracy became intense. Through the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), the ground was prepared for the country to embark on yet another experiment with multi-party democracy. In furtherance of the new wind of democratisation blowing across Africa, the PNDC repealed the newspaper licensing law in 1991 (Karikari, 1998). The repeal was to prepare the way for the approval of the Fourth Republican Constitution in a Referendum on 28 April 1992 (Source: The 1992 Constitution: i). With the doors now opened, the press, who like the caged bird upon release, was ready to fly. It celebrated its freedom by launching a spate of scurrilous abuses on the PNDC establishment and exhibited a show of bravado to test the tolerance level of the PNDC which was in its last year. As Karikari explained:

nothing was now 'sacred' and the PNDC had its back to the wall. Never in the history of Ghana, since the twilight of colonial rule, was a ruling regime so pilloried by the press. Their tone and style were so polemical, aggressive and controversial that sometimes they raised professional and ethical questions (1998: 176).

According to Ruby Ofori, a freelance journalist who reported for major international networks and whom this researcher worked with on the *Financial Guardian* in 1993 in Ghana, "though primitive in layout and journalistically poor, their arrival (of the private press) marked the end of over a decade of media silence" (cited Asante 1996: 112).

After the referendum, presidential elections were also held on 3 November 1992. The National Democratic Congress (NDC), a political party created by the military government of the PNDC won and went ahead to form the government after the

opposition parties boycotted the parliamentary elections organised in December 1992. The press was, therefore, left to play the role of opposition to the government. With a whole chapter in the Constitution devoted to the freedom and independence of the media, the press took its rightful place as the Fourth Estate. The private press, it must be noted, has been operating freely since then. The point of departure between the NDC and the independent press had been the controversial law of libel and sedition which the government kept in order to keep what it claimed to be 'irresponsible journalism' in check. For example, as part of the legal clamp-down the National Media Commission established under the Constitution to regulate the work of the news media in 1996 documented not less than fifty law suits brought against the independent press (Gadzekpo, 1996).

The editor-in-chief of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, Kofi Coomson, together with Tommy Thompson, publisher of the *Free Press* and his editor Eben Quarcoo, were arraigned before court under section 185 (1) of the 1960 Criminal Code of Ghana. The trial of the three journalist-publishers was predicated on a story that alleged that the government of Ghana was involved in drug-trafficking. It was originally carried by the *African Observer* a U.S. based Ghanaian newspaper edited by Steve Mallory. Both the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Free Press* newspapers culled the story from the *African Observer*, which in part imputed that the arrest of Frank Benneh, a Ghanaian diplomatic staff member in Geneva, Switzerland, for drug offences was a state-sponsored trafficking operation. It further alleged that proceeds from such illicit trafficking had been used to purchase arms for the 64 Infantry Regiment of the Ghana Army.

Nevertheless, the NDC era provided the impetus for an unprecedented move towards the less fettered practice of journalism. The victory of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by Kufuor provided them with a new hope for a more liberal press. This hope was deepened with the repeal of the criminal libel law by the new NPP government in 2001. Already, there are complaints from the ruling party circles lamenting the hasty withdrawal of the criminal libel law.

Crucially, the system of political repression imposed on Ghana by the PNDC was a violation of the fundamental human rights of the citizenry as enshrined in Article 19 of the United Nations Charter. This intense and prolonged political repression of the 1980s gave rise to the state of affairs aptly described by the PNDC Chairman and head of State as the 'culture of silence' (Gyimah-Boadi 1993: 9). In another candid assessment of the Ghanaian press after the repeal of the newspaper licensing law and during the transition to multi-party democracy and thereafter, Asante notes that most of the newspapers published after the restrictions were lifted were very critical of the PNDC (1996).

3.9 Conclusion

The press history and democracy debate argued in this chapter reflect the experiences of the newspaper press during Ghana's political journey to date. The major upheavals of democratic political development and news media practice before, during and after independence have been explored. A clear articulation of the role of the private press in lubricating the nationalist struggle for independence has arguably been given. Revealed has been the crowding out of dissenting voices, the blunting of diversity, pluralism and the space for citizens to demand political accountability. In this chapter, I have argued, that the resort to the one-party system was an aberration, but not borne out of political megalomania by those who indulged in it.

The return to constitutional rule after years of oscillating between civilian and military dictatorship has been an opportunity for the press to play its role in contributing meaningfully to the democratic order. It is increasingly becoming a cliché that Ghana's democratic process has reasonably held on well; and with its accompanying rise of democratic crystallization, issues of 'good governance' are now taking centre stage. The optimism is a reflection of the tortuous road the country has travelled. It experienced the one-party, military dictatorship and constitutionalism. The emerging liberal order is therefore seen as the 'third wave'. Nevertheless, there is the realization that without a firm grip the new kids on the democratic block can easily slip back into the authoritarian old ways. This is particularly the case when democracy is conceived narrowly as a mere grant of franchise for participation in the electoral enterprise of leadership and recruitment among competing individuals and groups.

The tendency to be parochial in the conception of democracy is attributable to the closure that was associated with authoritarian exclusivity, which the infertile soil metaphor of Africa's democratic debacle was all about (Richard Joseph, 1997). In many ways, the issues that bothered political activists and the news media in the past, for instance the granting of liberal and libertarian guarantees, are now superfluously irrelevant. It is no longer an issue to demand political liberalisation. As some of the matters that motivated passions in the illiberal past are now taken for granted, it should be expected that the media warriors recognize the need for a truce. But this realization has not really made an impact in Ghana. Democracy thrives in an atmosphere of tolerance and accommodation and not in a situation of mutual distrust.

In a democracy political power is not granted unconditionally and the exercise of power is premised on a sense of responsibility between the constituents and their leaders. The constituents' assessment of their leaders forms the basis for the renewal or annulment of their tenure. But the effectiveness of the constituents' role as assessors is very much dependent on the level of development of the political culture. As part of that culture, freedom of expression and its conduit – the news media – is a priority¹⁰.

In the next chapter, I shall discuss the ethos of the newspaper media in Ghana. A careful critique and arguments for privileging the newspaper press over others news media, and for settling on the two newspapers crucial to the thesis project - the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* is to be offered.

¹⁰ A patrimonial order is most likely to generate delegative democracy where the superintendent role of the constituents are abdicated once election is held (Guillermo O'Donnell, 1986). The media and the civic societies in emerging democracies are, therefore, expected to engage state-managers in ways that will enhance 'good governance'. Good governance is the parsimonious concept for political responsibility, accountability and administrative transparency that occurs within the environment of rule of law and for forging a sense of free and fair elections to be supported by effective newspaper engagement in election and political coverage and reportage.

CHAPTER FOUR

News Media Ethos and Privileging Newspapers

4.0 Introduction

The chapter engages with news media ethos and reasons for privileging newspapers over other news media. It is important to look at the ethos of newspaper journalists, but also bear in mind that journalists also function in other areas of news media, playing vital roles in the democratisation process. In adopting this approach, it is arguable that a clearer picture of contextualising the contribution of the newspaper press to democracy in Ghana can be properly situated. This approach will, arguably, reveal much about the bifurcation in the news media, that is, 'for' and 'against' government. A more focused critique of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* is to be articulated. The two newspapers each have some unique features, characteristics and a sense of elegance in respect of content and presentation about them, when discussing the contemporary Ghanaian newspaper press. The two are classic examples of the binary legacy of state media and private media ownership although the news media in Ghana today appears in great measure to follow the Western free market doctrine while exhibiting flashes of subtle authoritarianism under the imperatives of development and social responsibility. However, a detailed account of the role of radio and television has also been undertaken and is attached as appendix 'A'.

4.1 Overview of the News Media

A careful critique of the media in Ghana reveals a growing spectre of the state/public service owned and privately owned dichotomy. This binary feature has been the main criterion on which the media industry in Ghana operates. On the other hand, there are media outlets which are purely political party mouthpieces, the state-owned, which is generally perceived to toe the line of government alongside the lines of the party which operates as the government. There is also the privately-owned partisan media, whose sympathies are either for or against the ruling party and government, or the opposition parties. In a sense, within the binary divide is a sub-structure, resembling something like a 'trinity'. It demarcates the state-owned media from the privately-owned media which is again sub-divided by the partisan level of political party media and privately-owned media. The marked difference is seen in purely political party

media and those sympathetic to partisan causes. However, this arrangement did not take anything away from the binary depiction, as they almost always reflect 'for and 'against' coverage and reportage without any identifiable media in the middle.

The post-1992 news media has a solid backbone upon which to flourish, whereas others have failed under the previous dictatorial regimes and intolerant constitutional governments. The Fourth Republican constitution of Ghana (1992) provides safeguards for the media to operate as the true 'Fourth Estate'. In order to avoid past mistakes, the constitutional provisions explicitly mandated the establishment of a regulatory body, the National Media Commission (NMC), independent of government to promote the growth and unhindered performance of the news media. Chapter 12 of the constitution is devoted to the 'Freedom and Independence of the Media' (Source: Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992: 112). For example, important provisions contained in Article 162 are:

- (1) Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed.
- (2) Subject to this constitution and any other law not inconsistent with this constitution, there shall be no censorship in Ghana.
- (3) There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media and in particular there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a licence as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information.
- (4) Editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by Government, nor shall they be penalised or harassed for their editorial opinions, views or the content of their publications.
- (5) All agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles and objectives of this constitution and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of Government to the people of Ghana (Ibid).

In furtherance of this constitutional guarantee stated above, Article 167 mandates the NMC to appoint a board of directors to take responsibility for deciding who manages the state-owned media. This provision is deemed to have finally closed the door on governments' arbitrary and capricious abuse of the appointment and dismissal of editors in the state media. Other provisions, as contained in the 1992 Constitution, spell out the functions of the NMC as follows:-

- (a) to promote and ensure freedom and independence of the media for mass communication or information;
- (b) to take all appropriate measures to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the highest journalistic standards in the mass media, including the investigation, mediation, and settlement of complaints made against or by the press or other mass media;
- (c) to insulate the state-owned media from governmental control (Ibid,1992: 114).

Article 172 further affirms the powers of the NMC when it states:

Except as otherwise provided by this Constitution or by any other law not inconsistent with this Constitution, the National Media Commission shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions (Ibid: 115).

Although the NMC is given clear guidelines as to its independence, the framers of the constitution also ensured that its regulatory powers were not to be used capriciously, hence Article 173 which provides that:

Subject to article 167 of this Constitution, the National Media Commission shall not exercise any control or direction over the professional functions of a person engaged in the production of newspapers or other means of communication (Ibid).

These constitutional provisions were inserted into the 1992 constitution taking cognisance of the various defects which characterised the previous experiments aimed at promoting media practice in Ghana. The failure of the 1969 and 1979 constitutions to stand the test of time might have provided some food for thought in tightening the legal loopholes, which was necessary for the media to enjoy its rightful place as the 'Fourth Estate'¹¹.

There is every indication that the NMC is playing its mandated role, even though there have been suspicions of the membership of the Commission being drawn into the very bifurcated media practice of pro-government or anti-government bias when carrying out their deliberations in deciding how to handle infractions in some of the media. There is suspicion because of the composition of the NMC, with certain

¹¹ It is also essential to mention the influence of the United Nations Charter, with special attention to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The letter and spirit behind this article also informed the framers of the Ghana constitution. For emphasis, and to establish the linkages needed to look at the UN Article 19 in the context of freedom of expression and to hold opinion devoid of repression and muzzling, it states: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (cited Ansah 1991: 2).

groups represented on the Commission perceived to be working to protect the interest of government. However, it is important to stress that the success of the 1992 democratic experiment to 'break the ice' in recording phenomenal progress by way of multiparty stability is traceable to Ghanaians' resolve to reject any form of authoritarianism.

4.1.1 Code of Ethics

The NMC is somewhat limited in its functions. This is to prevent it from interfering in the professional functions of journalists and other media practitioners. In this regard, the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), which is the umbrella organisation of journalists in Ghana, has been complementing the role of the NMC. The thrust of the GJA's functions is to promote higher journalistic standards, best practices and ethical conduct in the work of its members. In an interview Bright Blewu, the General Secretary of the Association, revealed that there are over 2000 practising journalists in the country but out of this number only 700 are registered members of the GJA (Blewu, personal interview, 2006). According to him it is not easy enforcing the code of ethics due to the large number of journalists who are practising but are not members of the GJA. For him, the association is doing its best, in conjunction with other bodies, to instil a greater sense of professionalism in the practice of journalism in the country. The GJA designed the code of ethics for journalists following an outcry by the public over the quality of reportage and the use of inflammatory language in the news media after the country returned to constitutional rule. Some of the salient provisions in the GJA's Code of Ethics are:

Article 1(i) The duty of every journalist is to write and report the truth bearing in mind his/her duty to serve the public;

(ii) The public have the right to unbiased, accurate, balanced and comprehensive information, as well as to express themselves freely through the media;

(iii) A journalist should make adequate enquiries and cross-check his/her facts

Article 5 (i) Journalists should respect the right of the individual to privacy and human dignity;

(ii) Enquiries and intrusions into a person's private life can only be justified when done in the public interest;

(iii) A journalist should guard against defamation, libel, slander and obscenity

Article 8 (i) Under no circumstance should news or a publication be suppressed unless breaches national security or is in the public interest to do so

Article 17 (i) Newspaper headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles they accompany; and

(ii) Photographs and telecasts should give an accurate picture of an event and not highlight an incident out of context (1994: 2-6).

While the impact of the code of ethics on journalistic practice is difficult to fully assess, there is every indication that the GJA's Ethics Committee has been able to enforce it to a certain degree. Its effectiveness, according to Bright Blewu, has been to summon journalists, or write to them to point out various violations of the code. On the other hand, since the GJA itself has admitted that a sizeable number of journalists are not members of the Association, it is obviously very difficult to enforce the code over all and thus exert the desired maximum effect on professional practice.

4.1.2 Professionalism and Training

The Ghanaian media have made great strides in the area of professionalism since the democratic evolution of 1992. From a sycophantic and opportunistic state-owned news media's blind loyalty and support for government and privately-owned one-sided coverage of the opposition parties, the news media of today is beginning to shed some of this lethargy. Even the most adversarial and anti-government news media are now seen to sometimes present balanced coverage of issues and also offer opinions and views on policy issues and decisions.

The newspaper media is also displaying a sense of balance in talking to all the protagonists to an issue before going into print. This phenomenon has raised the level of professionalism. This has been enhanced by the continuous training embarked on by the Ghana Journalists Association and the National Media Commission in collaboration with the British Council/Thomson Foundation U.K., Friedrich Ebert Foundation and Ghana's School of Communication Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon.

Another important progress in the area of professional training has been the upgrading of Ghana's pioneer journalism institute, the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) from a diploma to degree awarding institution. This is aimed at deeper knowledge

acquisition and enhancing the quality of journalists who enter the field. The other journalism training institutions are the African University of Communication and Journalism (AUJC) and the University of Ghana's School of Communication Studies, which are among those who assist in the professional training and retraining of journalists on the job. The School of Communication Studies (SCS) is the only school which awards Graduate Diplomas, Certificates and Masters Degrees.

Although much has been done in raising professionalism in the news media, the greatest obstacle is the absence of a law establishing clear guidelines as to who might be considered to be a journalist and who is not¹². It would be the surest way to weed out 'quacks' parading as journalists who are deemed most often to be ignorant of the nuances of journalism practice, including the ethical issues arising from the profession. While this fits the ascription of bad journalism, when in the past anybody could pick-up pen and pad and claim to be a journalist, a lot has changed. Journalism is now seen more as a vocation with clear guidelines, supported by a degree of intellectual assumptions coupled with a complex practical approach, which calls for a well trained and educated practitioner.

Though ethical violations in the news media, through feeding on speculation and rumour has been minimised, the level of ethical breaches is still a concern to all stakeholders in the industry. The practitioners in the private media newspapers have demonstrated an ethical improvement¹³. It is arguable that Ghana's newspaper media landscape has improved in the context of its function in the 'market place of ideas'. However, to place the operation of the newspaper press under the Fourth Republic in a fuller context we need to trace briefly some radical transformations that have taken place to shape its development.

Revolution in the newspaper media industry began with the return to constitutional rule in 1993. At the time, state/public ownership held sway, as dissent or alternative voices were not allowed in their publications. The National Democratic Congress

¹² Legal licensing of journalists is the surest way out of the problem. It is important to point out that this has been mooted in the United Kingdom a couple of times in the past two-three decades, but has been forcefully by the National Union of Journalists.

¹³ Radio and television have taken pains to improve the quality of their staff and presentation culminating in their attracting large audiences.

(NDC), the political party that metamorphosed from the military government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, formed the first government of the Fourth Republic after winning the elections in 1992. It was initially non-receptive to the private newspaper press. While the sense of professionalism could be said to have improved, there was debate and reviews, as to whether the practice of journalism is a profession or a trade. The difficulty in determining who is a journalist in Ghana has not helped the situation. The claims that journalists are regarded as wordsmiths, who through the manipulation of their writings and use of language can make things happen or change the opinions of people remains a debatable issue. However, the strict observance of ethical codes, educational and professional training among other factors have been argued to have provided a sound basis for their classification as professionals. Within these parameters and contexts the activities of journalists could be described as professional.

4.1.3 Legal Framework of the News Media

The legal framework that was in place in Ghana until 2001 reveals the mindset of the political establishment at the time. Emerging from military dictatorship, which had a high-handed attitude towards news media practice, the successor government of the NDC continued to view the newspaper media as potential trouble makers who must be caged. The 1992 constitution did not spell out the legal consequence of media infractions with regard to defamation. To date, the Criminal Code 1960 remains the legal statute on which to prosecute journalists for various offences in relation to defamation. However, the legal environment has seen an improvement with the repeal of the criminal libel law from the statutes (NMC 2001, cited AMDI, 2007: 7). The hostility towards the media and the hauling of journalists before the law courts at the slightest infraction of the law have abated. It is on record that at the time the previous government (the National Democratic Congress) was leaving power on 6 January 2001, the government and its functionaries had a record of over 100 criminal libel cases against some media houses (NMC, 2001: 2-5).

With the repeal of the Criminal Libel and Seditious Libel Laws by Ghana's Parliament in 2001, the media now operate without let or hindrance of the laws (NMC, 2001). However, subtle use of civil libel by functionaries of the New Patriotic Party (NPP)

and those associated with the sitting President has raised eyebrows. In most of the civil suits brought against the media, about 95 percent were against the media opposed to the ruling party. The damages imposed on these media are deemed excessive. While these papers continue to indulge in sensationalism spiced with unsubstantiated rumours, the conduct of government officials in exploiting the courts for huge damages has rekindled the debate as to the independence of the judiciary. It has been established in a few instances that the huge sums were intended to be more than punitive. The aim was to drive these papers out of business. We must not shy away from condemning reckless and bad journalism resulting in such huge damages. However, if on the other hand the news media perceived to be opposed to the ruling party are handed huge legal damages for libelling government officials, and if opposition politicians libelled by pro-ruling party and government news media with sometimes more damaging and libellous publications, receive small damages, then there is every cause for suspicion. As noted by the National Media Commission (NMC):

in spite of the NMC's efforts at promoting standards, the print media field is still weak, with journalists often sensationalising issues and making unsubstantiated allegations. Many print journalists have been taken to court to face civil libel suits, with large damages imposed on their papers. This has lead some to worry that the former danger of journalist imprisonment under the Criminal Libel Law has been replaced by the danger of a newspaper's financial collapse due to a large civil libel award (NMC, 2004 cited AMDI, 2007: 23).

4.2 Political Economy of the Newspaper Press

Statistics sourced from a study conducted by the African Media Development Initiative (AMDI), a British Department for International Development (DFID) collaborative project, reveals substantial increase in the growth of newspapers in Ghana in the five years up to 2007. Drawing on figures accessed from Ghana's National Media Commission (NMC), there are now 106 newspapers made up of 11 dailies, 67 weeklies, 23 bi-weeklies and five tri-weeklies (AMDI 2007: 21). Out of the 11 dailies, two are state-owned and the rest privately owned newspapers. The *Daily Graphic* remains the largest in terms of circulation. The paper's circulation is now 150,000 copies, and the newspaper is the oldest daily in the country and its distribution network covers all the 138 district capitals (Ibid). The *Ghanaian Chronicle* has been the leading private circulating newspaper for the period chosen for the study. In a personal interview with the publisher, Kofi Coomson in Accra, Ghana

on 10 October 2006, he gave the newspaper's circulation at the time as hovering around 50,000-60,000 copies.

The influence of the two newspapers is not in doubt, as independent research carried out by the Research and Marketing Service Limited (RMS) in 1997 has affirmed this position. The survey report indicates that 91 per cent of the three strata of society sampled (that is, the upper, middle and lower classes) chose the *Daily Graphic* as the most widely read while the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, (which began as a weekly, then a bi-weekly, and a tri-weekly before becoming a daily) was adjudged to be the most read of all the private newspapers (Source: Research and Marketing Service, 1998). However, judging by the research interviews with people connected with journalism in Ghana in September-October 2006, the circulation of the two newspapers remain very strong in the market.

The emergence of more newspapers and dailies in particular, contrasts sharply with the 1990s when the two major daily newspapers in Ghana were state-owned. They are The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times*. The dominance of the two state-owned daily newspapers was challenged by The *Ghanaian Chronicle*, a private newspaper when it was established a year to the 1992 multiparty elections. Through its critical news reporting and investigative journalism the *Chronicle* has managed its way into the hearts and minds of most Ghanaians. Other private newspapers have also broken into the market and are still expanding. Being funded by the state, the *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* have the best state of the art technology for printing and distribution of their products. This is not the case for the private media. Most of them operate from very small offices and do not own their printing presses, electing to rely on commercial printers. They also battle with high production costs as the price of newsprint and ink continue to fluctuate, because they are indexed against the major foreign currencies such as the United States dollar, the British Pound, the Euro and the Japanese Yen. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Daily Guide*, and the *Heritage* however, have been able to install their own printing machines,

A few other state and privately-owned newspaper publications in Ghana are listed in the table 1 below.

State-owned newspapers	Privately-owned newspapers	
<i>Dally Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>	<i>Ghana Palaver</i>
<i>Ghanaian Times</i>	<i>Public Agenda</i>	<i>Daily Guide</i>
<i>The Mirror</i>	<i>The Statesman</i>	<i>Ghanaian Lens</i>
<i>Evening News</i>	<i>New National Democrat</i>	<i>The Independent</i>
<i>Graphic Showbiz</i>	<i>Free Press</i>	<i>The Daily Dispatch</i>
<i>Weekly Spectator</i>	<i>Crusading Guide</i>	<i>The Enquirer</i>
<i>Junior Graphic</i>	<i>Gye Nyame Concord</i>	<i>The Heritage</i>

Of interest is the thesis that the economic fortunes of the newspaper industry are inextricably tied to the country's general economic performance. A more vibrant economy is a sine qua non for a robust media in a freer constitutional multiparty environment. According to the AMDI report:

The gradual liberalisation of the press sector from the 1990s onwards has made the setting up of newspapers easier, leading to a mushrooming of new titles. However, the large circulation papers are dominating advertising revenue, making it difficult for the smaller operations. For instance, over the past five years, the state-owned nationally dominant *Daily Graphic* has seen its advertising revenue base drastically improve (2007: 22).

What this tells us is that most of the private newspapers are expanding as they compete for advertising revenue with the largest newspapers such as the *Daily Graphic*. The unrestrained dominance of the state-owned newspaper is a cause for concern, especially when it is major beneficiary of government adverts. The huge

advertising clientele of the *Graphic* could lead to advertising drought in most of the private newspapers with low circulation and readership capacity.

The case of the *Daily Graphic* attracting most of the advertising is based on merit as the largest newspaper in circulation, with the largest readership and reach. Its potency in connecting with the whole country makes it difficult for any politician or government or the corporate sector to ignore. However, the concentration of advertising in the national daily is not the best option to promote the growth of the newspaper industry. The national cake must be shared among the competing interest groups. In the case of governments in the developing world, particularly Ghana, the partisan consideration is so strong that ruling parties tend to behave as if the national resources are their private income over which they have the prerogative of disbursement the way they deem fit. It is easy to find newspapers sympathetic to the ruling party in power, but with very little influence, inundated with adverts from government agencies and departments and the private corporate sector anxious to please those in power. The reverse is the case when the ruling party and government are voted out of power.

Worth noting also is the fact that most of the private press claims to be independent in order to support political parties. This position of the Ghanaian private news media has been articulated as not being a bad practice as there are cases of precedence. McNair provides the classic example of the press in the United Kingdom when he reveals that:

Newspapers in Britain and most capitalist societies are relatively open about which political parties they support though some seek to maintain the appearance of neutrality (2003:13).

The difference between the above example of the United Kingdom and Ghana is that in the latter, there is a middle way, something missing in the Ghanaian newspaper media. There is therefore the tendency to publish and disseminate purely partisan political propaganda material. While the AMDI study identified improvements in the areas of diversified content, with specialised pages on “a wide range of topics, such as education, economics, banking, finance and aviation”, it however, documented the view that the newspapers continue to concentrate on politics (2007: 22).

The over-concentration on politics by the newspaper press as evidenced by the AMDI study is traceable to the ownership and control structures in place in the industry. Given that most of the private newspapers disseminate partisan propaganda material for the consumption of the readers, AMDI has been very critical in stating that “many papers seem to have been set up primarily to act as mouthpieces for the owners’ political views” (Ibid). As there are papers supporting political parties then arguably this is indicative of the growing diversity of voices and pluralism, as the findings from the analyses of interviews have shown. However, the degree of growing coalescence in the private newspaper press with a more than proportionate number of them supporting a particular cause has the tendency to reduce the quality of debate in the political public sphere and is likely to lead to a stalling democracy.

We cannot fault the newspaper press for this bifurcation. It is the result of Ghana’s historical antecedents emerging from the ideological debate of the right and the left. This historical origin of the news media in the case of Ghana was evident in the ideological battle between Nkrumah’s left-of-centre CPP and the right-of-centre represented by the Danquah-Busia tradition. Though the NDC as a political party has not made open claims to the Nkrumahist legacy, its ideological base is identified with the social pragmatism of the left-of-centre political parties. It is also identifiable in media theories and concepts which have influenced political thought as argued in the literature review above. Ideological differences are mirrored by the theoretical ownership structures reminiscent of the authoritarian, libertarian and social responsibility models.

A critical question is: who owns the media and for what purpose? Croteau and Hoynes, provide a clue by relying on liberal Western doctrines of the free-market media being in the hands of proprietors, who are mostly media barons or moguls, and who are inclined and tend to manipulate it in a certain direction. They contend that owners of the media,

influence the content and form of media products by their decisions to hire and fire certain personnel, to fund certain projects, and to give a media platform to certain speakers (1997: 36).

In the view of these writers, the ownership of the media could be a weapon to be used by a few to determine and control the thoughts of the people. In a developing

economy such as Ghana, the government and not the private entrepreneur is seen as possessing monopolistic powers with the wherewithal to run large media empires. With the growing capital market and private capital mobilisation however, Ghanaian private newspaper owners could not be said to be different from such other entrepreneurs in other regions of the world. In the case of the state, it benignly exerts pressures on practitioners to try to control and direct them, a development which is akin to authoritarianism.

This notwithstanding, the Ghanaian private newspapers, which for all intents and purposes, are a reflection of Mill's notion of a free market place of ideas and choice are not doing badly. With moderate financial turnovers, the owners of these newspapers, who are either politicians or their cronies in business with identical political orientation, attain a modest level of satisfaction. For this group of owners, the fact that the newspapers afford them or their target group the platform to influence the democratic process is an achievement. The private newspaper press has become a useable platform for seeking political power and not only business avenues for making money. This development is, however, not healthy for the long term benefit of the industry. It is arguable that despite their contribution to pluralism and diversity, their inability to attract big capital investment or corporate giants into the industry does not help promote the future growth of the newspaper industry if democracy in a more liberal environment is to lead to the empowering of the people socially, culturally, politically and economically.

4.3 The *Daily Graphic* and *Ghanaian Chronicle*: Background Account

4.3.1 The *Daily Graphic*: A Flagship?

Mytton (1983) explains that the newspaper was a non-partisan entity neither identifying with colonial rule nor supporting the nationalist agitation for independence (Ibid). It is arguable that there can be only one motivation for the non-partisanship policy of the newspaper, that was, the desire to rise above the fray in an early days environment inflamed with nationalist passion for self-rule, in order to gain respectability and the overriding objective to make profit.

Cecil King, in his memoirs titled 'Strictly Personal', which has been extensively critiqued by Frank Barton, explained the motive behind the establishment of the *Daily Graphic* and other newspapers such as the *Daily Times* (1947) in Nigeria and *Daily Mail* (1952) in Sierra Leone (Barton, 1979:31). Barton writes of King and the Mirror Group's choice of West Africa:

Cecil King says in his '*Strictly Personal*' that the idea for the *Mirror*'s African adventure began with a visit shortly after the war from somebody in the British Colonial Office. He suggested it might not be a bad thing for the *Mirror* to have a look at West Africa with a view to doing business there. This seems improbable (1979: 31).

According to Barton's account, King had expressed some reluctance of the Mirror Group to invest in the West Africa region. This followed mainly from the heightened tension and simmering fires of nationalism in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria fanned by such firebrands as Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe (Ibid). The nationalist feeling, Barton added was:

leaving the British officials breathless, the idea that an organisation which produced a razzmatazz tabloid like the *Daily Mirror* (which had given the British Government so much trouble during the war that it was almost banned) should enter West Africa seems totally out of character with what Whitehall would have wanted. King says the official from Whitehall saw the chairman of the Mirror Group, Guy Bartholomew (1979: 31-2).

While Barton did not doubt King's version of the entry into the West Africa newspaper industry, he nevertheless sought to validate or disprove aspects of King's account. It can be argued that any account, coming from a newspaperman whose adversarial relationship with the political authority over the prosecution of World War II was not in doubt, needs validation. Why the Gold Coast of all places? Barton made references to David Williams who provides a contrasting account of the emergence of the *Mirror Group* in places such as Gold Coast. According to him, Williams claimed that the *Mirror* had earned a windfall from the war and as a business entity it was exploring virgin but lucrative fields to invest the huge profit in some productive venture. In his words:

none of these conditions seemed likely prospects for post-war Britain, so the *Mirror* looked to the Empire on which there was no reason at the time to think the sun would ever set (1979: 32).

The setting up of the *Daily Graphic* was a huge success. This was attributed to the quality of content and the paper's appealing layout. Barton argued that it endeared

itself to the readers because it stayed clear of vulgarism and political abuse and published stories which the ordinary people identified with. The success, he adds, also stems from the ability of the *Daily Graphic* to forecast the outcome of sporting events such as soccer and horse racing` with such precision (Ibid: 36).

Barton's account seems very patronising and lopsided. A more compelling argument for the high patronage of the *Daily Graphic* compared to other newspapers such as the nationalist *Evening News* could be traced to the financial capacity and technical competency that accompanied the newspaper. The *Daily Graphic*, apart from the enormous resources it could marshal, also had the superior professional and technical know-how, resulting in quality of content and above all, as the compelling product for the British residents, the middle class and the local elite who wielded the purchasing power to influence the price mechanism in the market place. This could be said to have been its target market. The *Daily Graphic* lost its private and independent status when the *Mirror Group* decided to pull out of Ghana in 1963. It was initially placed under a Trust in 1963 because the laws of the country did not permit the floating of shares of a limited liability company such as the *Daily Graphic* and for the shares to be sold to Ghanaians (Barton, 1979: 37).

The Government of Ghana eventually took full control of the paper in 1965 and as Barton explained, "the stage was thus set for the beginning of government control of the press of Ghana" and of course the most potent weapon in the private press arsenal, the *Daily Graphic*. The fears expressed by Barton were well grounded based on the fact that Nkrumah had at the time declared Ghana a one-party-state and went ahead to justify it (Nkrumah, 1973: 388). The authoritarian and development theory arguments discussed in the literature review are closely relevant in these contexts, and became somehow arguably affirmed by the complete take-over of a perceived liberal-minded organ for information provision and communication.

Although the *Daily Graphic*, as to be expected, toed the line by sycophantically heaping praises on the political rulers, as symptomatic of most state organs, there is available literature of its exploits pointing to the contrary on notable occasions. This courage to sometimes go against the grain is located in its historical origins and history, particularly being a Western world creation with emphasis on freedom of the

press, even if relatively constrained. As chronicled in chapter three above, the newspaper stood up to be counted when it opposed the questionable deal between the military-junta government of the National Liberation Council (NLC) and Abbot Laboratories, an American Company. The *Graphic* ran an editorial very critical of the government's action. The Editor John Dumoga and his assistant Oscar Tsedze were summarily dismissed (Barton, 1979: 47). Paradoxically, the newspaper was rabidly pro-government and at other instances anti-government. When it was critical of Government, it was labelled a 'saboteur' and its editors accused of being in the pay of local and international opponents of the ruling government.

A similar situation occurred in 1985 during the rule of the military government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). The government had clamped down on the private press for being critical of the regime. Most newspapers were banned (cf: Chapter Three). The PNDC Law 211 (which required publishers and editors of newspapers to obtain licences before publishing in the country, and which were granted only after advance copies had been vetted by the Secretary of Information) was then in full force. Nevertheless, at the launch of the press week in 1985 Kofi Totobi Quakyi, then Deputy Secretary for Information, described the press as "docile and domesticated" (cited Ankomah, 1986: 33). However, the then head of State, Jerry John Rawlings whose administration instituted the PNDC Law 211, was himself admonishing the press for not being fearless in pointing out wrongs in the society and to be the true conscience of the nation, demanding that a "culture of silence ... must not be permitted to return ... otherwise freedom of justice will elude us" (Maja-Pearce, 1990: 69).

This was a reflection of the confusion the newspaper press, particularly the state-owned *Daily Graphic* found itself. The 1992 constitutional provision insulated the state-owned press from governmental interference. In such circumstances critical questions remained unanswered as to whether the newspaper was living up to its constitutional responsibilities of being independent of the state and government.

4.3.2 The *Ghanaian Chronicle*: An investigative 'sniffing dog'?

Democratic accountability, good governance and socio-economic development arguably depend upon a free and independent media which will serve as a veritable

watchdog of the society. While this view reverberated across the length and breadth of Africa during the 'second liberation' of the 1990s, in Ghana a new dawn had arrived. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* was established by Kofi Coomson and Nana Antwi Darkwa and is published by the company General Portfolio Limited, initially owned by Nana Kofi Coomson and Nana Antwi Darkwa. The ownership structure has since changed and is now wholly owned by Kofi Coomson.

A private newspaper with the penchant for sniffing out wrong-doing in political life, corruption and abuse of office, began to surface on the Ghanaian journalism scene. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* was born on 31 August 1991 and like a precocious giant, it has now leap-frog into the forefront of investigative journalism and general advocacy journalism (Dzisah, 2003).

It was from this humble beginning that the *Ghanaian Chronicle* became a thorn in the flesh of politicians, who have had the knack for cutting corners to achieve undeserved prominence and wealth, while the ordinary people continue to suffer on the 'dunghills' of society. The history of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, unlike the *Daily Graphic* has not been properly documented. To fill this void, the research for this dissertation included an interview with Kofi Coomson, the Publisher, and until 2001, the Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper. This sub-section explores the newspaper's origins, and reveals how it has blossomed to become one of the giants in the Ghanaian newspaper industry.

As noted by Devra Moehler, the majority of people are now very positive about the independent media's central role in building a meaningful democracy and democratic culture (2006: 3). On the other hand, there are the pessimists who argue that the newspaper media, instead of being watchdogs of democratic accountability, have rather become an instrument for spreading falsehood, and for fanning the flames of sectarian and political tensions (Ibid). With the promised watchdog role policy being shown by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, the question which continues to linger is whether it has been able to sustain and deepen its own brand of crusading journalism? The initial findings emerging from the analyses of interviews gives cause for both hope and despair.

One major propelling force of the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* steady growth was the funds made available to it by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). This fund was meant to support private initiatives aimed at promoting education and providing information. This was made possible by the support of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government through providing access to this fund before the Fourth Republic came into existence.

Coomson had practiced journalism in Nigeria and later gained more insights and experience in England. On his return to Ghana, he realised that there was a news vacuum as most of the newspapers were not probing enough. There was no serious investigative journalism. Coomson claims he felt duty bound to establish a newspaper which could be more inquisitorial, dig into the background of public figures, and ensure the accountability of politicians to the people. "I guess in those days of military rule, the political environment did not invite that sort of inquiry, but I guess someone had to engage in that. I am glad it has caught on and most newspapers have caught on to it" (Dzisah, 2003: 81).

Coomson clearly articulated the motivation for the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* engagement with investigative journalism. The main thrust of the newspaper's mission was to fight corruption and sleaze, defend human rights and above all serve the democratic system by generating debate. The newspaper gained a solid foothold in the Ghanaian news media environment solely because of the brand of journalism it practiced. Empirical proof of how the *Ghanaian Chronicle* became a quick hit in the market was confirmed by the 2003 report of Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), a media research think-tank. It corroborates the stature of the newspaper as a leading exponent in the coverage of investigative stories in Ghana. For example MFWA conducted a study into the coverage of investigative stories for the period 30 December 2000 to 29 December 2001. The study sampled five newspapers. These were the *Daily Graphic*, *Ghanaian Times*, *Evening News* (all state-owned), the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Crusading Guide* (both privately-owned). The relevant MFWA findings were that:

for the *Graphic*, the 144 issues analysed for the two years carried in total 8,733 stories. Out of these, only 7 stories (i.e. 0.08%) in 7 issues were coded as investigative stories The *Chronicle* generated a total of 2,009 stories. 61 of these stories, representing 3.04% were coded as investigative stories In relative terms, however, it is clear that the private newspapers fared far better

with frequency of investigative reports, than did the state-owned press. Indeed the *Chronicle* alone recorded 27.08% or 13 investigative stories more than all the other four papers put together (MFWA, 2003: 4).

This reference to the privately-owned newspapers' influence and contribution to democracy and good governance, and above all their roles in helping build the political public sphere, are a valuable phenomenon worthy of analysis. A striking feature of the findings produced by the MFWA is the issue of the relevance of the state/private dichotomy as it relates to partisan politics and democratic media coverage in Ghana. MFWA further revealed that:

A comparison of the two contiguous years selected for the study, 2000 and 2001 (representing the respective media environments under the NDC and NPP political regimes) shows that the print media under this study carried quantitatively more investigative stories in 2000 under the NDC than in 2001 under the NPP. The aggregates show that, of the 109 stories coded, more than half (52.29%) appeared in 2000 compared to 47.71% in 2001. For the independent print media (*Chronicle* and *Crusading Guide*) the aggregates show a decline in investigative stories. While investigative stories in the *Chronicle* reduced from 38 stories in 2000 to 23 stories in 2001, investigative stories in the *Crusading Guide* decreased from 11 stories in 2000 to 6 stories in 2001 (Ibid: 5)

4.4 Privileging Newspapers over other media

The choice of newspapers, particularly the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, for this study over radio, television and to some extent the internet, was made for very convincing and compelling reasons. In the overview of the Ghanaian broadcasting news media (See Appendix A), it is clear that radio is the most effective, influential and patronised news outlet in Ghana. The choice of the two newspapers is because they have some uniqueness about them. They have played a more than significant role in Ghana's evolving democracy from 1992-2000 and since¹⁴.

What cannot be denied is the void filled by the newspaper press in the run-up to the 1992 general elections, the first to be held after the 1979 Constitution was tossed aside by the military intervention of December 1981. The task which faced the country in the establishment of the new multiparty democratic order was ably aided by the press. This was after the opposition parties boycotted the parliamentary elections accusing

¹⁴ The strong showing of radio, especially private FM stations, in influencing the democratic process came to be felt after 1996, four clear years after the Fourth Republican Constitution was established.

the ruling government's party of rigging the presidential polls. Ghana had to make do with an almost one-party parliament.

In the absence of private radio and television between 1992-1995/6 of the period 1992-2000 being studied, the newspaper press stood eminent and unchallenged. Most of the private press assumed the role of the opposition outside parliament, and duly kept the ruling government on its toes. Had it not been for the private press providing an outlet for alternative views, Ghana's democratic discourse would have been a monologue.

A further reason for privileging newspapers for this thesis was that the World Association of Newspapers (WAN), in its audited report of world press trends for 2006, indicates that newspaper circulation and readership is on the increase in developing countries. The statistical data for the developing world is not all that gloomy, according to the survey carried out by WAN. According to Timothy Balding, the Chief Executive Officer of WAN:

Newspapers in developing markets continue to increase circulation by leaps and bounds, and in mature markets are showing remarkable resilience against the onslaught of digital media. Even in many developed nations the industry is maintaining or even increasing sales. At the same time, newspapers are exploiting to the full all the new opportunities provided by the digital distribution channels to increase their audiences (WAN Annual World Press Trends Survey, 2006) [www.wan-press.org/article. Accessed 25 July 2007]

Balding contends that in contrast to what critics say about the newspaper industry being in decline, there is every indication of the strong showing of newspapers in terms of growth in circulation and advertising. He derides those composing the death hymns of newspapers, arguing that the steady increase in circulation in emerging economies and stability in developed countries confirms its place as a strong competitor and product of choice. He concludes that:

far from being an industry in decline, as the ill-informed and short-sighted continue to contend, newspapers are alive and well and exhibiting enormous innovation and energy to maintain their place as the news media of preference for hundreds of millions of people daily (Timothy Balding, 2006).

What this tells us is that the newspaper industry remains a major source of revenue and employment for millions of people across the world. The strong position of newspapers in the ever growing news media competitive field is further buoyed by the

faith advertisers have in their capacity to generate and influence their clients¹⁵. The overall trend of paid-for newspaper titles revealed by the WAN survey showed a steady rise in newspaper circulation. It reveals:

the number of paid-for newspaper titles increased everywhere but South America, where it was stable. The number of newspaper titles was up 7% in Asia, 1.3% in Europe, 0.67% in North America, 1.2% in Africa and 1.14% in Australia and Oceania (Balding, 2006).

With specific reference to Africa, while the WAN trends survey provides a case for greater optimism and growth, it singles out for special mention South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya where sales have risen exponentially and modestly. The performance of the newspaper industry in these countries reveals a robust sale in South Africa by 8.2% in 2006 and 43.18% over five years; and in Nigeria and Kenya by 7.89% and 1.90% in five years (Ibid). It is clear that newspapers are still a vital cog in the wheel of information provision, education and for social edification.

The trajectory of the arguments advanced above are valid enough to reassure the pessimists that the newspaper press is still very much alive and playing influential roles in contributing to democratic discourse and helping build and shape public opinion. In Ghana, the relevance and strong showing of the newspaper press in the democratic process has seen a phenomenal increase in the number of newspapers on the market. The steady rise in publications in the last 10 years is indicative of a surge in readership. Blay-Amihere, in 1996 stated that “there are six state-owned newspapers and forty privately-owned ones” (1996: 70). This, compared with 106 newspapers in 2006, comprising 11 dailies, is a significant increment, and proof of capacity of the newspaper market in Ghana to expand. This increase is only possible through the significant growth in readership (NMC, 2006 Cited AMDI, 2007: 21).

The state-owned newspaper in Ghana has played a major role in information dissemination and education. Even if the main thrust has been and continues to be development journalism, it has not failed the people in the quest for general

¹⁵ Importantly, while regional growth in newspaper circulation and revenues from advertising is uneven, the overall picture indicates an upward curve. Records show an increase in daily paid newspapers in Europe in 2006 by 0.74%. However, there was an overall 4.12% decrease over five years. This could be a vital issue to be picked on by critics as indicating the death knell in the coffin of the newspaper media. Though the critics may have a point, there is every indication that if one adds the total number of free dailies circulated and read by the public, the industry posts a phenomenal increase of 10.19% year-on-year over five years (Balding, 2006).

information. For a developing country such as Ghana the pressing issues of eradicating poverty and disease and assisting in the construction of a meaningful life for the citizenry is an ennobling mission. Nevertheless, it could have been more proactive in holding governments to account on behalf of the people rather than merely echoing their policies without critical scrutiny as to their benefits to the people.

On the whole, the obligations imposed on the *Daily Graphic* by the Constitution, and its own editorial policy of being “liberal, non-partisan, objective and development oriented and in the national interest” are enough guarantees for its operations and functions in the democratic arena. Further, its function, for example in informing the citizens of the activities of the government and development projects being initiated, as well as policy measures being pursued, has helped to reduce and eliminate poverty and red-tape. In reporting back to the political authorities through letters to the editor, for example, it can be stated that without its complementary role, the entire constitutional arrangement put in place since 1992 would have been in difficulty. But the *Daily Graphic*'s contribution to the building of the political public sphere through coverage of elections, ensuring democratic accountability and its ownership and control structures in the overall scheme of things has to be empirically subjected to tests as this thesis project seeks to do.

There are other compelling reasons for privileging the newspaper press other than those cited already. In the context of newspaper reviews on both radio and television, (See Appendix A), it is of value to discuss this impact of newspapers in Ghana. The newspaper review segments of broadcasters have virtually taken over the airtime of the electronic news media between the hours of 6.00am and 10.00am each day. Topical political stories constitute the main source of material selected from newspapers. The reviews help to bridge the gap in the levels of literacy and language differences in some parts of Ghana. While the reviews have increased the audience of the electronic news media outlets, and are therefore likely to reduce the readership of newspapers, it is arguably the newspaper stories magnified and multiplied which feed these news media. Thus, the increasing usage of newspaper stories in the daily programming of radio and television is a reflection of the power of the newspaper to set the agenda for other news media.

Another dimension to the radio newspaper reviews, which makes the newspapers the centre of attraction, is the offering of a platform to those accused by the newspaper stories to respond to the publication. In most cases it is usually give and take as the editor or reporter who is by-lined is invited or telephoned to throw more light on the story. In this case, the newspapers are taking over the airwaves as they popularise the newspapers in what I have termed "Newspaper-tronics". Devra Moehler (2006) corroborates the virtual take over of the airwaves by newspapers when she asserts that:

in the newspaper review programmes, lead articles from multiple newspapers are read verbatim on air. Often the articles are also translated into local languages and/or discussed in-depth. Often, the authors or subjects of the articles contribute to the discussion. The call-in talk shows discuss contentious political, economic and social issues of the day, often with specially invited guests as well as listener phone calls and text messages (2006: 3).

Producers of two popular programmes 'Alhaji and Alhaji' and 'News File' on two of Ghana's influential FM stations, Radio Gold and Joy FM respectively, virtually depend on extracts from newspaper publications from Monday to Friday for their politico-socio-economic discussion programmes which run from 8.00am to mid-day. In the Ghanaian context, the worldwide web also serves to increase the popularity of newspapers as influential power-houses in the media industry. As yet Ghana has no online newspapers; what pertains is the uploading of the contents of the hard copies into electronic form online. Ghanaweb.com, the most popular site visited by most Ghanaians, both at home and in the Diaspora, plays host to these newspapers. According to statistics accessed on the homepage of Ghanaweb.com on 7 April 2007, the site attracts an average 60,000 visits per day while it generates over 15 million page impressions per month.

[Source:[http://www.Ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomepage/about us.php](http://www.Ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomepage/about%20us.php)]

An AMDI finding supporting these claims states:

a more positive recent development in the print sector has been the placement of some of the papers on the internet, such that one can now access the papers simultaneously in hard copy and in electronic form. However, no paper is yet, providing specialised content for its internet readers (2007: 23).

In practical terms, therefore, the actual readership of newspapers in Ghana is rather on the higher side. Their impact and contribution to the democratic process by way of building a democratic and political public sphere is arguably unquestionable, and on this basis their choice for the thesis project is arguably well grounded and justified.

4.7 Conclusion

The foregoing chapter has explored and discussed the ethos of the news media in Ghana. The exploratory background and history of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and their pivotal roles in the building of Ghanaian democracy, together with their functions of being true watchdogs over the political arena have been explored with examples cited to buttress the arguments advanced in the cause of both. Ethical issues, professionalism, training and legal regimes have also been examined, including the ways in which these have been, and are, impacting on the democratic process.

The constitutional provisions which give the news media the leverage to perform as a critical independent institution, has received considerable attention in the discourse. The difficulties they have encountered in marrying constitutional provisions with practice have been clearly articulated. A wide range of issues in respect of the political economy of the media, their informative and educational roles have also been examined. The news media's contributory roles to the building of the political public sphere have been revealed, as well as their partisan roles. Diversity and pluralism and the efforts at being a check on democratic infractions and ensuring greater accountability were underscored. Discussions in radio and television (See Appendix A) have revealed their over-reliance on newspaper stories. This sends strong signals that the newspapers are gradually taking over the airwaves. Having offered a comprehensive explanation about the ethos of the news media and the journalistic practice, and the rationale behind the privileging of newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, it is of value to restate the research questions central to the thesis project. In restating the questions, it helps in contextualising the next chapter which deals with the methodology employed. The research questions are as follows:

- To what extent have newspapers helped establish democratic accountability? Has political news coverage in-between elections undermined or helped deepen the democratic process in Ghana?
- What has been the relationship between newspaper ownership and party-politics in Ghana? Does ownership of newspapers affect political coverage?
- What has been the role of the specific Ghanaian newspapers before, during and after elections? And have individual newspapers influenced the democratic process in the post-1992 constitutional era?
- What does a comparative analysis of the state-owned *Daily Graphic* and privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* tell us about the Ghanaian press during the period under review?
- What is the implication of future press coverage of the electoral process for Ghana's emerging multiparty democracy?

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

5.0 Introduction

This thesis sets out to explore the newspaper media's contribution to democratic evolution in Ghana from 1992-2000. It is a comparative study involving two major newspapers, the state-owned *Daily Graphic* and the privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle*. I have analysed the two newspapers for the period under review and have also conducted in-depth interviews with journalists, political party representatives and some professionals (See interviewee profiles and dates of the interviews attached as appendix 'B') whose civic engagements have direct and indirect bearing on media and democracy. The method also incorporates observations in the course of the interviews from the standpoint of the researcher being both an 'insider' and 'outsider'. I see myself as part of the research apparatus based on my own experiences of the field as it relates to the news media in Ghana. More significantly, the methodology is applied to different control structures of newspapers.

My initial methodological assumptions, as I began exploring the theoretical field for suitable methods, were informed by the rich literature sources used to construct my theoretical framework. It is propelled by the arguments inherent in media and democracy studies and driven by the various theories and models. Therefore, the choice was to deal with both qualitative and quantitative analyses methods of inquiry. The choice of both methods, according to Wimmer and Dominick is essential in understanding any phenomenon (2006: 50).

5.1 Quantitative Method

Quantitative methods are generally perceived as providing statistical data to assist in measuring variables. As explained by Wimmer and Dominick (2006), the frequency of variables in the data generated is of concern to quantitative analysts, because it allows for the use of numbers for communicating the quantum of variables identified among others. The emphasis on quantitative method is of significance as it deals with statistical precision in research outcomes (2006: 50). In deploying quantitative

methods, content analysis was applied. However, under the same content analysis, I engaged with textual analysis as a complementary tool and more a qualitative tool than quantitative. This is done in order to obtain the most desired conclusion as it allows some flexibility in interpretation and analysis and complemented the statistical analyses (Krippendorff, 2004: 10).

5.1.1 Content Analysis

According to Holsti, content analysis is “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (1969: 14). In as much as Holsti views content analysis within the purview of identifying specific attributes of messages, others also believe that it goes beyond just inferences and identification of messages in the communication process. These definitional gaps seem to have been plugged by Krippendorff (2004) when he defines it as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (cited Wimmer and Dominick 2006: 150). In this case, the analyses of content and textual properties of the two newspapers have the ability to be replicated by other researchers using well defined methods to arrive at the same or similar conclusions. What Krippendorff (2004) tends to argue is the ability of content analysts to achieve both the measurement of reliability and validity using well thought out research criteria not necessarily by the adoption of quantitative properties only but also the qualitative dimensions of analysed text. It is important to note, however, that content analysis provides me with some advantages in the study, as the newspaper content analysed produced both statistical description and interpretation of the sampled publications.

5.1.2 Textual Analysis

In adopting textual analysis to explicate written texts in the sampled newspapers' stories, I had in mind its qualitative depth and the ability to unearth information which hitherto could be missing in the quantitative application of content analysis. The purpose primarily is to deepen the two other methods, that is, the thematic and quantitative content analysis. The textual analysis, therefore, is meant to assist with triangulation of the various methods so as to address any gaps and also to attain the objective of the study. The text concept, according to Rosengren is often restricted to

“linguistic means of expression and written language” (1981: 28). In settling on this method, I had in mind the application of analytical semantics and to some degree aspects of socio-linguistics inherent in discourse analysis. As for analytical semantics, Rosengren argues that it is very essential in dealing with analysed texts because the idea of “correct” interpretation of a text does not arise but rather that one could make some “reasonable interpretations of a text” (Ibid: 29). What this means is that the “reasonableness is dependent on certain contextual claims which can be linguistical, logical, semantical or empirical” (Ibid). In this connection, the method adopted systematised the argumentation by subordinating most of them through the application of formulation and reformulation under what Rosengren refers to as the construction of “chains of pro et contra arguments” (1981: 29). Explaining this method of analysis further, he argued that it is very unique based on semantic’s presupposition that “language and thereby the text has an open structure, which always make it possible to create new perspectives and new precisations of the text” (Ibid).

In the context of discourse analysis, Dijk refers to it as “an interdisciplinary discipline” (1988: 2). Fairclough identifies discourse analysis as an approach to the study of language use and communication in their socio-cultural context, in that, its usage assists in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view (1995: 54-56). In applying socio-linguistics to texts the analyst, from the contextual point of view, decided to look at three concepts of genres in terms of their values in analysing types of texts in the media. Halliday’s functional linguistics have also been applied (cited Fairclough, 1995).

Justification and application

Importantly, in using the quantitative analysis method, I applied empirical and statistical methods to the textual material. I developed a unit of measurement to assist with the analysis of texts in their specific context. The content analysis of statistical data generated in the process of coding, is the result of the quantitative content analysis of the two newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. Importantly, the study collapsed some categories in the whole process of coding. These categories are condensed into Politics, Accountability and Election. While the

process of collapsing categories can occur when dealing with any sample size, it is often utilized when one is undertaking a frequency analysis. This may be due to the fact that the expected numbers in cells are small. Collapsing them improves the approximation provided in the construction of analytical approximations (Altman, 1991). It has also been done in order to assist with the generalization of the results.

In broader terms, the three categories derived have been sub-divided into Political News Story on Politics, Accountability and Election; News Story on Politics, Accountability and Election; Feature on Politics, Accountability and Election; Letter to the Editor on Politics, Accountability and Election; and Editorial on Politics, Accountability and Election. Statistical data obtained in the use of such sub-categories as political news story, news story, feature article among others as stated above are indicative of the units of measurement in the larger framework of operationalising the three major categories. The data generated has been transformed into graphs, pie charts and tables to assist with interpretation and description within the time frame of the study- 1992-2000.

In developing the units of measurement, the following were constructed, that is, tone of story/coverage: This is a measure of the partiality or otherwise of the sampled stories, a qualitative content measure applied alongside the quantitative content analysis. In doing this, the units of analysis are judged to be biased, partisan, fair/balanced and non-partisan among others. For example, in applying the measure of partisanship, I classify a story as being partisan when it deals with a political party or members of a political group and manifestly presents a one-sided reportage with the sole aim of offering an advantage to one side in a contest. Street's (2001) shares this view on partisanship in that:

here a cause is explicitly and deliberately promoted. Examples of this are editorial comments which recommend support for one political party or take sides in a policy controversy. This can take the form of explicit recommendations to vote for one party or another, or it can be identified in the blatant endorsement of a cause (2001: 20)

Partisanship, from my understanding in analysing the newspaper texts is not only in editorials but resonates through news stories as well. In the case of bias, as measured using the same criteria, I defined it in terms of a news story, feature article or letter-to-the-editor on politics or elections being reported in a partial way but not necessarily

openly carrying an endorsement, but is rather veiled or disguised. For Street (2001), partiality or bias is seen when:

a story is reported with the deliberate intention of making the case for a particular party or policy or point of view, without explicitly stating this. The apparent purpose of the story is to report the details but disguised within it are thinly veiled attacks (Ibid).

The comparative analytic approach has been applied in the process of interpretation, description and analysis. The *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* are both represented on the same statistical tables and graphs for ease of comparison. However, separate graphs and tables for both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* relating to news story on politics, accountability and election categories have also been included. In order to express some of the statistical data captured in the tables and on the graphs in percentages, pie charts were also used in some cases to clarify and make the quantitative analysis more flexible and easy to understand.

For the textual analysis, a combination of analytical semantics and aspects of socio-linguistic discourse analysis has been applied to news stories, feature articles, letters-to-the-editor and editorials. The analysis categorised the stories under different sub-groups with the aim of identifying not only trends but also the relationships as they correlate with the broader categories of democratic accountability, elections, multiparty democracy, ownership and pluralism among others. The qualitative aspect of the written text probingly assesses and analysed the texts in respect of the headlines, paragraphs, words and phrases. It also determined if the central themes or the subjects were treated fairly or in a biased or partisan way, in the context of what position does the publication take on the issue?

By adopting the two approaches, quantitative content analysis helped transform observation of found categories into statistical data while the qualitative approach deals with intentionality and implications of data in texts. As indicated by Fairclough, the analysis in part made use of genres such as schemata, which he referred to as the 'generic structure' of the article, consisting of 'Headline + Lead + Wrap-up' (1995: 76). The other view of a genre is generic heterogeneity and means that the various stages of 'generic structures' are differentiated on the basis of linguistic features. Finally, discourse analysis method engages with the theories of narrative. According to

Fairclough, substantial proportion of media output consists of narratives (Ibid). Narratives, as pre-genres, broadly utilise how language is associated with a particular category of purposeful social activity.

The study also engages with Halliday's functional linguistics approach. He posits that language constructs reality and is, therefore, socially functional. In Halliday's view, language performs three principal roles or functions. Firstly, a representational function, enabling us to see the world in a particular way; secondly, a interpersonal function, which allows writers or users of language to construct issues from underlying personal or ideological positions; and thirdly, a textual function, involving patterns of vocabulary which can enable people to understand what the text is all about (cited Fairclough 1995: 69).

Essentially, the content and textual analyses methods deal with the characteristics of content and context. For example headlines in newspapers, according to Dijk (1991), are arguably the most important part of a news report. It is the first point of contact between the newspaper and the reader. In this way they serve as a summarising title of the most important information of a news report, which expresses its main topic. This point is explained by van Dijk who observes that:

headlines are often incomplete sentences. Articles or auxiliary verbs may be deleted. This may sometimes lead to vagueness or ambiguity, which may also have a special ideological function (1991: 50).

The analyses of headlines indicate that they have cognitive functions as they are usually read first. This information is used strategically by the reader during the process of understanding, in order to construct the overall meaning or the main topics of the rest of the text before the text is even read. Furthermore, their subjective definition of the situation, as Dijk argued, has assisted in the interpretation and analysis.

Since newspaper ownership is shrouded in ideological imperatives, critical textual and discourse analysis was used to investigate this factor as well. As stated by Altschull (1984), news stories are constructed from an underlying perspective by journalists whose detachment from news reports is impossible. This resonates through the analysis as biases, partisanship and ownership influences, which reveals that owners

and journalists are not a breed apart so as to be fair or objective about things around them.

5.1.3 Limitations

As explained by Wimmer and Dominick (2006: 154), time constraints are one of the major drawbacks of the quantitative content analysis method. They argue that due to its ability to generate large quantities of data, it could be laborious, exacting and sometimes frustrating. Because the method deals with counting, and in most instances statistical tabulations, does not provide a deeper analysis of the issues at stake.

5.2 Newspaper Sampling

A sample of seventy-two newspapers, made up of thirty-six each of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* were selected using the random sampling method of selecting one each from a quarterly pool. In a year each newspaper provides four samples each, a total of eight for the twelve calendar months. In generating eight samples in a year, the total number of years for the study being a nine-year period, that is 1992-2000, the total sample adds up to seventy two for both newspapers. The sample size is considered fair and reasonable within the scope of the study, and more especially when it has been complimented by other methods such as in-depth interviews and qualitative textual analysis. Moreover, as Wimmer and Dominick (2006) argued a higher sample size does not necessarily improve the result of the analysis but that what is relevant is the quality of the data generated.

In sampling the newspapers, I made use of both probability and non-probability sampling technique. I initially deployed the relevant sampling technique which allows for the selection of newspaper issues related to the phenomena under study. After excluding unrelated texts, I then proceeded with the adoption of the systematic sampling method, thereby giving chance to the units in the population/universe the chance of inclusion (Krippendorff, 2004).

For the textual analysis, I adopted the purposive sampling method. However, according to Wimmer and Dominick, purposive sampling is the most essential for this study because, as they argue, “a purposive sample includes subjects or elements

selected for specific characteristics or qualities and eliminates those who fail to meet these criteria” (2006: 88). In doing this, I initially analysed twenty-seven stories. However, since the textual analysis is only meant to complement the other two major methods, I reduced the sample to fourteen stories.

The purposive sample method has allowed me the flexibility and independence to select the newspaper’s editions that best satisfy the research questions. However, it must be noted that it has its shortcomings, for example, the tendency to induce researcher subjectivity and sampling bias.

5.3 Qualitative Approach

The qualitative technique deployed is the use of the semi-structured interview (See Appendix C) and informal observations. As explained by Silverman, qualitative research designs deal with small numbers of sampling data. And they are meant to focus on detail instead of scope (2005: 9). In adopting the in-depth interview technique as a qualitative tool, I had in mind the set of procedures which are rigorous and can do justice to the complexity of the topic under investigation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 46). In this case, a purposive or relevance sampling methodology was used to carefully select the interviewees, who were believed have the professional expertise, the intellectual rigour and technical knowledge to respond to the issues being investigated. This approach is corroborated by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) when they contend that:

qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape the inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not process (2000: 8).

If it is accepted that in the view of Denzin and Lincoln qualitative research is concerned with ‘reality’ as being a social construct, especially in the context of the meanings about the ‘social experience’ of people in a given cultural-social environment, then this directly applies to research and analysis into what journalists report about. In launching an in-depth inquiry into the newspaper media’s role in Ghana’s democratic development, this researcher’s choice of the qualitative approach as a complementary tool is informed by the nature of the investigation and the type of

information being sought. Interviews with editors, political editors, political party representatives and other professionals is therefore a methodological strategy intended to unpack the dynamics of the relational and inter-relational questions at the heart of the thesis. The flexibility of the qualitative approach allows me to dig deep and research the protean areas of interest (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006: 49).

While the approach to elicit responses to questions was wide and varied, I engaged with semi-structured questions which not only served as a guide but also gave the respondents more latitude to express themselves. Despite pre-conceived assumptions and specific questions in mind the qualitative approach's flexibility made room for follow-up questions when the need arose (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006). Although the qualitative approach is meant to complement the quantitative method by way of plugging the gaps likely to emerge from the findings of both methods of analyses, its usage is not without lapses. It has inherent weaknesses or limitations. The difficulty in generalizing the data beyond the sample selected for the inquiry no doubt increases the compulsion for adopting the multi-methodological framework so as to make use of triangulation.

In addition, a qualitative method has the problematic of presenting reliable data, due to the likelihood of the researcher injecting his or her personal views into the inquiry. This is affirmed by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) when they explain that "because a person doing qualitative research must become closely involved with the respondents, it is possible to lose objectivity when collecting data" (2006: 49). This partially holds true in my case as I was compelled to interview colleague journalists in the field on issues which involved news media practices, professionalism and general news content in respect of political and election coverage and other essentially related matters. I was also mindful of the dangers of a sloppy data collection strategy, which could render data collected and collated valueless. In order to avoid these pitfalls, a qualitative interview design was formulated. This enabled me to focus on the core issues outlined in the methodological design while improvising for unplanned consequences in the field of inquiry. This greatly reduced, if not eliminated, likely biases as a consequence of my professional background as a journalist and my knowledge of the Ghanaian news media industry and how it operates. In all, I took on

board the various strategies necessary to maximise data collection and minimise practices which could mar the qualitative data collection methodology.

5.3.1 In-Depth Interviews

Since an interview is a purposive conversation to elicit response, information or answers to an issue I settled on its application in order to gain insights into the interviewees responses. I settled on the employment of intensive interviews or in-depth interviews (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006: 135). The choice of the interview as a method to complement the content analytic strategy is influenced by other underlying factors. For example, as noted by Bell, reactions to questions, either in facial expressions, the verbal responses (that is the tone of voice) and general posture adopted by the interviewee “can provide information that a written response could conceal” (Bell, 1999: 135). Put in context, interviews are considered useful data sources which if properly applied could help unearth unspoken information and provide rich research material for understanding the phenomenon being studied. Bell emphasised this assertion, describing interviewing as a unique technique which assists to “put flesh on the bones of responses” (Ibid). Elaborating further, Holstein and Gubrium (1997) see interviewing as an active engagement between the interviewer and the interviewee subject. Interviewing, they insist, is

a form of interpretive practice involving respondent and interviewer as they articulate ongoing interpretive structures, resources and orientations with what Garfinkel (1967) calls ‘practical reasoning’. Linking artfulness to substantive contingencies implies that while reality is continually ‘under construction’, it is assembled using the interpretive resources at hand (in Silverman, 1997: 121).

Interviews conducted in the field, directed towards the problem of media and democracy in Ghana, produced revealing data on the topic under investigation. It provided very useful insights into the research questions. While seeking answers to pertinent questions of democratic accountability of politicians to the citizenry; the issues of ownership and control structures of state-owned and privately-owned newspapers in Ghana; newspapers’ influence in political and election coverage; and partisanship and ideological concerns in the news media, the relational links were not ignored. Importantly, a marked gulf emerged between what is churned out by the journalists for their respective newspapers, and more importantly for the two

newspapers at the centre of the inquiry, and what they considered to be their motivations in the democratic process.

5.3.2 Advantages

It is important to establish some of the merits of using the interview technique. While theoretical assumptions abound about the advantages to be gained in adopting the technique, it is imperative to relate some of these to my own experiences. The method offered me the ability to elicit substantial in-depth responses. What was clearly resonating was the freedom of my interviewee subjects to openly express their opinions on the news media and democratic practice, the values to be found in the two practices, the major weaknesses and the respondents' own experiences of the evolving phase of media and democracy as it relates specifically to Ghana. This was more evident when I interviewed the Editor of the *Daily Graphic* and the Publisher of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* (who was the Editor-in-Chief during the period being investigated). It must be stated also that the interviewing sessions were largely learning situations. While we engaged in purposeful conversation, this nonetheless compromised the focus of the interviews as primarily a platform to elicit responses to the research questions. I need to emphasise that the exercise afforded the researcher the latitude to also gauge the mood of the respondents. Clear cases of exaggeration and the tendency of journalists to paint a glossy picture of the issues under investigation were not lost on the researcher. This was confirmation that the interviews and responses are not value-free. Hall has pointed out that "journalists operate within a framework of power because they are a part of a political and social system" (1973: 15).

5.3.3 Limitations of the interview method

This researcher was particularly guided by the advice on response effect offered by Borg on how unforeseen factors or human weaknesses could influence responses, and lead to interview bias. He asserts:

eagerness of the respondents to please the interviewer, a vague antagonism that sometimes arises between interviewer and respondent, or the tendency of the interviewer to seek out the answers that support his preconceived notions are but a few of the factors that may contribute to biasing of data obtained from the interview (cited Bell, 1999:139).

Despite the resolve of the researcher to be strictly professional in conducting the interviews, the dangers of bias creeping into the discourse cannot be completely ruled out. As pointed out by Selltiz *et al*:

there is always the danger of bias creeping into interviews, largely because interviewers are human beings and not machines, and their manner may have an effect on the respondents (cited Bell, 1999:139).

While this holds true, I tried to reduce such bias to the minimum by addressing the interviewees with semi-structured questions, even though a lot of off-the-cuff follow-up questions, resembling the snowballing technique, emerged from the responses obtained.

5.4 In the field

Ghana's national capital, Accra, was where all the interviews were conducted by this researcher. The interviewees selected are all based in Accra. In short, most of the country's news media organisations are located in the national capital. They, however, have regional branches which nonetheless report to their head office in Accra. In the hierarchy of the editorial departments, those selected for the interview could only be found in Accra. However, the *Daily Graphic*, by its structure of establishment, has regional editors and a team of reporters and other editorial staff making up a complete editorial team with sub-heads. These regional heads do not have control over the final product which finds its way into the newspaper. Simply put, they are not autonomous. The *Ghanaian Chronicle*, also has regional bureaux but with smaller offices and staff compared to the *Daily Graphic*. Its mode of operation follows the same pattern as the *Daily Graphic*, as the final decision as to which news stories find their way into the paper are taken by the men at the helm of affairs in Accra. Likewise, the top hierarchy of the political parties selected for the interviews are all resident in Accra where the party's head offices are located. I must emphasise that I have been engaged in informal contacts with the interviewees long before the formal interviews, which was necessitated by my urge to record their official responses to the interview questions. The informal contacts have been through electronic mails and telephone calls. Total number of interview hours spent was 915 minutes or 15.25 hours or approximately an average of 76 minutes per interviewee.

5.4.1 Focus of the Interviews

Although the main research questions around which the study revolves and what I had set out to discuss has been explained, it is worthwhile to restate some of the preparations which went into the interviewing. The researcher reviewed the research design and critically assessed the main objects of the interview in order to unearth the following:

- a) To gain first-hand knowledge of the changing face of the newspaper media in particular and their contribution to the democratic evolution in Ghana from 1992-2000;
- b) To make a deliberate effort to subject the dissertation's theoretical framework to 'litmus test' in respect of the questions asked about political and democratic accountability, media ownership, control, political and electoral coverage;
- c) And to explore and seek answers to the differences and similarities presented by a comparative study of the two influential newspapers; points of convergence and divergence in the pursuit of their various functions and operations in a constitutionally multiparty setting.

5.4.2 Adaptation and Observations

Importantly, and notwithstanding the prepared semi-structured questions for the interview as explained in this chapter, the interactions which ensued in the field needs to be put in their proper context. A lot of adaptability took place. The most challenging being the ability of the researcher to vary the sequence of questions and explain their meanings; provide additional ones and change whole phrases or individual words in order to get the best from the interactions. Again, the responses from the interviewees and the researcher's observations confirmed the position taken by Silverman when he states:

for interviews in the interactionist tradition, interview subjects construct not just narratives, but social worlds. For researchers in this tradition, the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences (1993: 91).

The researcher applied this theoretical advice offered by Silverman, and went beyond his proposition by not just gaining insight into the interviewees experiences but also adopting the active approach, in order to allow for manoeuvring of the interviewees. I ensured that besides their experiences there was the need to tap their depth of knowledge of the field, and their critique of the underlying nuances necessary to propel Ghana's news media and democratic institutions to strive towards the

attainment of greater progress and growth. Gubrium's argument supports this assertion of seeking their depth of knowledge by employing a method of active engagement when he notes:

treating the interview as active allows the interviewer to encourage the respondent to shift positions in the interview so as to explore alternative perspectives and stocks of knowledge. Rather than searching for the best or most authentic answer, the aim is to systematically activate applicable ways of knowing the possible answers that the respondents can reveal, as diverse and contradictory as they might be (cited Silverman 1997: 126).

5.5 Conclusion

My methodological assumptions based on theory and practical realities arising from the analysis, interpretation and description have been offered. The adoption of a multi-strand methodology is meant to assist the study and triangulates methods, particularly comparative content analysis, observation and in-depth interviews. Content and textual analyses offered me a high preponderance of attaining the objective of the study as they serve as necessary complementary roles in obtaining reliability and validity. It is important to note the content analysis ability to assist with measurement and analyses of statistical data, while its textual component addressed the contexts within the text for the sake of depth and for establishing a comparative framework which emerged from the analysis, description and interpretation of the relevant statistics and textual content. Findings arising from the themes generated from the interviews, the categories from the quantitative content analysis, and those offered by textual analysis have all justified the use of the various methods to complement each other. The theoretical arguments on methodological application have been very useful in arriving at critical findings whose invaluable contribution to the study has been riveting.

CHAPTER SIX

THEMATIC ANALYSIS (Analysis of Interviews)

6.0 Introduction

During the process of transcribing the interviews, I listened to and noted some recurrent themes. I noticed several key themes emerging during the course of the interviews (See a sample of the interview transcript attached as appendix 'D') and had coded and marked these. In all, six broad themes emerged. They are: democratic accountability, news media and institutions; state of democracy, cultural relativism and development; news media pluralism and multiparty democracy; ownership, ideology and election coverage; comparative overview of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, independence and standard of journalism; professionalism, constraints and ethics. Importantly, the themes which emerged have a kind of symbiotic relationship with the theoretical framework and more purposefully with the research questions. In addition, other analyses and interpretations focused more on the contexts of the content to show the "internal connection of meaning in the text" (Rosengren, 1981: 27).

The freedom to choose leaders and government through free and fair multiparty elections, a pre-requisite articulated by liberal theorists in the theoretical framework has been affirmed in the themes. What emerged strongly has been the kind of liberal process to confer legitimacy. For example, the confirmation of Maier's (1993) argument in the theoretical framework, which views democracy as an organic system for regulating behaviour and an instrument for governance, resonated clearly. The themes also reflect the theoretical arguments of scholars such as Keane (1994), McNair (2003) and McChesney (2000). The use of the news media to engender debate and assist in the formation of opinion, within the democratic, political and social public sphere, reflecting the Habermasian prescription, was resonating through the themes.

6.1 Theme 1: Democratic accountability, news media and institutions

Under this theme I have set out to interpret and analyse the interviewees' responses, considered to be pertinent to the inherent meanings of democratic accountability in

Ghana, and what democratic accountability, news media and some institutions of state entail. In employing semantics and textual analysis methods, the researcher proceeded to operationalize some of the concepts and words underlying the interviewee responses. As Van Dijk explains, the interpretation and production of a text involves the mental processes of interpretation and formulation, the retrieval and use of knowledge, and other strategies of the cognitive dimension (Dijk, 1988: 30). He further avers that “systematic analysis of the textual structures ... begins with an explication of notions like theme or topic” (Ibid). With this varied explanation, the interviewees’ frequent use of their conceptions of democracy, accountability, elections, democratic institutions and news media have been contextualised.

Democracy and accountability mean different things to different people as gleaned from the interviews. This became evident from the way and manner the interviewees address the question of democratic accountability on the part of politicians to the citizenry, based on their experiences, knowledge, and as their narratives attempted the construction of reality. In decoding the various interpretations put on these conceptions, both implicit and explicit understandings of democratic accountability were revealed. Democratic accountability, according to Yaw Boadu Ayebofoh, means political leaders being faithful to the constitutions which brought them to office and regulate their conduct. Any attempt to manipulate it and cling to political power is viewed as lack of accountability. In this case, some leaders have been cited for their exemplary adherence to their constitutions which he considers a mark of democratic accountability. Nelson Mandela, the former South African President and Joachim Chisano, former leader of Mozambique were showered with praises for adhering to their country’s constitutions. They are said to be accountable and responsive to the needs and sensibilities of their people.

On the other hand, Kwesi Pratt cited political corruption as a classic case of lack of accountability. He measured accountability in terms of manifesto promises and democratic institutions expected to enforce it. His contention is that politicians make promises in their manifestos knowing fully well these are unattainable. According to him the ineffectiveness of some of Ghana’s democratic institutions, such as the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) in not ensuring

democratic accountability, is attributable to partisan political patronage. He accused Ghanaian leaders of weakening these institutions. These democratic institutions, he claims, have been denied the required oxygen of financial and other logistical support to investigate corruption in political circles. In the case of Ghana's Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, political patronage has been used to block serious inquiries into the use of public money.

However, to accuse the Public Accounts Committee of inefficiency due to political patronage is questionable. The researcher being part of the research apparatus is fully aware that the very composition of this committee of Parliament is dominated by the minority. It is also chaired by a minority member of Parliament. Nevertheless, the blanket accusation is that members of both sides of the house condone and connive to deny Ghanaians the policing of the public purse by the Executive. In respect of the Ghanaian SFO, which is established by law to investigate serious fraud, Pratt lamented its impotency due to manipulation by both past and current governments. He criticised the structure of the SFO, which makes it subservient to the Office of the Attorney-General, who by virtue of Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution is also a Minister of Justice with cabinet status in the ruling government. Since the Attorney General by the SFO Act is mandated to initiate court proceedings against those indicted by the SFO, political considerations, selective and open bias in the prosecution of cases undermines its work.

Imperatively, the deliberate withholding of vital funds coupled with lack of logistics such as vehicles and modern equipment needed by the SFO and CHRAJ, to detect complex fraudulent activities, are but some of the indirect methods that can deny accountability of the Executive and other institutions of state to the citizenry. In short, the independence of these institutions to ensure democratic and political accountability is virtually absent by virtue of the Executive arm of government ensuring that members of such institutions owe their allegiance to the political authority instead of the constitution and the people of Ghana. Bemoaning lack of accountability or the inability of democratic institutions to enforce the law and deal decisively with such infractions Pratt adds:

We have institutions like the Serious fraud Office (SFO) and because of its structure, the fact that the head of the SFO was appointed by government, the

fact that it works under the Attorney General Department, the fact that it is government that resources it and so on it is also unable to work. We have the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative (CHRAJ) and it is the same story.

Clearly, an institutional framework to fight corruption, investigate wrongdoing and punish those indicted must be insulated from the very actors they are supposed to be controlling (Diamond 1998). Here too, we must build institutions for preventing, detecting and punishing corruption instead of relying on individual morality. And because of its complex and multi-faceted nature, combating systemic corruption requires partnership and collaboration among public agencies, private sector and civil society, including the media (Langseth, Kpundeh and Pope 1999).

Another pattern which emerged was the view that in Ghana, there have been bold attempts in the last ten to twelve years at ensuring democratic accountability. This is linked to the activities of civil society groups and the holding of periodic elections to retain or replace the political leadership of the country. In the opinion of Yaw Boadu Ayeboafoh:

I believe that within the last 10-12 years taking Ghana as an example, there have been some developments in that regard in respect to attempts to get government answerable and accountable to the people. Institutions such as the minority political parties has a role to play in Parliament as well civil society try to hold government accountable to certain policy decisions. I believe the media have been very crucial in ensuring accountability. The media has focused on the actions of individuals in government as well as political office holders and try to hold them to their commissions and omissions.

For Kwesi Jonah, the whole process of democratic accountability has been narrowed to organising and holding elections, declaring victors and proclaiming the countries to be democratic. Although he agreed that the freedom to elect political leaders is a mark of democratic maturity and accountability in some countries, he calls for the strengthening of institutions which empowers the citizens and anti-corruption agencies to effectively check lack of accountability and the menace of corruption. This he sees as being a more demanding feature if democracy is to be meaningful to the citizenry.

Jonah defines accountability at two levels in order to situate his argument in context, that is, horizontal and vertical processes. It is his contention that political leaders must

be answerable to those who put them in office. On the other hand, he views horizontal accountability as the process whereby the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary are accountable to each other. "The Executive has to be held to account by the Legislature". But experiences and knowledge of the inner workings of the three arms of state power in most African countries, the Legislatures are weak and literally under the control of the Executive" Jonah contended. Most African Parliaments are virtually under the armpit of the ruling party which inevitably controls the Executive. "If you talk to any parliamentarian in Ghana, and you asked him, if the Legislature is strong, he would tell you that the Legislature is under the control of the Executive", Jonah further revealed. Alluding to further reasons for the weak democratic accountability in Ghana, he adds:

democracy on the African continent is dependent on money. You should be in an African village to observe what goes on during election campaigns. When campaigns are going on, politicians purchase all kinds of items to bribe voters.

The influence of money and other material considerations are gradually eroding the democratic accountability of politicians to the citizenry because they buy their votes and therefore the latter arguably forfeits the right to demand democratic accountability.

For Bright Blewu, democratic accountability is simply a habit of mind. The existence of such structures as the Executive, the Legislature, Judiciary and the news media are not enough to instil democratic accountability into governance and the body politic in general. A more radical change in attitude, a mental revolution of those working in the democratic institutions is needed to make them more effective. The governments of Nigeria, Ghana, Botswana, Zambia, Benin, Malawi and South Africa, Blewu contends are becoming more accountable. They are becoming more responsive to the democratic structures by respecting their independence and holding peaceful elections, with strict adherence to their tenure as stipulated in their various constitutions. Pessimism exists about the performance of some countries such as Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. Blewu also pointed out the structural and manpower deficiencies of the three arms of state power and the news media as being the cause of democratic meltdown in Africa in general and in Ghana in particular. This he claims as partly responsible for disputed elections. He states:

if you look at the constitutional institutions that are in place; the Executive,

Judiciary, the Legislative and the media, elections are held so to a very large extent these institutions exist so people must expect that there is accountability of politicians. But I think that beyond that it takes more than just institutions because they are manned by human beings so their character and for that matter their habit of mind with regards to democracy is important. Democracy is a habit of mind.

Invariably, the human resource base, that is, the quality of personnel and their training is essential to help develop the democratic institutions to function more efficiently. Basically all these institutions he has mentioned need to be strengthened to ensure effective democracy through elections, but that is not the case in most instances. What is happening in his view is that most countries in Africa are having disputed elections because of lack of effective monitoring and strong institutional capacity building, be it in the Judiciary or the Legislature and other democratic bodies which need to ensure accountability of resources and that of the electoral process.

George Sarpong looked at democratic accountability from the perspective of periodic elections, democratic structures and other institutions to signal its existence. In this instance it is seen as adherence to accountability of power of resources and the citizens' engagement in decision-making. Sarpong acknowledges that gains have been made but strongly feels that accountability in other critical areas is yet to begin in Ghana. According to him, democratic accountability has to do with public participation in the overall process of decision-making at all the levels of governance. He cited balance in political appointments and distribution of key resources to attain equity as being essential in building public confidence for good governance. Sarpong went further to state:

democracy is the key to accountability by which elected leaders account for their stewardship and then seek the mandate of the people again or the people have a choice to change them. So from that broad perspective there is a certain degree of accountability. But beyond that broad line how people exercise power when they have been given the power; even in those elected societies is still a major question that needs to be addressed. There is the accountability of power, there is the accountability of resources, and there is the question of citizens' engagement in decision making. And I think that we could improve on all these areas. My take is that we are making important steps. But there are also those areas of Africa where I strongly think the question of accountability is yet to begin.

In the crucial context of the news media being an effective organ for ensuring democratic accountability, opinions and views were varied. Where clear constitutional

provisions empower the news media, they have been at the vanguard of democratic accountability. There is the thesis that if key news media outlets such as newspapers, radio and television are state-owned, it is highly improbable that they can play an effective role as the 'Fourth Estate' and function as watchdogs for the society. This could be informed by the long history of state control of the news media in Ghana for a long time.

The difficulty in distinguishing between state-owned news media and government ownership was also subjected to scrutiny in the whole debate on democratic accountability. Aggregation of some of the responses showed that because most media practitioners and politicians always feel the news media is state-owned, in the sense that it is to be at the call of government. This undermines the notion of its independence, and affects democratic accountability, since the news media which is supposed to be a veritable watchdog over the rulers become a wing of the Executive. For others, whether state-owned or privately-owned, the news media has been in the forefront of ensuring effective democratic governance and accountability. An assertive and fearless news media playing its part accorded it under any democratic constitution is a sine qua non for the march into full democracy¹⁶. Although Ayeboafoh admits that the news media is not potent enough in holding governments to account, he states:

if the media had not been forthright, it might have been something else. It is not a lost hope yet; it is not a lost case; I mean it is not like the way some of the Western people want to portray Africa. There is hope, but we still have a long way to go and we would wish to have more dynamic, more assertive media.

Clearly the position of the interviewee is that the Ghanaian situation is not all that bad. Ayeboafoh argued that the news media in Ghana cannot be said to be lame in its watchdog role and maintained that it has been very active in trying to shape the course of Ghana's democracy. Ayeboafoh states "there is pluralism, so at the end of the day

¹⁶ According to Ayeboafoh, the effectiveness of the news media in democratic accountability helped halt the third-term project secretly nursed and being rolled out by Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo. The 'third-term' project which Ayeboafoh mentioned was a covert tactic by the Nigerian President to use the legislature and powerful lobby groups in that country to force through a constitutional amendment. The Nigerian constitution has set a two-term limit for an elected president. However, nearing the end of his tenure, Obasanjo began to use covert and overt moves to cling to power by using political proxies to argue for a constitutional amendment. The move was exposed by the media and the legislature kicked against the amendment.

it is not possible for only one voice to be heard in Ghana now". In this context, there is hope that Ghana is being assisted by the media to build a more stable democracy.

The news media, as some of the respondents have argued is relevant in deepening public consciousness. They see it as articulating the issue of accountability by exposing corruption in government and drawing public attention to these infractions. Their concerns are that if governments knew they could lose elections through lack of democratic accountability, then this essential feature of politics could be taken seriously. For them, the news media has been playing its role in providing information and exposing the ills, ingredients they consider vital for political stewardship. The news media, they added, serves as gate-keepers of government actions and inactions and most often go behind the official government press releases to ferret out information unpalatable to government but which enriches the information the citizens need and necessary for ensuring democratic accountability.

It also emerged from the interviews that the power of criticism, exposure of corruption and other unconstitutional practices of governments and public officials are being undermined by the high degree of politicisation in the news media. As Blewu observed because some of the news media houses have aligned themselves to politicians they tend to overlook wrongdoing of these officials. He states:

I think the press, for that matter, journalists must keep some distance; it is part of occupational hazards. You need to keep a distance but not to say politicians are not going to be your friends. Keep a certain distance to be able to see them better and be able to speak your mind. I have a funny feeling that some of our journalists got too close and it has affected our credibility.

Blewu's frank admission of journalists playing the role of pseudo-politicians could be derided but in a multiparty setting such as those allowed for in a liberal democracy, partisanship allows ideology to influence the leaning of the news media. However, from the perspective of the Ghanaian cultural context and understanding of the news media, people see them as neutral objects whose views and opinions must not be tainted by too much partisanship. This view was deepened by Blewu when he revealed his understanding of the public perception of journalists and news media as a whole. "Some people perceive some of our colleagues to be doing a Public Relations job for some of the groups caught up in the cocaine scandal and it can affect the credibility of the media". However, he admitted that there are some independent-

minded journalists, mostly the new generation who have taken their profession seriously and believe that journalism must be a detached profession from politics in order to hold the mirror of accountability and the power of criticism more firmly. Blewu's reference to the cocaine scandal which rocked the country, as a result of the failure of the security services to apprehend a vessel on the high seas of Ghana suspected to be carrying drugs for barons in Ghana, is a classic one with which to gauge the partisanship in the news media in Ghana. He said, however, that "I thank God that there are some young people who have come to realise that they need to keep their distance if they are to do their work well".

In spite of this, Blewu argued that the news media remains the main cog in the wheel in breathing oxygen into the process of democratic accountability. This he buttressed with examples, such as when all the vital organs and institutions of state namely the legislature and the judiciary fail to hold governments to account, the news media remains the sole voice in the wilderness in holding the ground against dictators and undemocratic regimes in its bid to preserve the dignity and freedom of the people. It must be made clear also that during military interventions, which disband parliament and most often suspend constitutions, the news media truly remains the only voice in the wilderness capable of holding its own against dictators, even at the peril of their lives. Ben Ephson provided more background to this assertion when he recalled how the Ghana opposition parties boycotted the 1992 parliamentary elections. It was the news media which assumed the role of the opposition parties outside Parliament "giving the alternative to the average voter". While this observation is pertinent, it is however essential to state that this role does not amount to conferring an elected status on the news media to speak for and on behalf of the people, as pointed out by Agnew and use as footnote on page forty-eight.

This assertion notwithstanding, the vital role of the news media in democratic accountability was further contextualised by some of the interviewees who viewed it as representing the individual journalist working in the news media having a obligation to society; the news media as an industry and as part of civil society. Razak El-Alawa averred that the news media is effective in democratic accountability as it offers a good framework for people to engage in discussions on governance. In contextualising this viewpoint, he argued that the news media is central to democratic

governance as it offers a platform to all interested groups in civil society to be involved in public discourse, designed to demand social and economic accountability and at the same time for political stewardship. What is essential here is the provision of channels of communication to the various groups concerned with democratic governance, be it the political party, the trade unions or religious bodies, all of whom are concerned with governance of the state as it affects the socio-economic life of the people. The most effective organ which assists in the construction of such a platform, for the ventilation of opinions on socio-economic and political accountability, has been recognised as the news media. In deepening this argument, Sarpong claimed that the news media provides the framework for people to express themselves about the democratic process and more importantly discuss the various facets of accountability on issues which affect their lives. As he pointed out:

I see the media as the main platform of public engagement. In traditional societies it was very easy for you to mobilize at the village square or such place to discuss issues of public concern. Maybe let's call it the early start of democracy. In the modern state the only avenue or perhaps the best avenue for public engagement, in my view is the media. So that is why governance discourse can be carried out where all sectors of the society can have the opportunity to know what government is doing and also to express their opinion about government and vice versa.

The news media role in democratic accountability has also been mentioned as being very crucial in the way it engages with civil society in order to be alert to its responsibilities. This civic accountability engagement of the news media is necessary to help in the diffusion of good governance not only in the context of political authority but also in all facets of the democratic life of the people. Discussions and debates within these groups are geared towards the formation of public opinion which provides a basis for the interested groups to articulate the concerns of the citizenry and also demand greater transparency within various institutions and from the political authority. Invariably, the news media is an instrument of civil society which mobilises its readers and engages them in discussions and debates on democratic practices, and ultimately underlines their effectiveness or otherwise in the process.

6.2 Theme 2: Democracy, cultural relativism and development

In eliciting responses from the interviewees on questions ranging from the state of democracy in Ghana and generally Africa, influence of cultural and historical factors

of democracy and reflections on development, interesting responses indicating specific patterns emerged. One major obstacle encountered by this researcher was the attempt to associate the conditions of democracy with the whole of the African continent and not with individual countries. The response from some of the interviewees was one of indignation. By aggregating sections of the interviewee responses, it was revealed that the development of democracy was mixed. Democracy to different interviewees meant Western-style liberal democracy in which the citizens are free to elect representatives and express themselves on issues affecting them.

Interviewees such as Ekow Essuman, Ahmed Ramadan, El-Alawa, Sarpong, Blewu, Pratt and Jonah all viewed democracy as a broad concept which reflects people's beliefs and practices. They saw democracy as a measure of progress. Cultural and historical imperatives in defining and explaining the state of democracy were adapted and borrowed to enrich different versions of democracy. For example, the interviewees claimed that some African countries were highly advanced in the practice of liberal/Western democracy. They cited Botswana, Ghana, South Africa, Malawi and Zambia. At the same level, they agreed there are many countries which were not only stalling but also regressing. For Ayebofoh, in as much as there are flawed examples in Africa, there are equally flawed democracies in Europe, citing the former Yugoslavia states. The consensus was that there cannot be one standard of democracy applicable to all countries. As Pratt argued, because no two democracies are the same that is why in the Islamist world, the practice of their brand of democracy results in the election of the Mullahs and Imams. This suggests the rejection of the notion of the Western/liberal concept as defining global democracy. Western democracy, as gleaned from the interviews, represents an alien implantation in Africa. The arguments which resonated indicated that a system of integration of the Western concept's finest ingredients, by way of some of its values to cross-fertilize the traditional African democratic models, will involve a consensual approach to decision-making. Without this they see the practice of democracy as being weak and not properly supported by its institutions. Clearly, resistance to Western/liberal democracy as global model of democracy, they reckoned, is rooted in Africa's unique democratic and cultural value systems, a system they argued could provide the right democratic cultural mix in the world. A. B. A. Fuseini, for example, compared this resistance to what happened to England, when Oliver Cromwell and others opposed

the Monarchy but had to suffer indignities when the monarchy was restored in 1688 after the dust had settled. He is of the firm belief in Africa adopting its own democratic systems and blending them with the Western liberal idea. He advocated an intercourse between the consensual ideal with the Western liberal concept. According to him, what pertains now is limited to the few privileged educated class without any sense of resemblance of the ordinary people's involvement. Fuseini addressed this cultural and theoretical divide and pointed out that:

the institutions are not strong enough, they are not well anchored at the grassroots, not well anchored in the traditional roots of the people for them to properly appreciate the values, interests and aspirations of the people and take them on board.

As explained by Fuseini, political alienation and blatant disregard for the opinions of the people are seen as some of the drawbacks of the development of democracy in Africa. There were, however, other arguments that electoral democracy was reasonably stabilised in Africa, with an increase in the holding of multiparty periodic elections. But this alone, he insisted, is not all what democracy is about. Democracy must involve instituting a certain way of life, ensuring accountability and transparency in governance. African countries, some of the interviewees noted, have a very long way to go to institutionalize democratic values; for example, the Western/liberal perspectives of the rule of law, accountability, and a strong democratic culture to carry them.

But the whole issue of democracy as conflated remains a paradox. For those wishing to be part of the global conception of democracy, Africa's situation in building a unique democracy must be made to fit into the Western ideal. They made references to the past when they were governed by dictators. However, they had since come a long way in Western liberal democratic terms. Today, many African states have forms of democracy which facilitate the contest of ideas, debate and rich discourse. In further references to Western/liberal democracy and Africa's own concept of the idea, the opinion was that before the advent and infiltration of the Western system, the continent and its various societies were not lawless. As Ephson emphasised,

they were more of chiefdoms and so on, and democracy has made it more broad-based in the sense that you can take part in deciding whom to vote for without necessarily being a royal ... in chiefdoms, if you are not from a royal line, you cannot take part in decision-making"

The system of effective intercourse between the traditional African concept of democracy and the Western majoritarian principle is believed to have brought about progress and qualitative improvement. The phenomenal progress, in the state of democracy is a cause for optimism about the future of African democracy.

Democracy, Ekow Essuman contended is not static, and is in an era of transformation from colonial rule to self-government. The days of insurgents subverting democratic institutions are gone, even though he admits that there are still vestiges of intolerance and dictatorship as in Sudan and Ethiopia. Most people in Africa, the interviewee claimed, want to be governed under constitutions. Citizens in most African countries are becoming more concerned with human rights issues, rule of law and the desire to use the ballot box to replace their leaders. Jonah corroborates this position when he argued that:

the value for democracy is good for every society but at the same time we should recognize cultural relativism. It is good for everybody to have freedom of speech and good for everybody to have freedom of association. It does not matter where you come from; what this means is that depending upon the kind of culture into which you are implanting democracy, it would take a long time for the values of democracy to become institutionalized. So, democracy is good for everybody but we should expect that because of cultural differences people would institutionalize democracy at their pace and time based on their understanding using localised forms and traditions with the acceptable notions to modernise and develop.

Significantly, cultural and historical relativism as regards the African brand of democracy juxtaposed against the Western/liberal concept is expressed in varied opinions, views and ideas. It represents the consensual democracy espoused by Wiredu and captured under the chapter on African perspective of media and democracy. According to Essuman, the institution of chieftaincy in some countries helped build democratic structures,

whose representatives, constituted the chief's round-table of advisers. Fortunately, in line with cultural dynamics of renewal and modernisation, the rigid secrecy, which surrounded affairs in the chiefs' palaces has given way to open discussions - an indication that Africa is moving along with history. And it won't halt its march to modernity.

It is clear from the arguments raised that attempts by some modernisation theorists to argue that free elections, free media are purely Western brands of democratic practice and values are not wholly true. There appears to be a very thin line between the

Western/liberal democratic culture and that of Africa. The African traditional set-up embodies free expression and fair election of representatives. African countries have to adapt some of their peculiar characteristics to reflect the changing trend in the global community. As stressed by Blewu, “the value of democracy is acknowledged to be good for every society” as its essentials for dynamism and progress is a reflection of development in all spheres of human endeavour. Ramadan affirmed this view but cautioned that the wholesale acceptance of the Western ideal could erode the African liberal ideal. He stated that Africans, and in particular Ghana’s original democratic practice is a reflection of in-built cultural practices and a reflection of the democratic ideal in that:

we have our chieftom, or chieftaincy arrangement. We have a certain level of social order where we know how to keep our chiefs, and we have them as chiefs and when they go wrong, we have ways of removing them. This does not really tally with the way the Western world apply their arrangement. We are being made to understand that our methods do not suit the position of the Western world democracy and we have to adapt; sometimes at variance with the ways we do our things and we are slowly abandoning the way we do our things and adopting this new way and whether the new way is the solution to our problem is another matter.

6.3 Theme 3: Media, pluralism, multiparty democracy

Media, pluralism and multiparty democracy are contentious issues and attracted varied interpretations. The understanding and use of these concepts and what they mean is underlined by the views of some of the interviewees. This relates to their worldview, social reality and professional experience of how the news media can contribute effectively to democratic development. The news media is largely seen as institutions which offer freedom of information and expression. Information is synonymously associated with news media freedom, and is regarded as the voice of the people in a democracy. Pluralism is considered a component of news media freedom and democracy. However, pluralism was also identified as not necessarily promoting diversity in the news media in a democracy. Pluralism, from the analysis, is seen as representation of different voices not necessarily singing the same tune. Diversity is considered a potent weapon in multiparty democracy. Multipartyism is severally perceived to be an element of electoral and constitutional democracy, which is adorned with different political persuasions and orientations in search of power. In this way, multipartyism promotes pluralism of the political party system. How

effective political parties ensure pluralism is embedded in their multiplicity and divergence viewpoints even though they may share similar democratic ideology.

The Ghanaian press has been lauded for playing positive roles in disseminating information about the political system. By providing coverage of political parties, the newspaper media are seen to be offering different perspectives and policy choices to the citizens. They are hailed for their critical stance in exposing corruption and other dubious practices of politicians and thereby attempt to help eliminate such vices and maximise good governance. On the other hand, they have been criticised for their narrow focus of personal attacks on politicians to the detriment of policies. It is the contention that development issues such as lack of good roads, good drinking water and clinics are overlooked, while the press focuses on how many concubines and girlfriends politicians have. The press has been commended for promoting multiparty democracy, engendering its practice through coverage, and in defining the issues. However, there is pessimism of the failure of the newspaper press to be more critical in bringing out policy differences between the various political parties in terms of development choices.

Despite the criticism of the newspaper press there is the view that it has played significant roles in keeping the citizens and the electorate informed. Newspapers are seen as the true mirrors of society, providing a variety of opinions. The provision of information and the variety in its dissemination has not only encouraged pluralism but acted as a catalyst in propelling multiparty democracy beyond the elite to the ordinary citizens. It emerged from the interviews that in as much as variety in the newspaper press is important in raising the level of debate through plural voices, the effect on multiparty democracy in general could be insignificant. As stated earlier, variety and diversity may not necessarily deepen pluralism and multiparty democracy since all could gravitate towards the same goal. Ramadan in the course of the interview accused the Ghanaian private news media of stifling and blunting alternative voices and viewpoints by constituting themselves into defenders of a particular cause. As he noted:

We demanded that we must have a free society where people can associate freely; where people can form parties and express what policies they have for people to make their own choices. While this was achieved, people formed their own parties based on their various programmes but one thing that the

media did that worked against their initial efforts was that they started taking sides. The media started polarising the society; they ganged up against one interest group in the political process. Any party that was formed out of the earlier arrangement, that is, the military, when they metamorphosed into a political party, the media turn against that party. They see it as evil; don't even want it to express its own position.

What Ramadan observed was a test case for the news media in Africa and Ghana in particular. However, the fact that the Ghana constitution allows for the establishment of news media both private and state, as in Article 162 (3) of the Ghana Constitution, that is "There shall be no impediment to the establishment of private press or media ..." (1992: 112) and more particularly enjoined the state-owned media in Article 163 thus "All state-owned media shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent view and dissenting opinions" (Ibid). Nevertheless, the decision of a section of the news media to try to blunt coverage of a political group is not necessarily going to affect the democratic process of pluralism, for the political group in question has the right to seek other channels to communicate its policies and programmes to the electorate. The freedom to establish and publish means there is contest for space in the public sphere and in the market. However, as the Fourth Estate, the news media is viewed as the mirror of society and any attempt to abdicate that role and become political objects could affect the integrity of the profession.

Ramadan's position is that there is a negative movement from the one side of the newspaper media in that there is a dominant group with the sole intention to blunt out other viewpoints. If this is the case, then the freedom of choice and of information is being undermined by the very institution expected to play this key role. Authoritarianism flows from this accusation. This development can arguably be seen as a deliberate attempt to muzzle free speech and that of association and above all self censorship by this group of journalists. However, freedom of expression as enshrined in the Ghana Constitution allows them that right. For Ramadan "because the people are free to make their choice, they should really know what the programmes are. The media either private or state should really give equal exposure to all the various interests". The interviewee further stated that the NDC or its Founder, Jerry John Rawlings, has no right to talk or speak in the society.

Whatever he says people would always look round it and create a mess out of it. Unfortunately the media has created certain grouping within themselves, what they termed the 'Coffee Shop Mafia' and they have made it their point,

in fact, they have made it clear, that they would do everything possible within their power to prevent the NDC from ever coming back to power; I think it is undemocratic as they deliberately misrepresent it to the people.

From Ramadan's standpoint, the partisan colouration though a healthy development for multiparty politics could at the same time undermine it. This is a matter of concern when the news media and the practitioners are not prepared to tolerate other viewpoints. Toleration as noted by Keane (1991, 1994) and McNair (2003) are vital ingredients in democratic discourse. In this regard, a section of the political spectrum or the electorate could be disadvantaged by the variety and diversity of information provision.

The blatant resort to intolerance and vulgarity, in a multiparty setting such as Ghana, is considered to be affecting the growth of the process. He, like others, is concerned about the state of democracy which Sarpong, for example, described as "stalling in some African countries" because of the biased reportage of the newspaper press. However, they surmised that the newspaper press' major contribution to multiparty democracy was to be found in its core function of providing information and assisting the population with tools of electoral and general political analyses. They saw the press as a reflection of the different views confronting society.

The newspaper press was been instrumental in helping return Ghana to constitutional rule in 1992. An important feature was the desire of politicians to court the press to sell their messages, policies and ideas. Kofi Coomson reflects the mood of those who shared this view of the role of the press since 1992, when he said "the media is an essential platform even though their numbers were small; there was no private radio station, only newspapers at the time and sometimes newspaper stories had to be photocopied and distributed to spread the information". This is a graphic presentation of how far the newspaper press has helped institutionalized multiparty democracy. The respondent clearly established that there is now an active and challenging news media practice in Ghana. He also expressed the opinions that partisanship and entrenched positions by the news media in Ghana have been mixed. However, this seems to reflect political multiparty diversity and more so the bifurcated nature of the private-state media dichotomy.

6.4 Theme 4: Ownership, ideology and election coverage

Ownership in this context refers to state-owned and privately-owned newspaper media. The use of state-owned newspapers under this theme implies government-controlled outlets. In the contention of the interviewees, they see it as being manipulative, dependent, and riddled with interference in editorial content. Ideological control of the news media signifies partisanship as well as a resulting clash of ideas. Partisanship in the context of this theme refers variously to bias, propaganda and one-sided coverage. It also reflects the lack of objectivity, unbalanced coverage of political parties and election issues and lack of fairness.

Ownership of newspapers has been expressed as having a major influence on the direction of the Ghanaian newspaper media. The ownership structure of these newspapers has been cited as one of the main causes of sub-standard performance. State-ownership of newspapers, they asserted, had been crudely manipulated to exert editorial pressures on journalists working in the sector before 1992, when the country was under military rule. The situation, they noted, has been minimised but not totally eliminated even with the coming into force of the Fourth Republican Constitution in 1992 due to what they termed subtle and covert pressures. The indirect approach in interfering in editorial direction of the state-owned media instead of the direct control exerted in the past, they recalled, was necessitated by the guarantees and safeguards contained in the 1992 Constitution. The setting up of the National Media Commission and provisions in Article 162 of the Constitution insulate the state-owned media from governmental control. Private ownership to a large measure is said to be promoting too much partisanship, to the detriment of offering any meaningful qualitative discourse on democracy, governance and policy issues. A section of the interviewees did not see anything wrong with ownership pressures in directing the coverage and political news content of these newspapers. Political ideology and other considerations such as finance are essential for the establishment of any means of mass communication. As Pratt explains:

everybody establishes a newspaper with a clear purpose and there is no pretension about that. When the U.S. government established the Voice of America, it was for clear purposes; to suppress the Cuban Revolution and make sure American propaganda is carried.

The contention was that ownership pressures are not unique to Ghana. Interference in state-owned newspapers had been defended with the saying that 'he, who pays the piper, calls the tune'. An emerging consensus has it that political parties, and their leaders, while in opposition, protested against manipulation of the state-owned media, but as soon as the tables turned, these parties, now in power, normally find nothing wrong with influencing direction and content. Newspapers which are pro-government and pro-opposition function because they believed in the ideology of the ruling party or the opposition parties. In the same breath, Ephson, Sarpong, Kwesi Jonah and El-Alawa alluded to newspapers which nobody can point out as being pro or anti-government or opposition. Concerns over clear biases in the privately-owned newspapers, were also strong. Criticisms of lack of objectivity, balance and fairness and the fact they are owned by private concerns does not excuse them from adhering to the canons of journalism practice. Invariably, too much partisanship is crowding-out quality debate, and inevitably denying the electorate the right to the presentation of the alternatives for them to make informed choices. Coomson admits that wide spread interference in the editorial direction of the privately-owned press exists, and in particular his newspaper, when he states:

I am the owner and the guiding light so I interfere because I direct and never stop ... I interfere, my responsibility is to direct the news; I was the Editor-in-Chief and the publisher so what else would you expect?.

Essuman affirmed this interference allegation to include clear cases of victimisation at the state-owned *Daily Graphic*. This development, he argued is a lingering sign of continued government control and interference despite the guarantees and the powers conferred on the National Media Commission (NMC) by the 1992 Constitution. He recalled the deliberate ploy by government to silence those believed to go against the grain. Under the guise of reshuffling the editorial department some of those suspected to be critical of government, or wanted the independence of the newspaper protected as stipulated under the constitution are victimized when it comes to promotions. As Essuman noted, "for instance, a very senior member of the editorial department, A. B. A. Fuseini at the *Daily Graphic* has been sent to the news desk, as the Deputy News Editor".

Citing other subtle measures governments use to interfere in the work of the newspaper press, Essuman mentioned advertising as a major weapon. Advertising

revenue he claimed constitutes about seventy-five per cent (75%) of newspapers' income. Such a reliant is used to twist the arms of the news media houses to favour the partisan interests of the advertisers. Commenting further, Essuman acknowledged that government is the biggest advertiser in the industry and therefore could use this power as an effective means to determine, control and influence editorial opinions if need be. The same is said of the large national corporate businesses which use the same measures to 'remotely control' and direct the ideology in the news content of newspapers in general. This is a source of worry in a developing country such as Ghana where most of the big companies are directly tied to government endorsement to operate. Most companies, particularly those in the construction and publishing enterprises, depend on the central government for contracts. In this situation, any move by these companies to advertise in newspapers, radio and television considered to be anti-government is normally frowned upon by the political authority.

Other related matters for which answers were sought cover such issues as election coverage and its influence on election results; or whether the newspapers from political stables enhance the communication of information for free and fair elections? Additionally, the question arises whether or not certain one-sided reports in the newspapers merely function as propaganda conduits? To these questions a section of the interviewees expressed strong convictions that the newspaper press try to direct or influence the outcome of democratic elections in Ghana. They contended that conscious efforts are made at directing the outcome of elections. They traced this to the existence of deep partisanship in the press. Others, while acknowledging the newspapers' influence, maintained that newspapers are not potent enough to wholly direct the outcome of elections or how the electorate should vote. Newspapers, El-Alawa argued, have the freedom and democratic right to persuade public opinion towards their political party allegiances as is the case in even established democracies such as Britain and the United States. For Ephson, Coomson, Essuman, Sarpong among other respondents, the outcome of the 2000 elections in Ghana was hugely determined and directed by the media. The National Democratic Congress party (which won the first multiparty elections after the return to constitutional rule in 1992) accused the media of being responsible for its defeat in the 2000 elections. The open accusation against the private press in particular for being responsible for eroding

Ghanaian voter support is presumed to be an admission of the potency of the news media in influencing the outcome of elections.

Clearly, while the newspaper media try to influence elections there is also the contention that they directly determine their outcome. Arguably, papers do no more than facilitate the formation of public opinion. In other words, they facilitate public access to useful information which ultimately leads it to make the preferred particular choices. It can be argued that while the information could be biased towards partisan interests, it helps strengthen the information delivery mechanism. In this context, the electorate are said to be maturing and becoming more discerning in its choices, mindful of the fact that there is partisan loyalty in the press. Although the information disseminated by the newspaper press could be biased, its importance in enhancing the communication of information for free and fair elections has been applauded by some of the interviewees. One example cited by almost all the interviewees has been the early warning signals sent out by the press in its uncovering of plots to rig the elections. Tendencies likely to injure or undermine the credibility of the electoral process have been exposed, greatly enhancing generally free and fair elections. One-sided news reports, seen as propaganda devices, have been identified as being widespread in the pro-party newspapers.

Other interviewees affirmed that there is bias, but dismissed the notion of propaganda. They contend that newspapers all over the world have their own biases and it is the main reason why multiparty democracy advocates pluralism and diversity. Despite these assertions, Ramadan presented both positive and negative pictures of a section of the media for promoting free and fair elections and for also condoning and trying to encourage unfair election practices. He cited examples of certain developments which occurred in the 2000 and 2004 general elections in Ghana, when he stated:

something remarkable took place in the 2000 elections when people were looking for a change. We have all the radio stations, newspapers covering every corner of the country and this made it either difficult to have the election rigged or very difficult to conceal any information that can create any difficulty. So to a large measure the media did a lot to enhance the process. But coming to it again, we have large sections of the private media who will also make sure that what goes against the government would never be highlighted.

6.5 Theme 5: The *Graphic* and *Chronicle*, independence and standard of journalism

The underlying themes discussed here include: political coverage of elections by the two newspapers; coverage of party policies; newspapers independence. They reveal the nuances of critical stances in coverage and content devoid of partisan bias; professionalism and the degree of resistance and traces of interference. Interviewees' opinion regarding the standard of journalism on each of the two newspapers was also analysed.

Sarpong stated that the *Daily Graphic* offers an equal platform to all the political parties to promote and disseminate party policies. He rated the *Daily Graphic* above the *Ghanaian Chronicle* when it comes to fair and balanced coverage of all the parties and their candidates. He expressed his satisfaction with the news coverage of the *Daily Graphic*. Although it is state-owned, the newspaper is viewed as operating fairly due to the constitutional spine given it. He identified clear disparities in favour of the coverage of government parties compared to the opposition parties. This disproportionate coverage created the difficulty in distinguishing between political party programmes and government activity. This position has been articulated in the literature when Edeani argued for the government to have the right to present its policies and programmes irrespective of being the ruling party. In this case, since government is the trustee of the people and is in the eye of the news on a daily basis, it cannot be concluded that a high preponderance of the ruling party and government news means unfair treatment of other political parties. However, to the contrary, while the *Daily Graphic* strives for balance in its coverage, there are clear cases of deliberate efforts to limit the coverage of opposition parties.

The *Ghanaian Chronicle* on the other hand has been cited as being unfair and unbalanced in its coverage of all the political parties. Respondents insisted that because it is privately-owned it has no constitutional obligation. It is stridently one-sided in its coverage of the political parties and more particularly sympathetic and favourable towards the New Patriotic Party (NPP), which used to be the largest opposition party and is now the ruling party, although it claims to be non-partisan.

There is evidence from Jonah, Sarpong, Blewu, Essuman for example, that it exhibits, a tinge of criticality and independence in exposing corruption and other abuses in political life. "There were traces of its leaning towards the NPP but on the whole, I thought it stood on its own", Essuman observed. Another interviewee, Sarpong, attempted to contextualise why the newspaper is seen as being at one end of the spectrum and the *Daily Graphic* at the other when he said that "initially, because the state-owned newspaper gave little opportunity to the opposition politicians, so when the *Ghanaian Chronicle* started, it was almost like they had made themselves alternative sources for public expression."

The aggregation of views expressed by some of the interviewees also point to two major scenarios: The *Daily Graphic* has been fairly balanced but not wholly independent, Kwesi Jonah claimed. In another breath he argued that the *Ghanaian Chronicle* is truly committed to independent journalism, is fearless and critical in its reportage but also at times reckless. Jonah summed it up this way:

I would say the *Chronicle* as an independent newspaper is committed to more independent journalism than the *Graphic*. The *Graphic*, under the Constitution is under the control of the NMC and at the same time, they realised they are state-owned and would not like to offend.

The view is that because the *Ghanaian Chronicle* is more independent in its coverage, journalists are freer to pursue certain stories, compared with those on the *Daily Graphic* who still harbour fears of reprisals from the sinister forces lurking in the dark claiming to be representing government. In between the two, there are centrist opinions expressed by others who think both newspapers exhibited high levels of independence and criticality. The Editor of the *Daily Graphic* defended his newspaper's independence despite the overwhelming opinion to the contrary. He explained that:

there is no journalist who would wish that somebody tells him or her, what he or she should do. We cherish our independence and we would be the last ... we tell people all the time whether board members, political parties, anybody who trespasses, we tell them we are not here to do what you like or not. We are here to do what we are here to do, because our integrity is on the line.

Pratt, on the other hand, dismissed the whole argument of independence. He pointed out how difficult it is to be independent by supporting this assertion with the principle behind news selection. According to him, it is totally improbable to report every

single person in the population of a country even though they all make news on daily basis one way or the other. He buttressed this argument when he claimed:

if one takes any newspaper on any given day, those covered by the publication may be less than twenty people out of the 21.6 million Ghanaians. That process of selection cannot be said to be neutral. That process of selection portrays a bias. When you are selecting the twenty people to report on, the choice of words to describe or narrate events portrays a bias ... that is why my main object is to ensure that every truth gets expression.

This argument has inherent theoretical contradictions. News values teach us that they must border on the unusual, be of prominence and generally what has been universally acclaimed to be those society embrace and are concerned about¹⁷. Ownership of newspapers, in the estimation of El-Alawa, affects the coverage of elections and the candidates involved. Due to the acknowledgement of partisanship in the newspaper press he contends that coverage of elections and related issues could not be said to be fair and balanced in the partisan press. In the case of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, although their inclinations and biases have been cited either towards the ruling party and government and the opposition, the occasional flickering of balance in both are seen as not enough for them to lay any claims to objectivity and fairness. However, the *Daily Graphic* is seen as exhibiting a great deal of fairness and balance as compared to the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and therefore makes up for its major bias towards government with its tokenist posture in respect of the other interested groups. Of concern to El-Alawa was lack of depth and analytical appreciation when it comes to election coverage and reportage on candidates in the election and democratic process. For Coomson, it is an aberration to even think of fairness and balance in the coverage of candidates. In his view coverage of candidates and their speeches in an election should be at the discretion of the newspapers. Concerns regarding skewed reporting of political candidates and election coverage were very strong. For example, Essuman claimed that:

there were candidates who were hardly reported or given the banner headlines in the front pages of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* let alone their speeches given good treatment.

However, he maintained that coverage of electioneering campaigns has to be evaluated on the basis of the news value judgement principle. In this context Coomson, for example, insisted that newspapers have every right to give prominence

¹⁷ By this claim I have in mind Galtung and Ruge's seminal criteria of news values in Cohen and Young (Eds) (1981) *The Manufacturing of News*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

to front-runners in the elections because they carry more clout and weight in the contest. On political coverage between elections, the consensus was that since the newspapers are in business to make profit and also serve the interests of the public, their coverage in election years are not totally different from other years. However, for noted differences as seen in partisanship, news coverage is motivated by ideological and partisan loyalty, which inevitably makes the papers political tools in the hands of their owners and the government.

Expressing their opinions and views on agenda-setting in the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, editors of the two newspapers, Ayebofoh and Coomson, admit setting the agenda by the use of certain stories to influence public opinion. The editor of the *Daily Graphic*, Ayebofoh, insists that it does not pursue a narrow agenda and is less sensational in its reportage and general content and that the newspaper's mission is to serve the national interest and promote development through their coverage and general reportage. The publisher of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and formerly the Editor-in-Chief dismissed the argument of parochialism in agenda-setting through news gathering and circulation strategies. Kofi Comson contends that all newspapers have an underlying compunction for the public and national interest. "There are no sacred cows in the corners. Every newspaper in Ghana has an agenda," he stated. Explaining further, he noted that the high preponderance of political news coverage by the newspapers sets the agenda and this in his opinion is a reflection of what the public wants to read, adding "I think generally where two or three Ghanaians are gathered they are talking politics ... most newspapers prefer reporting political stories more than ... social or development news". According to El-Alawa the newspapers set the news agenda by not only using political news stories to influence public opinion but through news analysis of what they think merit public discussion and consumption. Therefore, while the whole democratic process and the role of the news media are politically driven, there is also an element of journalists' indirect use of newspapers to influence the political public sphere.

6.6 Theme 6: Professionalism, ethics, constraints and improvement

Ethical issues emerged from the responses on professionalism and competence. Professionalism has been viewed as either availability of quality of personnel or the

absence of it. Ethics in the interactions were interpreted by the interviewees as the practice of adhering to formal regulations; for example, not to use newspapers to fan ethnic and tribal hatred; accurate and unbiased reporting; respect for individual privacy and human dignity; and the need to guard against defamation.

Professionalism, in Essuman's view, has to do with the quality of educational training and adherence to ethics. He believes there is too much mediocrity in Ghanaian journalism practice. This is noticeable in both content and output due to the high preponderance of quacks parading as journalists. There is optimism however that professionalism is increasing as evidenced in some of the newspapers in the high quality of content and a decrease in libel suits by members of the public. On the other hand concerns remain as to the absence of adequate background information to stories in the newspapers in order for readers to place them in context. Jonah also raised issue with the unprofessional methods of providing conclusions to news stories, instead of allowing the reader to form his or her own opinion and judgement. Lack of adequate training, he observed, has a direct bearing on professionalism in the Ghanaian news media, and advocated a more enhanced training and retraining regime to bring the journalists up to the required standard. In his view:

coming out of the School of Journalism is not enough. You must constantly retrain yourself and do a lot of reading and so forth. Our media men tend to think that once you come out of School of Journalism that is it! That is not it! You must constantly upgrade yourself by reading more, by training yourself, etc. Then the unfortunate thing is that some of our people do not even have the discipline that it takes to be a good journalist.

While he was candid in pointing out the lapses, Ramadan expressed strong resentment for the language employed in political and election coverage and in general news reportage. He called for improvement and decency in language usage to help engender debate and for the promotion of greater democracy and its values in the country. Disregard for the code of ethics (discussed in chapter four) has been singled out as a strong reason for regulating professional practice. For Blewu, violation of the ethical code is a major constraint to building and developing a high quality news media, able to play a more serious vanguard role in the democratic process. Some of the editors and other interviewees, however, maintained their adherence to professional standards and respect for the code of ethics governing the practice of journalism. They explained how they have even developed their own rules to guide the conduct of

employees, in such areas as conflict of interest, balance in coverage or reportage, and objectivity and fairness to all protagonists in a news story. Essuman was unequivocal that the National Media Commission (NMC) and the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) should take the blame for ethical violations. He accused them of being pseudo-political institutions with biases. In this regard, editors, the NMC and the GJA only try to enforce the code of ethics when the violations that emanate from newspapers are considered not to be critical of their perceived interests in the political arena. Selective enforcement is a major drawback in instilling sanity into the practice of the profession. As Essuman claims:

you see we have the code of ethics. This code is supposed to guide all practising journalists and their media houses. But the truth of the matter is the Ghana Journalists Association and the National Media Commission are very selective when it comes to its application. The media is so polarised to the extent that the code of ethics is violated with careless abandon and because the institutions to check the violation are themselves suspected of having political leanings, the infractions go unpunished or the codes are not adhered to.

The newspaper press as an industry is also beset with problems which militate against its smooth operation. Advertising or lack of it was mentioned by not less than ninety-five percent of the interviewees as a factor in ensuring growth in the industry which could enable them to play more active and exciting roles in the democratic process. Lack of advertising in the press means a weak financial base. And this, they argued, affects quality and the remuneration of employees. With a weak financial base, the autonomy of the newspapers and the independence of the journalists are compromised as content is devalued. Ephson and Essuman for example pointed in the direction of governments for deliberately starving those newspapers of adverts, if they were considered adversarial to their regimes, a situation corroborated by Essuman:

there are constraints but they are not pronounced. The first is the financial constraints. Since the newspaper industry thrives mainly on advertisement, the non-praise singing press are starved of advertisements by the government, which remains the biggest advertiser. Other major private enterprises, for fear of incurring the wrath of government, also refuse to do business with the opposition press. For example, there is a near stampede, for space, by the cellular phone companies in the state organs and the pro-government newspapers. But despite pleas by the other newspapers for even little drops, the companies have avoided the anti-government papers.

Aggressive and more scientific methods for sourcing advertising instead of relying on political patronage is arguably the best way to mobilise more financial resources to motivate employees of the papers to deliver a more acceptable quality product.

Interference in the work of journalists, especially in the state-owned media, has been cited as militating against the qualitative output and true independence of journalists. Commenting on subtle means being used by governments to gag some critical voices in the state-owned media, Fuseini says:

there is a policy guideline that prohibits journalists in the *Graphic* from going onto other electronic media to contribute ideas to discussions. I face a problem with that and we are in court over the resolution of this issue which I considered to be a clear embargo gagging others. Though it is not an order directly from government, but it can pass through some institutions for example, board of directors ... management.

The subtle methods identified by the interviewees are rife, including the appointment of state-owned newspaper editors being manipulated by the political authorities. Board of Directors' appointment are done by the National Media Commission (NMC), as they are made in consultation with the government and/or president. The government indirectly influences those who constitute the boards. They in turn use covert methods to promote the interest of government, and by so doing ensure that the editor is a sympathiser of the government in power if not a secret card-carrying member of the ruling party¹⁸.

Those in the private press also complained about lack of logistics to favourably compete with the state-owned media. Coomson and Ephson explained that apart from the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, which has comparatively modern means of production equipment and vehicles to distribute nationwide, most of the newspaper press rely on commercial vehicles to transport their product to the countryside. Even those newspapers that have their own printing presses complained of their low quality and capacity. However, they revealed various strategies needed to ensure qualitative improvement in the areas they identified.

¹⁸ In Ghana, my own experience and knowledge of the newspaper industry supports the claims made by some of the interviewees that advertising in certain media could affect government favours especially those in construction and publishing. They rely on government contracts to remain in business. They are therefore constrained in dishing out adverts to the media considered to be critical of government,

For interviewees such as Jonah, Ramadan, Essuman, and El-Alawa among others, there is the need for retraining of journalists to raise their professional proficiency. Journalists and their newspapers with deep-seated partisanship should reduce their allegiance and improve on quality of content so as to attract investment from corporate business, most of which are reluctant because of the fear of reprisals from the government if such newspapers are too critical of the ruling administration.

While the interviewees commended the media for active roles in the democratic process since 1992, they cautioned against too much sensationalism at the expense of more productive policy issues of education, health and water provision among others. Some interviewees, in particular Ayeboafoh, Sarpong and Pratt advocated that greater attention be given to the coverage of other institutions of State, such as the National Media Commission (NMC), Parliament, the Judiciary, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), and the National Commission for Civic Education in the bid to strengthen democracy. It is important to state that these institutions themselves seem to be doing very little to attract coverage. It can also be argued that the newspaper press will only carry stories they believe will attract readership.

6.7 Conclusion

The various findings projecting from the themes have relevance to the study as they relate to and arguably support most of the theoretical assumptions and arguments. Findings emerging from the themes on the media and democracy debate such as democratic accountability, which has been variously interpreted and linked with periodic elections, anti-corruption reportage of the media, rigging of elections through bribing of voters. It has been acknowledged by most of the interviewees that the media is a bulwark against political corruption, but lacked the power to enforce adherence to political and other facets of accountability. This condition of the newspaper media is further undermined by their partisan nature¹⁹.

¹⁹ In the case of Africa, the role of the media in halting the third-term bid of the Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo has been commended as part of its watchdog function for ensuring accountability.

Polarity in the newspaper press in Ghana was a major issue which emerged, but the ability of the two newspapers at the heart of the study to sometimes strike a balance between news coverage and editorial opinions was lauded. Clear cases of the private-state ownership reflect in the themes, as the *Daily Graphic* was seen to be echoing the voice of the government and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* more tilted to certain sectarian interests due to the ownership, control arrangements and the political biases of the owners. Partisanship in the media and multiparty democracy have been identified as the basis for diversity and pluralism in the political and newspaper media industry, even though these reveal a drift towards a co-ordinated position in the political and media game.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

7.0 SECTION ONE: Content Analysis

This chapter has been divided into two main sections. The first section, the main issue for discussion, deals with quantitative content analysis. Its main objective is to apply quantitative data to the study with the view of accounting for variables which could not be dealt with by the qualitative analysis. The analysis and interpretation of statistical data is of value in answering the critical research questions posed, and is outside the domain of the qualitative approach. The quantitative content analysis is intended to offer an analysis to complement the other methods, so that through the process of triangulation the results are more enriching. The process of categories, coding and analysis of the data covers the period of the study 1992-2000. To reiterate, a sample of seventy-two (72) newspapers, made up of thirty-six each of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* were selected using the random sampling method of selecting one each from a quarterly pool.

Importantly, the study collapsed some categories in the whole process of coding. This provided statistical precision as it helped in the construction of analytical approximations (Altman, 1991). As explained by Wimmer and Dominick, the frequency of variables in the data is of significance because numbers are used for communicating the quantum of variables identified for statistical precision (2006: 50). The data generated has been transformed into graphs, pie charts and tables to assist with interpretation and description within the time frame period of the study. In other words, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* are both represented on the same statistical tables and graphs for ease of comparison. However, separate graphs and tables for both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* relating to news story on politics, accountability and election categories have also been included. In order to express some of the statistical data captured in the tables and on the graphs in percentages, pie charts were also used in some cases to clarify and make the quantitative analysis more flexible and easy to understand. The analysis begins with political news story on politics, accountability and election.

7.1 Political news story: Politics, accountability and election

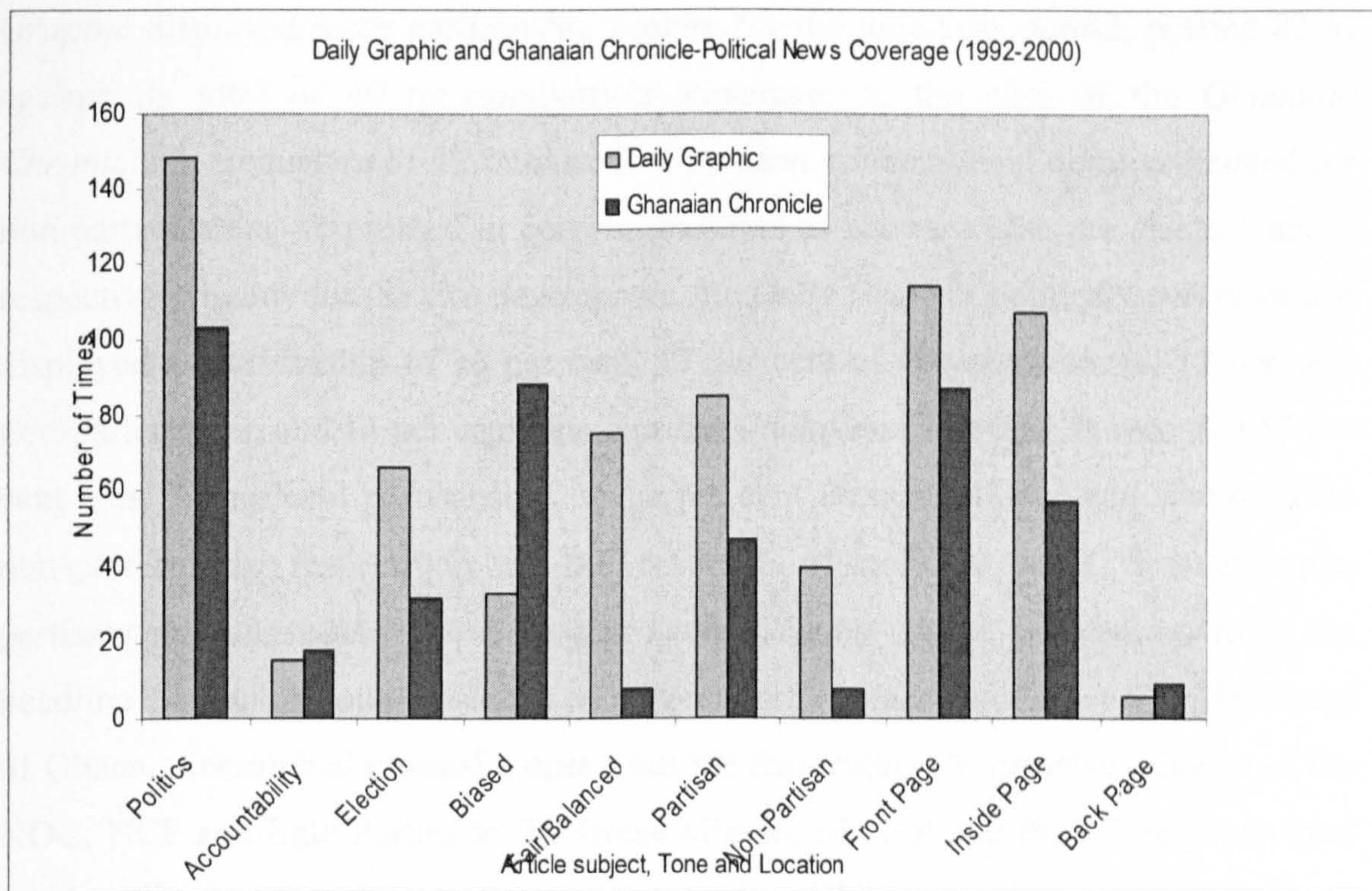
Table 2: Political News Story

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>
Politics	148	103
Accountability	16	18
Election	66	32
Biased	33	88
Fair/ Balanced	75	10
Partisan	82	47
Non-Partisan	40	8
Front Page	117	87
Inside Page	107	57
Back Page	6	9

In its coverage of political news stories, the *Daily Graphic* devoted most of its attention to reporting politics. In terms of frequency, it has 148 items on politics as compared to 103 for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* for the period 1992-2000. Political news coverage by both newspapers under Accountability within the same period was 16 for the *Daily Graphic* and 18 for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* respectively. On Election, using the same criteria, the *Daily Graphic* from the table and the graph published political news with a frequency of 66 as against 32 recorded for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

The high coverage of politics by the two newspapers, more particularly the *Daily Graphic*, variously revealed the focus on this sector for building the democratic and political sphere of a stable multiparty democracy. For example, emphasis on politics is gleaned from this headline “Arkaah’s double face” published in the November 4, 1996 issue. Coincidentally, the high frequency of politics is recorded in election years. This data is better understood from the interpretation and description of statistical information on analysis of the news stories sub-category year by year.

Graph 1: Political News Story

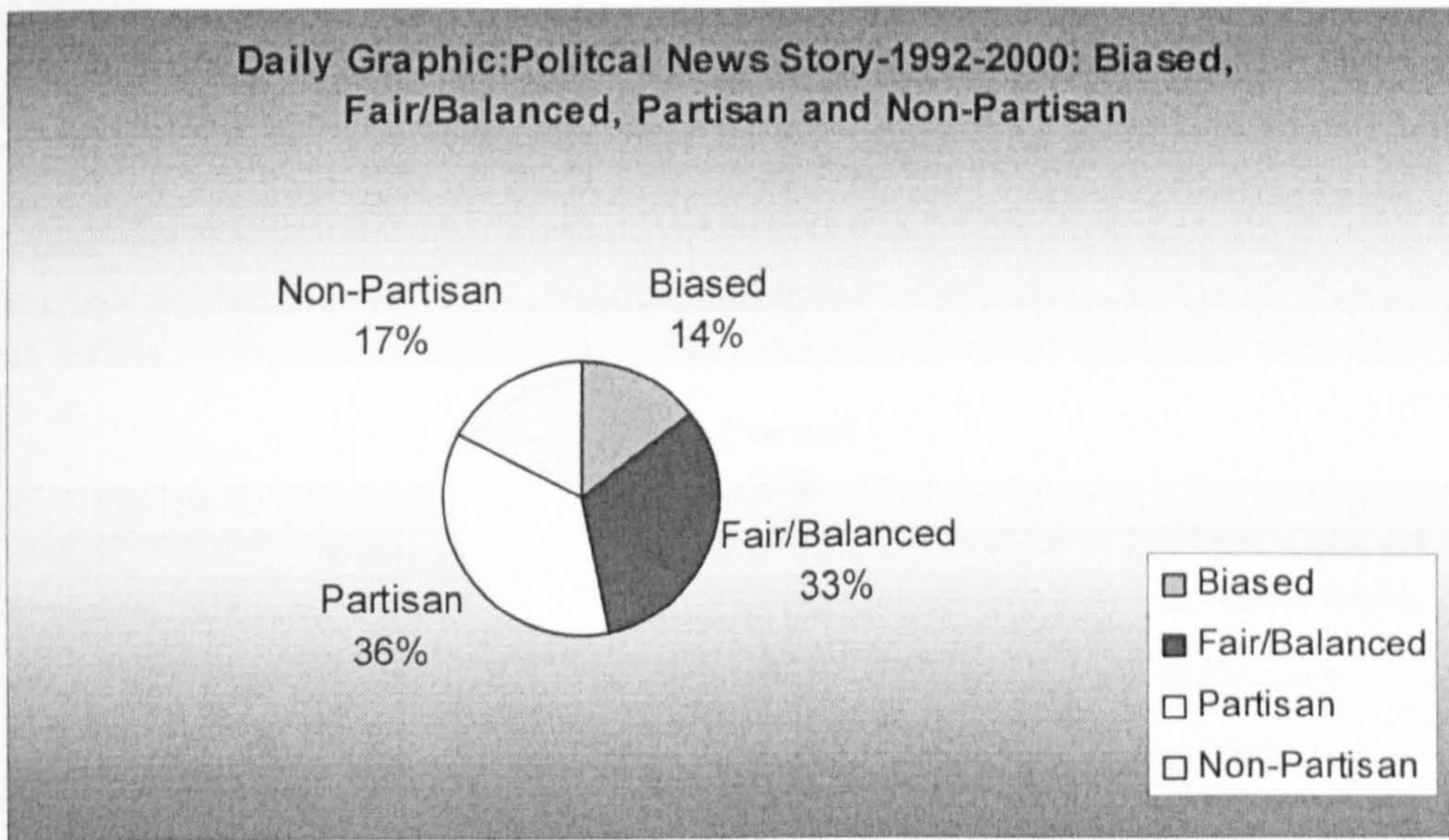


Specifically, the *Daily Graphic* data in this sub-category also shows that it has on the average given prominence to all the major three categories. An aggregation of the total ‘front page’ slot for the three categories put the newspaper at 117 and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* frequency for the same categories and for the nine-year period at 87. For the ‘inside pages’, the trend is the same as the table 2 and the graph 1 illustrate. Comparatively for the ‘back page’, considered by most newspapers to be the next in importance to the front page, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* placed more emphasis on the three categories than the *Daily Graphic* with a frequency of nine compared to six for the *Daily Graphic*. In analyzing the tone of the political news stories carried by the two newspapers, the data presented in the table and plotted on the graph, the *Daily Graphic* is less biased with a frequency of 33 and also recorded 75 for being fair and balanced. This contrasts sharply with the *Ghanaian Chronicle* with a frequency of 88 bias and 10 occurrences of fairness and balance. This could be attributed to the different intuitive news value judgements by the two newspapers. In addition, the topical issues which defined the coverage of the newspapers and their ownership orientation and ideology also play a key role in news selection and their placement.

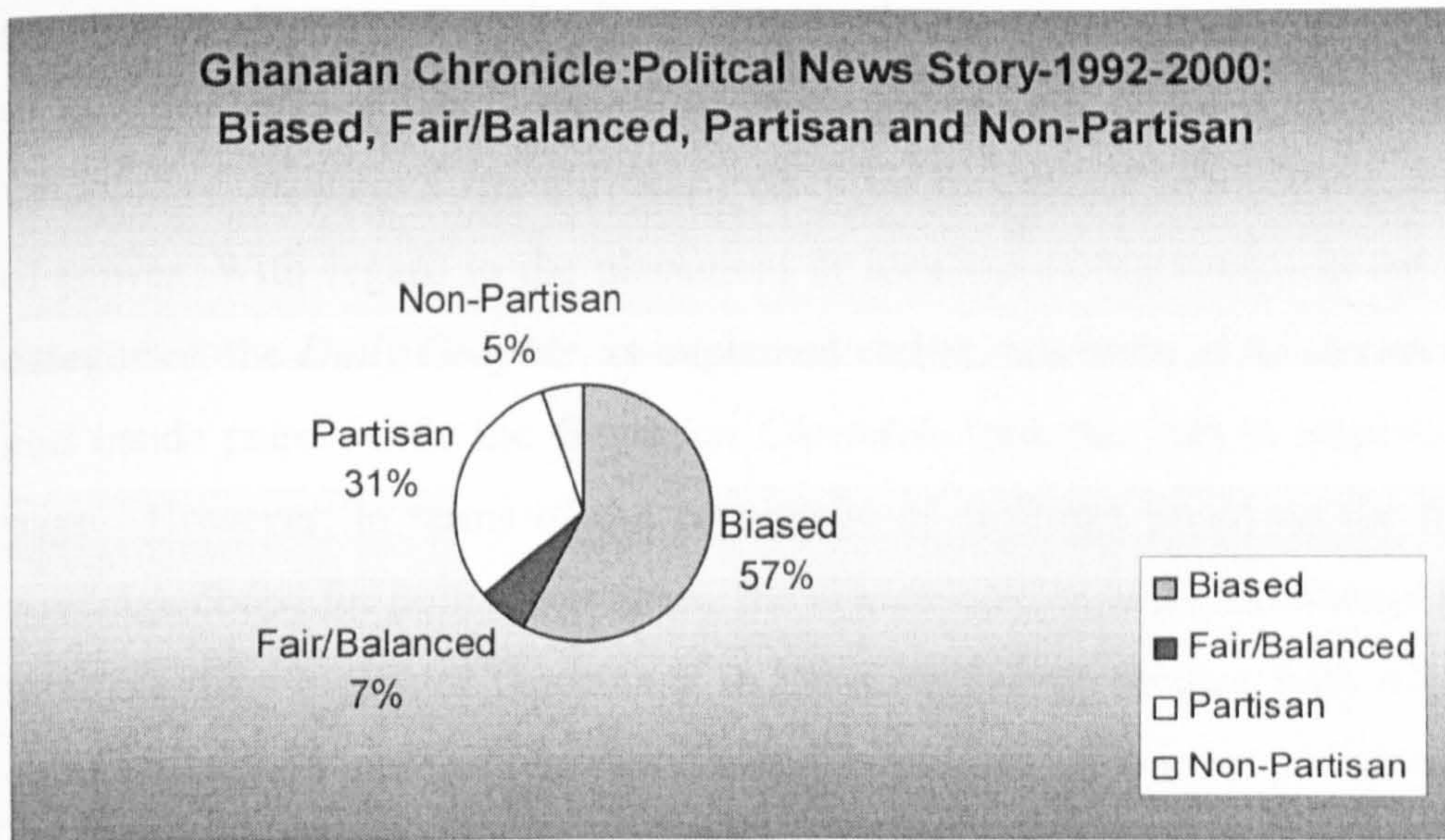
Under partisan and non-partisanship analysis of the political news coverage, the *Daily Graphic* displayed more partisanship posture for the nine-year period, posting 82 as against its total of 40 on non-partisan coverage. In the case of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, a frequency of 47 indicated its partisan coverage and eight accounted for non-partisanship. Expressed in percentage terms as shown in the pie charts 1 and 2 respectively below for the two newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* political news coverage displayed a partisanship of 36 per cent, 33 per cent of fairness/balance, 17 per cent non-partisanship and 14 per cent bias. For the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, it recorded 57 per cent bias, 31 per cent partisanship, seven per cent fairness/balance and five per cent non-partisanship respectively in the coverage of political news. For example, partisanship referred to above in the *Daily Graphic* could be gleaned from the headline “Arkaah’s double face” in an apparent reference to the former Vice-President of Ghana. Arkaah had crossed carpet from the then ruling Progressive alliance of the NDC, NCP and Egle Parties to the Great Alliance of NPP and PCP. The paper used this headline to reveal how he condemned the then NPP. In paragraph two of the story the newspaper quoted him when campaigning for the then Progressive Alliance, and described the NPP as “erratic, dangerous and destructive” (*Daily Graphic*, November 4, 1996: 1).

The implications of the various dynamics uncovered here is that the two newspapers showed a high preponderance of coverage of politics. The *Daily Graphic* devoted more space to elections than the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. This showed the greater interest of the newspaper in this area of news. On the other hand, the *Ghanaian Chronicle*’s focus on accountability is also worthy of note in a multi-party democracy. If illustrated on percentage basis the pie charts below reflect the various strengths and weaknesses of the two newspapers in the three categories under the sub-category of political news coverage.

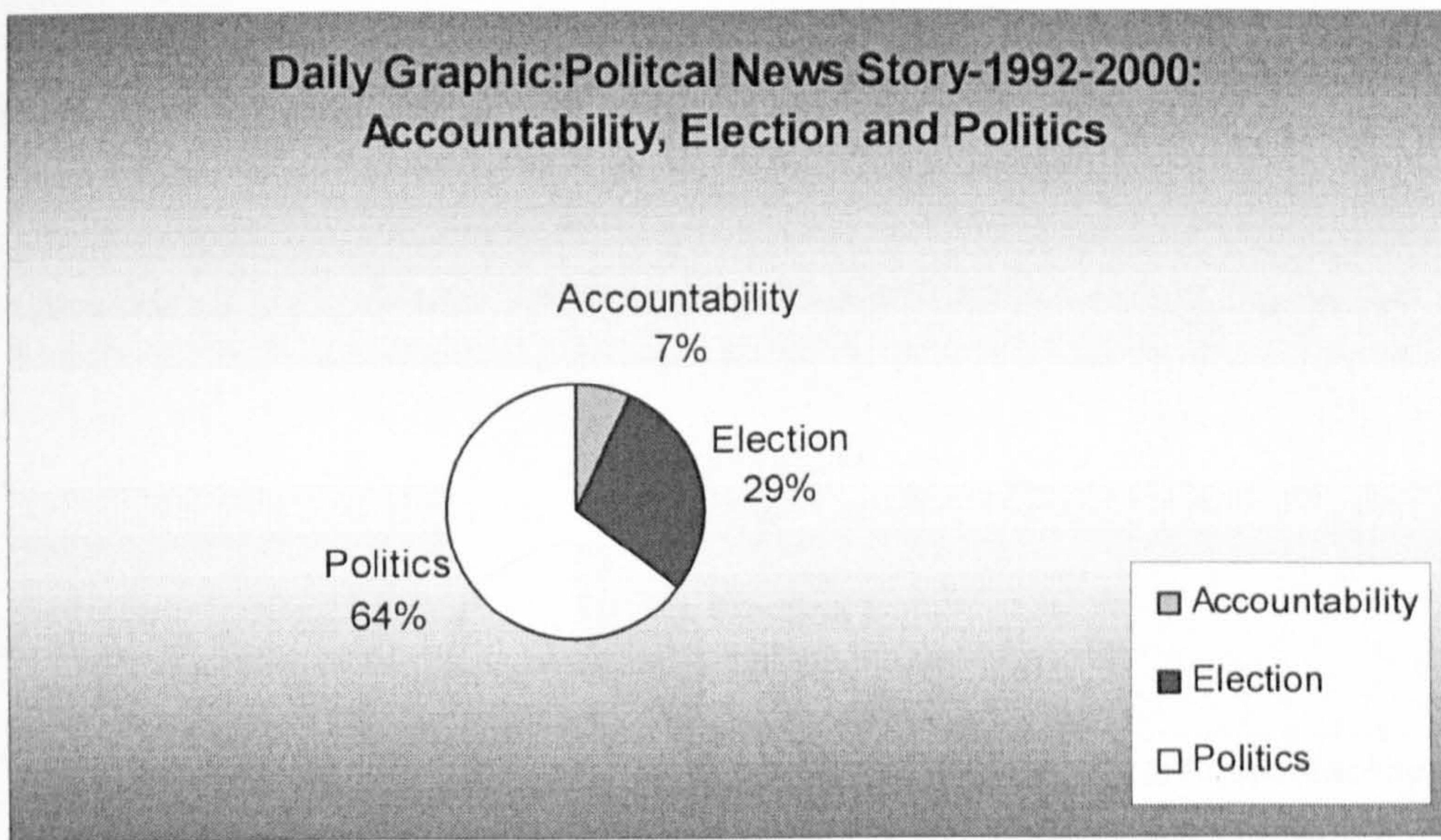
Pie Chart 1



Pie Chart 2



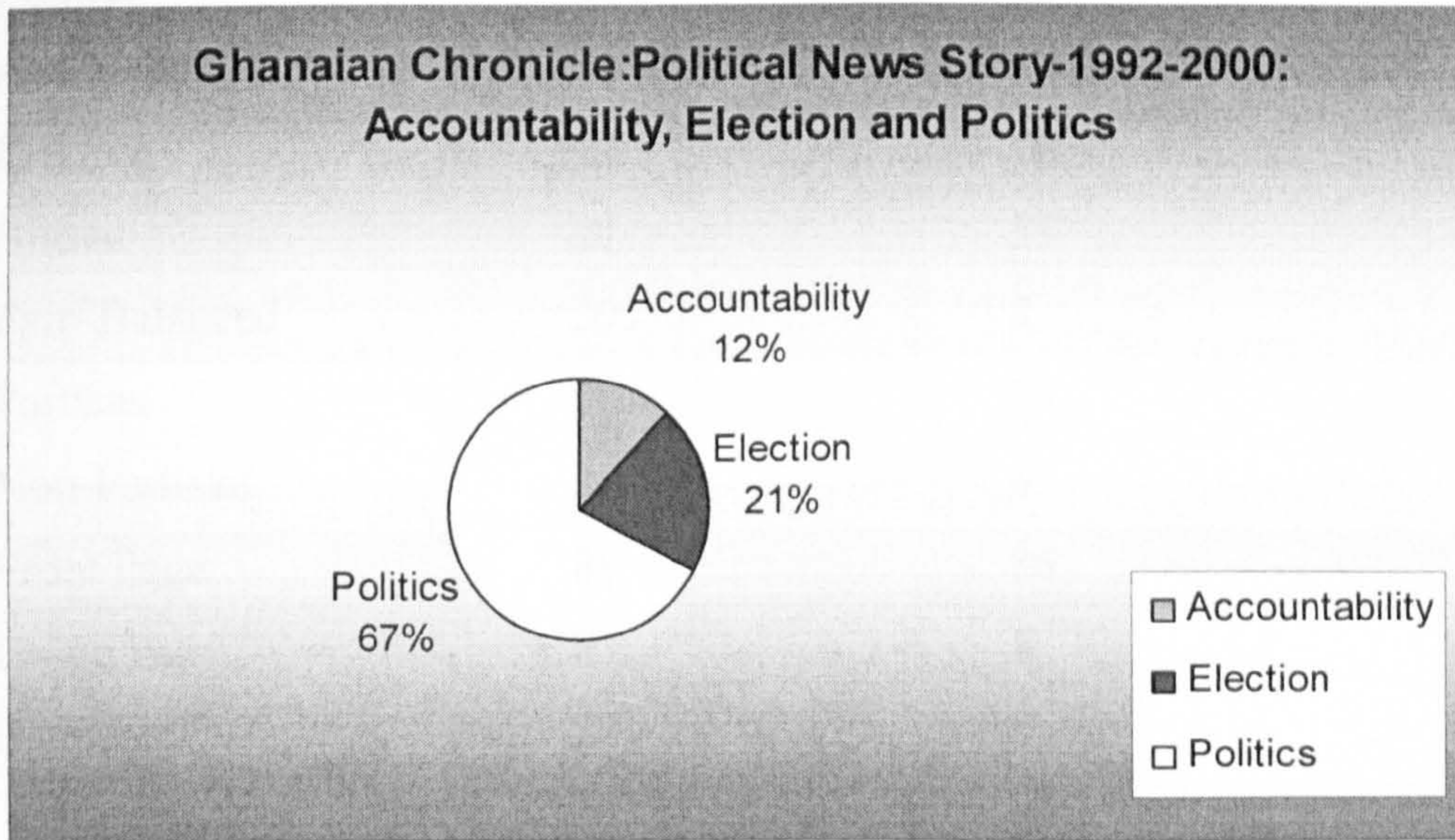
Pie Chart 3



What the statistical interpretation, description and analysis from the table and the graph have shown is that the *Daily Graphic* has been very dominant in the coverage of political news stories in respect of two major categories: politics and election. The *Ghanaian Chronicle's* strength was evident in its crusade in ensuring accountability of power. With regard to the placement or location of the stories in the three major categories, the *Daily Graphic*, as explained earlier, has more of its stories on the front and inside pages while the *Ghanaian Chronicle* took the lead in respect of the back page. However, in terms of the percentage of coverage based on the frequency of coverage coded for both newspapers, the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* coverage based on its total provides a greater percentage in the coverage of politics with 67 per cent as compared to 64 per cent in the *Daily Graphic* as shown in pie charts 3 And 4 respectively.

As indicated on the pie chart 3 for the *Daily Graphic*, 64 per cent of the news coverage was on politics, 29 per cent on elections and only seven per cent on accountability. In the case of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* the results are as shown below in pie chart 4.

Pie Chart 4



Significantly, both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* recorded modest frequencies in respect of their political coverage of politics and elections. The placement of the stories also revealed the commitment of the two newspapers to promote political discourse, influence political opinion and promote democratic governance. What cannot be revealed from the interpretation and description of the data is whether their ownership structure, political ideology or the market forces were responsible for this trend of coverage. It is also incumbent to indicate that though the two newspapers did not record high preferences in the area of accountability, the modest figures illustrated on the table, the graph and pie charts point to some level of commitment to this cause.

7.2 General news story: Politics, accountability and election

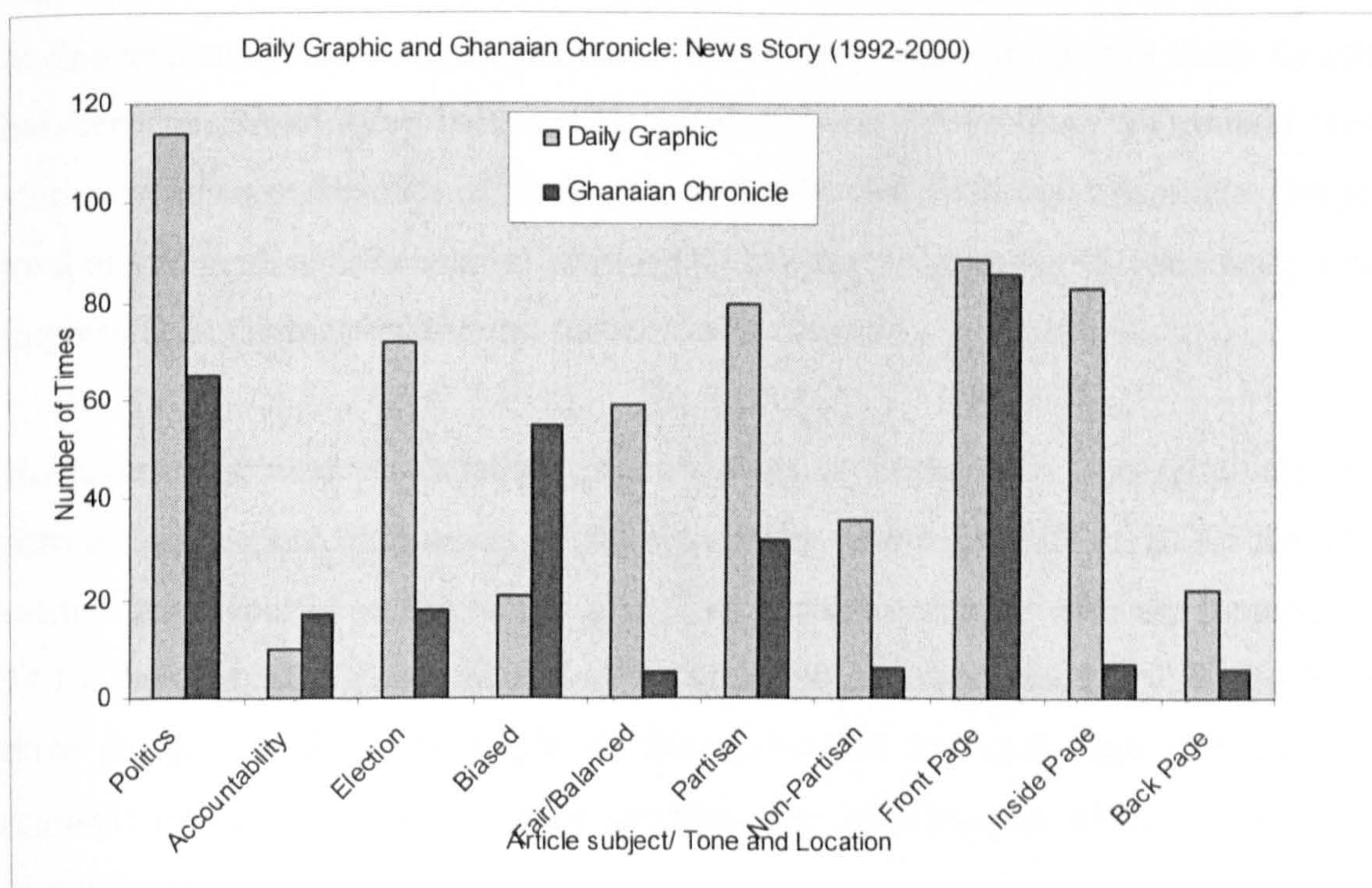
An interpretation of the statistical table and graph under this category reveals that in the 'General News' sub-category on 'Politics', 'Accountability' and 'Election', the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* recorded impressive frequencies for politics.

Table 3: General News Story

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>
Politics	114	65
Accountability	10	17
Election	72	18
Biased	21	55
Fair/ Balanced	59	5
Partisan	80	34
Non-Partisan	36	6
Front Page	89	86
Inside Page	83	8
Back Page	22	6

The *Daily Graphic* leads with 114 news stories on politics for the nine-year period while the *Ghanaian Chronicle* posted 65 occurrences on the same category.

Graph 2: General News Story



General news stories on elections followed in terms of numerical strength in both newspapers with accountability producing the lowest frequency for the period 1992-2000. Among the three sub-categories, an interpretation and analysis of the data from the table 3 and the graph 2 above has shown that there are some elements of bias, fairness and less partisanship in their coverage. In the election sub-category of general 'news story', they indicate the newspapers' inclination to multiparty democracy and active coverage of news items with the element of elections in it. It is also striking to observe the high premium the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has placed on 'accountability'. The comparatively higher frequency of the 'news stories' sub-category on accountability, as a journalistic tool deployed by the newspaper, shows that there is some level of specialization in the coverage of the three categories by the two newspapers. The strengths of the two newspapers have been clearly provided by the interpretation and descriptive analysis of the statistical data shown by both table 3 and graph 2.

A careful assessment of the coverage and tone of the stories of the two newspapers is indicative of different levels of bias, fairness/balance and partisanship. The *Daily Graphic* has been less biased in its coverage with 21 as compared with the 55 times bias counted in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* for the nine-year period of samples covered in this analysis. Interestingly, the statistical analysis showed that the *Daily Graphic* has been fairer and more balanced in the assessment of the 'tone' of general 'news stories' with an occurrence of 59 as against five by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. Out of a total of 196 general 'news story' reported for the three categories, the frequency is not impressive but some how modest for the *Daily Graphic*.

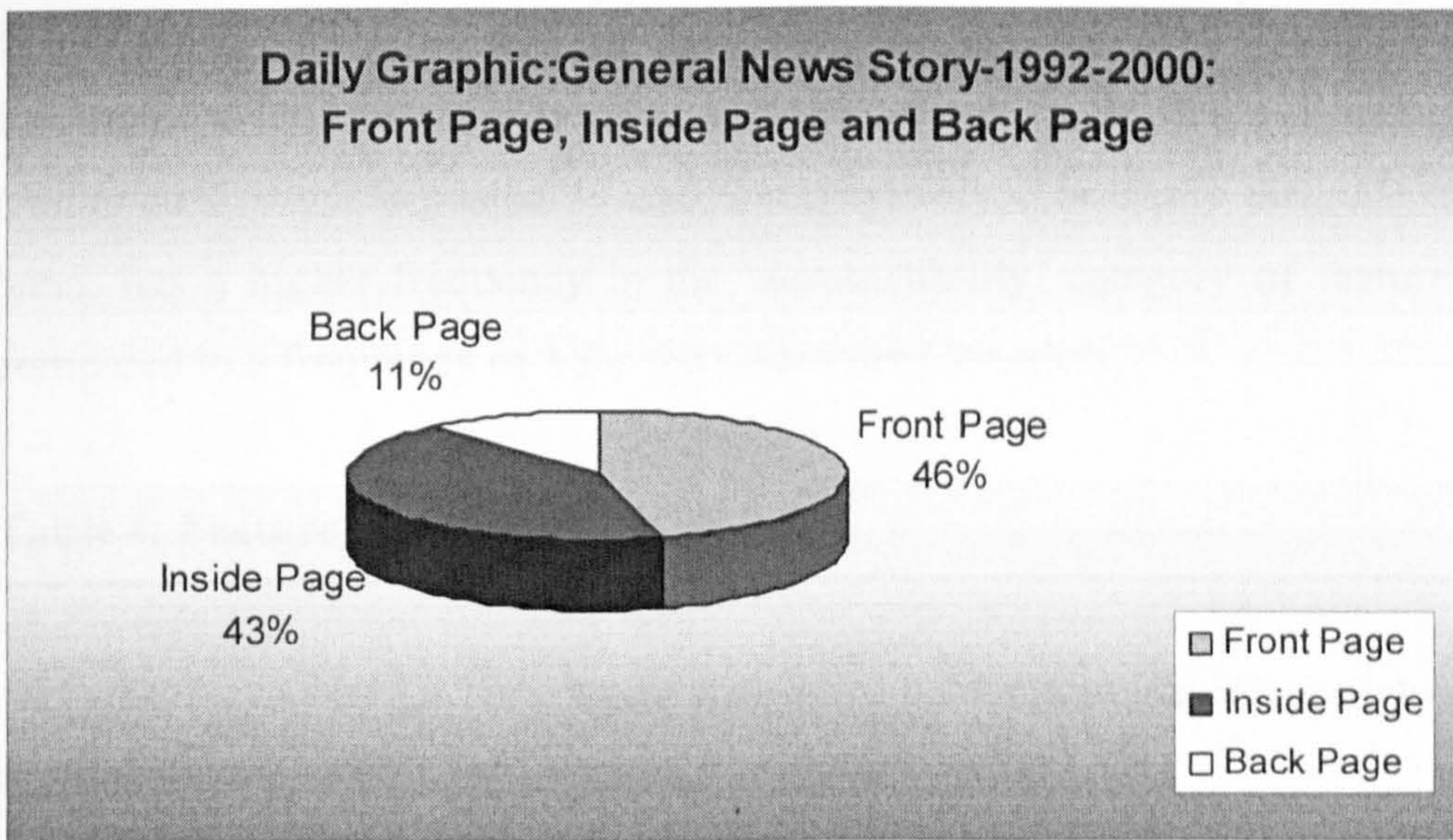
However, this modest statistical measurement is negated by the relatively high partisan assessment on the part of the newspaper. The frequency of 80 for the state-owned newspaper is on the higher side. This contrasts sharply with the frequency of 34 for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* out of the total 100 general 'news story' coded for the three categories. Whatever might be the motivation for such high partisanship is arguably reflective of the ownership structure and the principles which underpin their production strategies.

The acceptance of multiparty democracy as the fulcrum for political organization and development in Ghana might have been the elixir which provided both newspapers with the latitude to publish and be damned. It is evident in the high propensity of coverage of 'politics' and 'election' under the sub-category. The statistical data for 'accountability' on the average is encouraging but if measured as an index of democratic accountability, it reveals that much has not occurred in this department. It is nevertheless essential to point out that identifying political accountability and separating it from politics as a category has been quite problematic.

Placement of the stories also indicate the prominence attached to the subjects by the two newspapers, with the *Daily Graphic* publishing a frequency of 89 and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* closely on the heels of the *Daily Graphic* with 86 general 'news stories' on the three categories on their front pages for the period. The *Daily Graphic* also recorded 83 of the general news stories for the three categories in its inside pages compared with eight for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. As for the back page, the *Daily Graphic* maintains its dominance in the placement of stories on the most important pages posting 22 as against six by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

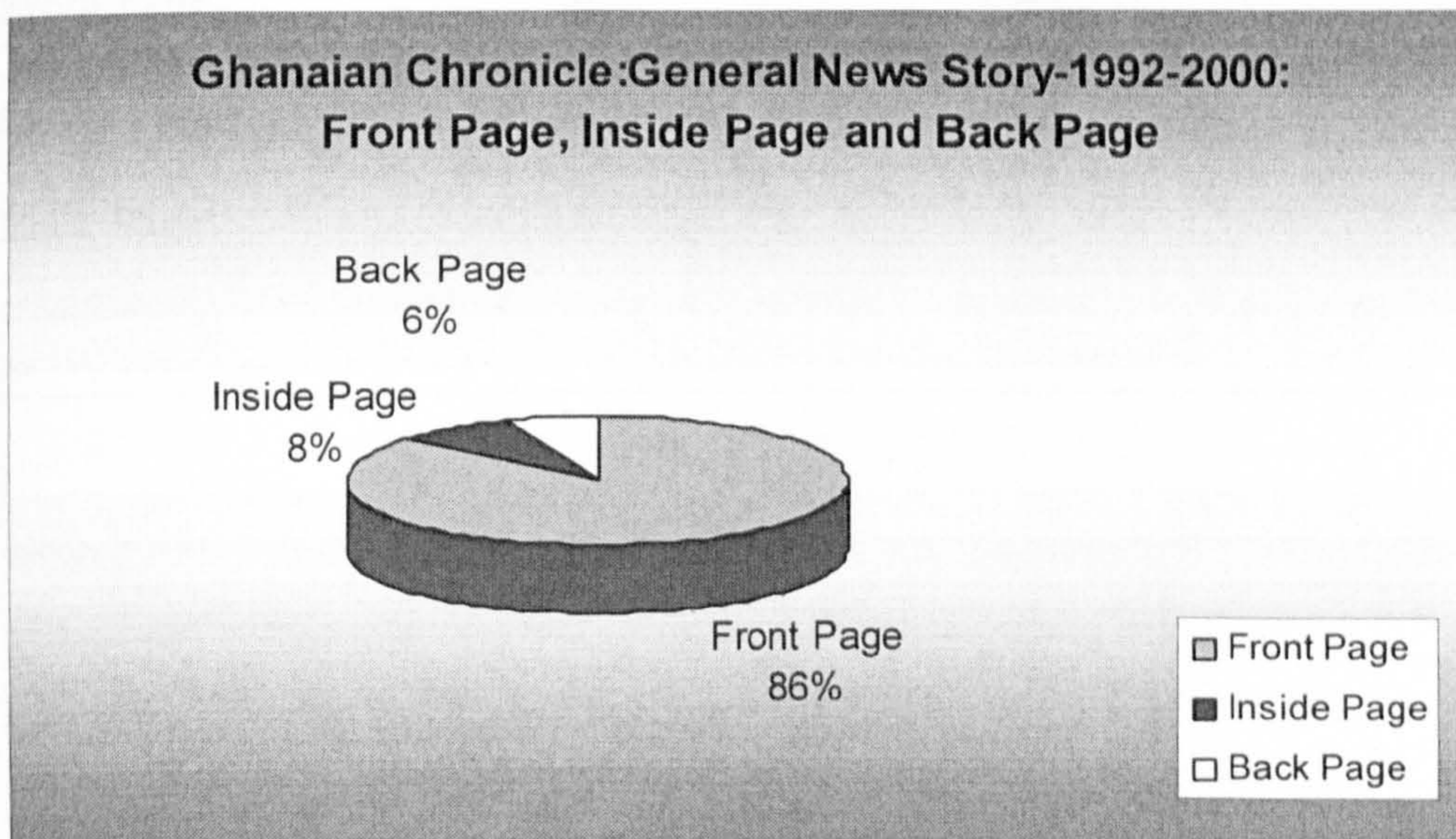
While news selection criteria is always based on the editorial discretion of the newspapers, as shown by the premium placed on the stories which merit front, back and inside page treatment, there is overwhelming evidence from table 3 and graph 2 to suggest that there is a high preponderance of 'politics' in the general 'news stories' published in the two newspapers. This reveals the orientation of the two newspapers in terms of ideology and marketing strategy to appeal or woo readers, or more likely, the pressures brought to be bear by their ownership structures of being state-owned and privately-owned. In percentage terms the two newspapers' premium on the placement of stories is captured respectively in the pie charts 5 and 6 on the *Graphic* and the *Chronicle* below:

Pie Chart 5



In the *Daily Graphic* a total of 46 per cent of stories in the general news category found their way onto the front pages, 43 per cent in the inside pages and the remaining 11 per cent on the back page. In the *Ghanaian Chronicle* as shown in the chart 6, a high percentage of 86 adorned the front page, eight per cent in the inside pages and six per cent recorded on the back pages.

Pie Chart 6



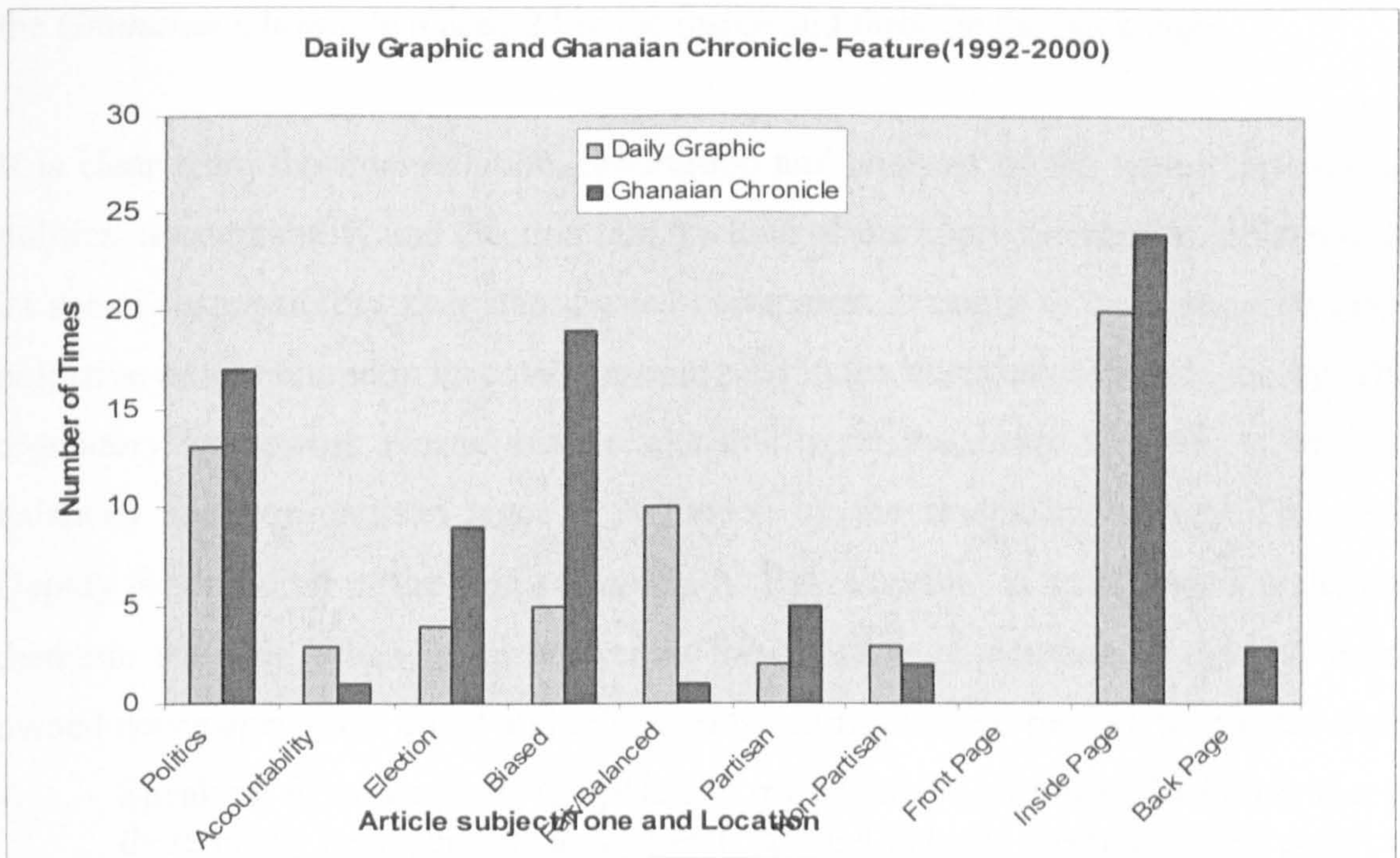
7.3 Feature Article: Politics, accountability and election

Feature articles in the two newspapers sampled showed the *Ghanaian Chronicle* publishing more feature articles on politics and elections than the *Daily Graphic*. In the ‘politics’ and ‘election’ categories as depicted by the table 4 and graph 3, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* posted 17 and 9 respectively. The *Daily Graphic* on the other hand, has a higher frequency in the ‘accountability’ category of feature articles as compared to a frequency of 1 for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

Table 4: Feature Article

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>
Politics	13	17
Accountability	3	1
Election	4	9
Biased	5	19
Fair/ Balanced	10	1
Partisan	2	5
Non-Partisan	3	2
Front Page	0	0
Inside Page	20	24
Back Page	0	3

Graph 3: Feature Article



Significantly, in the interpretation, description and analysis of the two previous sub-categories, this is the first time that the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has overtaken the *Daily Graphic* in the coverage of ‘politics and election’. The *Daily Graphic* also experienced a major shift by covering the ‘accountability’ category more than the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

In assessing the ‘tone’ of the ‘feature articles’ on the three categories, the *Daily Graphic* seems to be less biased with a frequency of five as against 19 for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* within the period under review: 1992-2000. Comparatively, the *Daily Graphic* has been fair and more balanced as well as less partisan in tone than the *Ghanaian Chronicle* as indicated by table 4 and graph 3 respectively. This position is corroborated by interviewee Kwesi Jonah under the thematic analysis in Chapter Six of the study, when he states “The *Daily Graphic* has been fairly balanced”.

Feature articles in most newspapers have almost always been located in the inside pages. The two newspapers followed this principle. However, while the *Daily Graphic* placed all its 20 feature articles published between 1992 to 2000 under the

three categories of interest (Politics, Accountability and Election) in the inside pages, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* placed 24 in the inside and three on the back page.

It is clear from the interpretation, description and analysis of the feature articles on politics, accountability and election that the tone of the *Daily Graphic* is indicative of its social responsibility as a state-owned newspaper. It ought to be seen to be more objective or less biased in its coverage as argued in the literature on media theory. The regulatory framework places more responsibility on the *Daily Graphic* to be fair, balanced and non-partisan since it is funded by the tax-payers money. The then Deputy News Editor of the *Daily Graphic*, A. B.A. Fuseini, in an interview under the thematic analysis, when in an answer to the question of whether or not the state-owned newspaper gives equal and fair coverage to all political parties, responded that:

Speaking from the *Daily Graphic* and my position as a Journalist I think that if there is any newspaper that has given fair and balance coverage to all political groups and people it is the *Daily Graphic*. Not only are we doing that in conformity with obligations imposed on us by the constitution; I think article 162 enjoins that state-owned media to endeavour to be fair and balanced to all political parties and various political groupings. So in exercise of that; and even it is the tradition of the *Graphic* to be fair and balanced. So we endeavour to ensure that all political parties get fair deal.

As for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, although it also showed some degree of responsibility of being guided by the journalistic elements of fairness, balance and objectivity, the data revealed that it was not under any strict obligation due to its status as a privately-owned newspaper. As a privately-owned entity, the exigencies of the market and the profit at all cost dictum, arguably overrides any other consideration in terms of the choice of tone in its coverage. This confirms the libertarian guarantees of the free market of choices between a good product and what is less appealing. As stated by the publisher and the then Editor-in-Chief, Kofi Coomson and discussed in Chapter Six, the whole issue of fairness/balance in political coverage is a misnomer. He revealed “it is an aberration to even think of fairness and balance in the coverage of political candidates in elections”.

The feature article on politics, accountability and election data is interesting in that it reveals the diversity of opinion, views and the level of freedom of the press. It is fascinating to unravel what the two newspapers deemed to be in the interest of the

readers and the public in general. The level of democratic engagement as seen in the plurality and diversity in the two newspapers has also been evident.

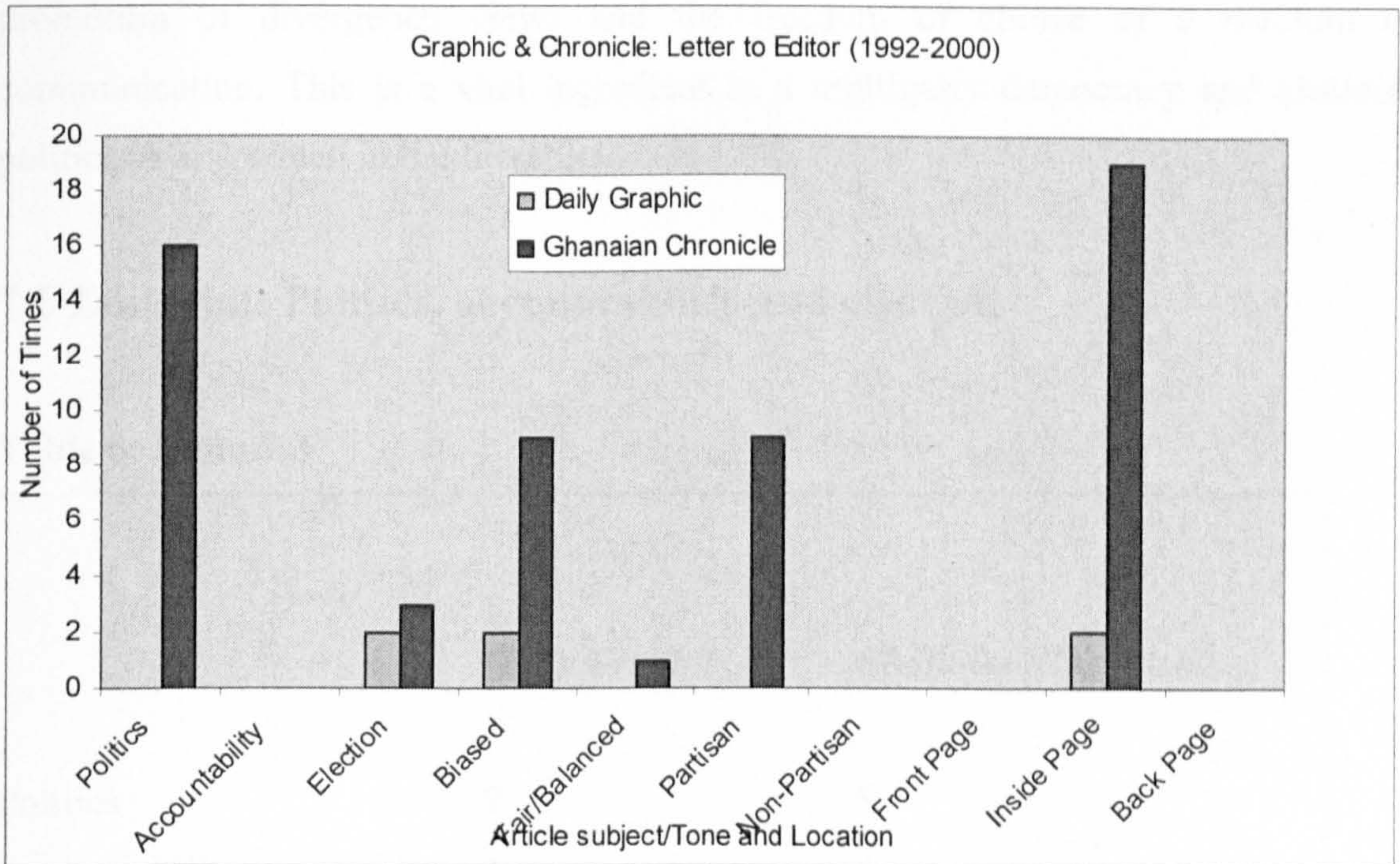
7.4 Letters to the Editor: Politics, accountability and election

In the letters to the editor category of politics, accountability and election, the *Daily Graphic* has no item to report for politics and accountability from the selected sample. There are, however, two frequencies noted for elections within the time frame. For the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, 16 letters to the editor relating to issues on politics have been recorded, three for election and zero for the accountability category. For example, a letter to the editor of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* on politics which also displayed partisanship and is titled “What is wrong with the NPP” while the other in the election category in the same issue is headlined “Bazookas for Navrongo alert in 2000 elections” (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, January 6-7, 1999: 2).

Table 5: Letter to the Editor

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>
Politics	0	16
Accountability	0	0
Election	2	3
Biased	2	9
Fair/ Balanced	0	1
Partisan	0	9
Non-Partisan	0	0
Front Page	0	0
Inside Page	2	19
Back Page	0	0

Graph 4: Letters to the Editor



The high frequency of politics in the letters to the editor in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* also carries an appreciable level of bias and partisanship using the tone assessment criterion. From the table 5 and the graph 4, it is evident that most of the views and opinions of those whose letters were published in the selected sample are not only commenting on politics but also displayed bias and partisanship.

Out of a total of 19 letters to the editor for the period, in all the three categories in the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, only one can be categorized as fair and balanced. As for the *Daily Graphic*, the two letters to the editor for the period under review falls under the election category, and both letters may be categorized as biased. Placement of all the letters from the three categories have been in the inside pages.

Based on the data presented in table 5 and plotted on graph 4, it can be concluded that compared to the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* seemed to be more positively inclined towards the opinions, views and feedback of its readers. However, as the data show, since the *Ghanaian Chronicle* focuses its coverage on politics, this may explain why the views and opinions in these letters are heavily tilted towards politics in this sub-category. What is more imperative about the findings is the inclination of the reading public and the newspapers' preference for political

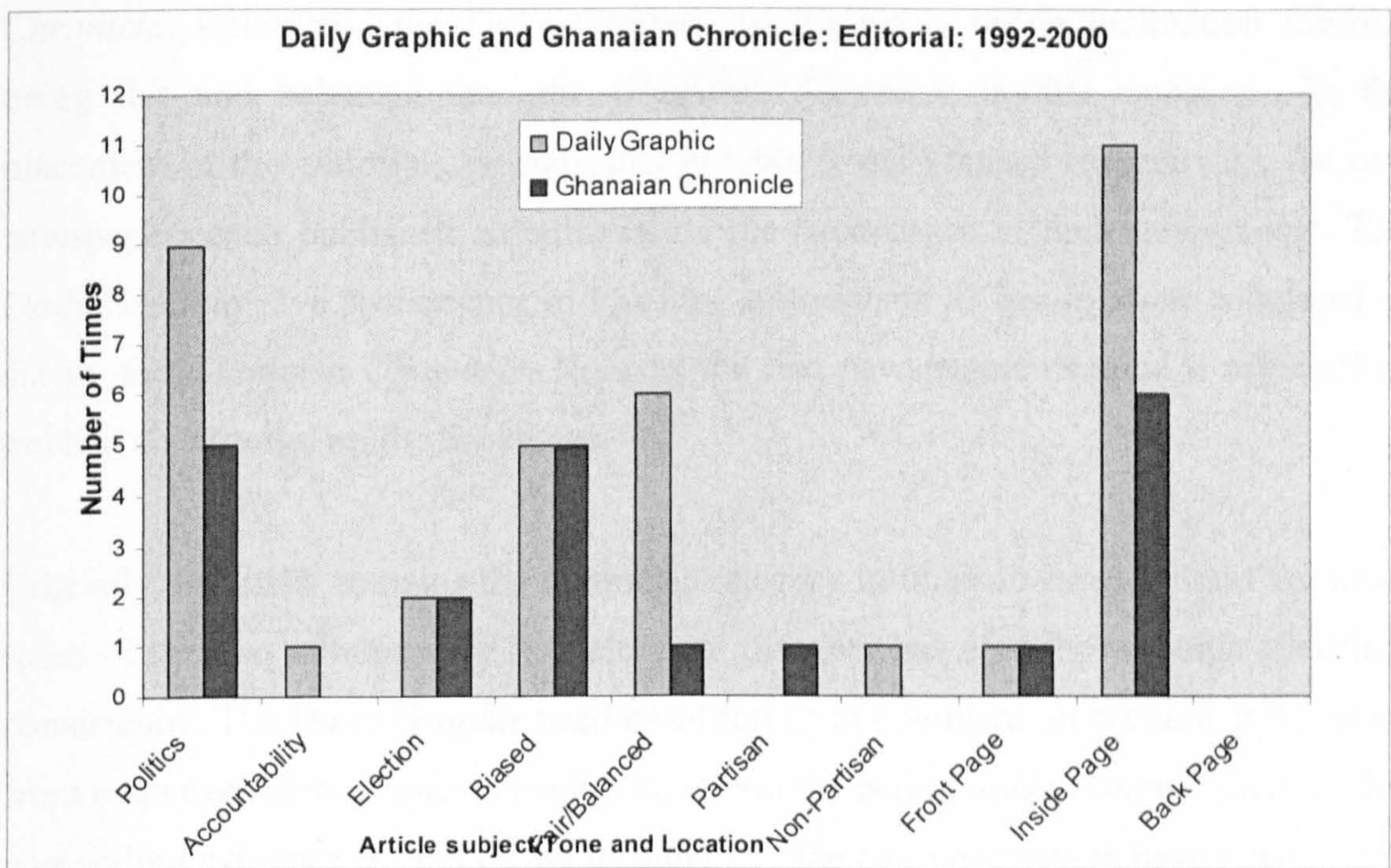
discourse. Whether partisan or biased, the essential feature of this development is the promotion of divergence views and the freedom of choice of a medium of communication. This is a vital ingredient in a multiparty democracy and electoral politics as articulated in the literature.

7.5 Editorial: Politics, accountability and election

Table 6: Editorial

	<i>Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle</i>
Politics	9	5
Accountability	1	0
Election	2	2
Biased	5	5
Fair/ Balanced	6	1
Partisan	0	1
Non-Partisan	1	0
Front Page	1	1
Inside Page	11	6
Back Page	0	0

Graph 5: Editorial



In the Editorial sub-category of politics, accountability and election, the two newspapers have a total frequency of 14 appearances on politics with the *Daily Graphic* accounting for nine and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* five. Both table 6 and graph 5 respectively showed that the *Daily Graphic* devoted more of its editorial to politics than accountability and election. As for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, it had a total of seven editorials for the period 1992-2000, of which five had concentrated on politics and the remainder devoted to election.

The *Daily Graphic* on the other hand, had 12 editorials over the same time frame. As with the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, two of 12 editorials concentrated on election, one on accountability and the remaining nine, as indicated earlier, was devoted to politics. Out of the total frequency of 12 for the *Daily Graphic*, five of its editorials can be classified as biased, one as non-partisan and six as being fair and balanced.

The total frequency recorded for the *Ghanaian Chronicle* for all the three categories on editorial coverage is seven. Out of this number, five can be categorized as biased; one as being fair and the remaining one as partisan. In comparative terms, taking the

data reported in table 6 and graph 5 for both newspapers into account, the conclusion can be drawn that the level of bias is less in the *Daily Graphic* than the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. Relatively, the *Daily Graphic* has shown a strong inclination towards being fair and balanced than the *Ghanaian Chronicle* in this category. On the placement of the editorials, as indicated in table 6 and graph 5 respectively, the two newspapers each published an editorial on the front pages of their newspapers. The *Daily Graphic* gave prominence to 11 of the editorials in its inside pages compared to six by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. None of the two newspapers deemed it essential to publish an editorial on the back page.

Crucially, 'politics' remains the dominant category in this sub-category and the main focus of the two newspapers. The 'election' category has also shown some statistical consistency. The *Daily Graphic* used its editorials to comment on accountability in its front page even if its impact is negligible within the period under review. There is also compelling evidence from the data to show that the two newspapers have been overly focused on politics and electoral matters in the society, or in their allotted columns and pages in this sub-category. This development could be said to be healthy for multiparty politics as biases and partisanship which resonates through the editorials on politics and election, and reflects the ideological position of the newspapers. Editorials are regarded as the opinions of newspapers, or what in journalistic parlance is called the 'face' of the newspapers.

7.6 Analysis of News Stories by Year

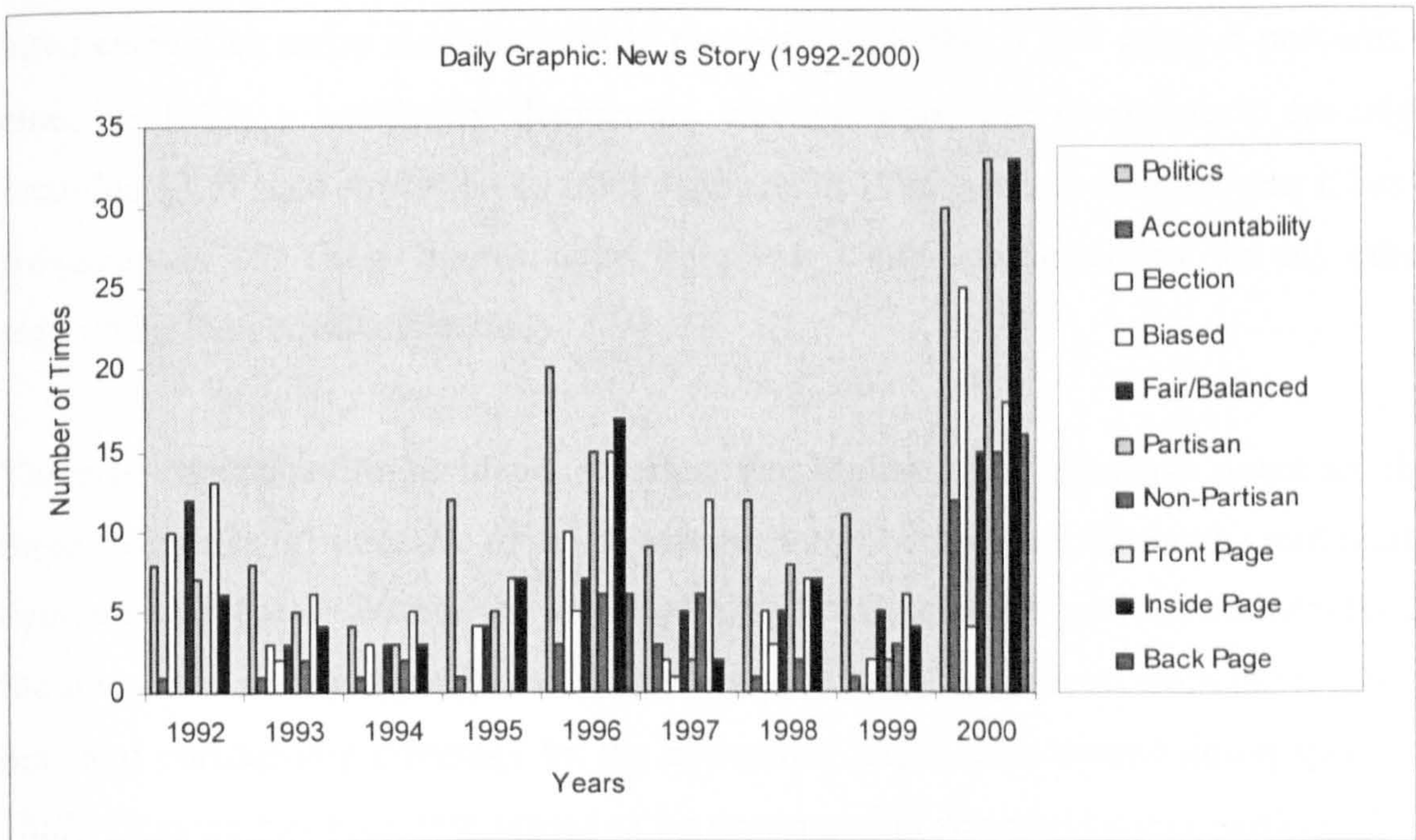
7.6.1 *Daily Graphic* News Story: Politics, accountability and election

Remarkably, across the nine-year period covered in this study, a comparative analysis of the separate tables and graphs of the two newspapers in the 'news story' category on politics, accountability and election is instructive. This provides individual insights into the two newspapers at separate levels of analysis. Thus, the year by year presentation, interpretation and analysis of data is meant to deepen this discourse.

Table 7: Daily Graphic News Story

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Politics	8	8	4	12	20	9	12	11	30
Accountability	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	12
Election	10	3	3	0	10	2	5	0	25
Biased	0	2	0	4	5	1	3	2	4
Fair/ Balanced	12	3	3	4	7	5	5	5	15
Partisan	7	5	3	5	15	2	8	2	33
Non-Partisan	0	2	2	0	6	6	2	3	15
Front Page	13	6	5	7	15	12	7	6	18
Inside Page	6	4	3	7	17	2	7	4	33
Back Page	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	16

Graph 6: Daily Graphic News Story



In the news story sub-category of the *Daily Graphic*, the newspaper carried more stories on politics in 1996 and 2000 than any other year with frequencies of 20 and 30. The lowest coverage recorded was in 1994 with a frequency of four. In the election sub-category, the highest frequencies of coverage are 1992 and 1996 with 10 frequencies each, and 2000 with 25. The *Daily Graphic* produced the highest

occurrences for the accountability sub-category in 1996 and 2000 with 12 and 3 respectively.

While the data presented in table 7 and graph 6 above explain the preference for politics as the pre-eminent category for the *Daily Graphic*, the emphasis and focus on election coverage and that of accountability also resonates. In terms of prominence attached to the news stories from the three categories, the *Daily Graphic* again devoted its front page to 18 of such stories in year 2000, 16 on the back page and 33 in the inside pages in the same year.

What this reveals is that there were increases in the coverage of politics and election categories in years of multiparty democratic elections in Ghana. With reference to the rationale for the study and the scope of this project, multiparty democratic elections have been held in 1992, 1996 and 2000.

In furtherance of prominence the *Daily Graphic* accorded front page treatment of the three categories under the 'news story' category, and table 7 and graph 6 provides a clue. In 1992, a multiparty democratic election year, the newspaper's coverage recorded 13 of such stories on its front page and in 1996, another election year it has a frequency of 15. These figures, apart from year 2000, are the highest for any other year under the period under study.

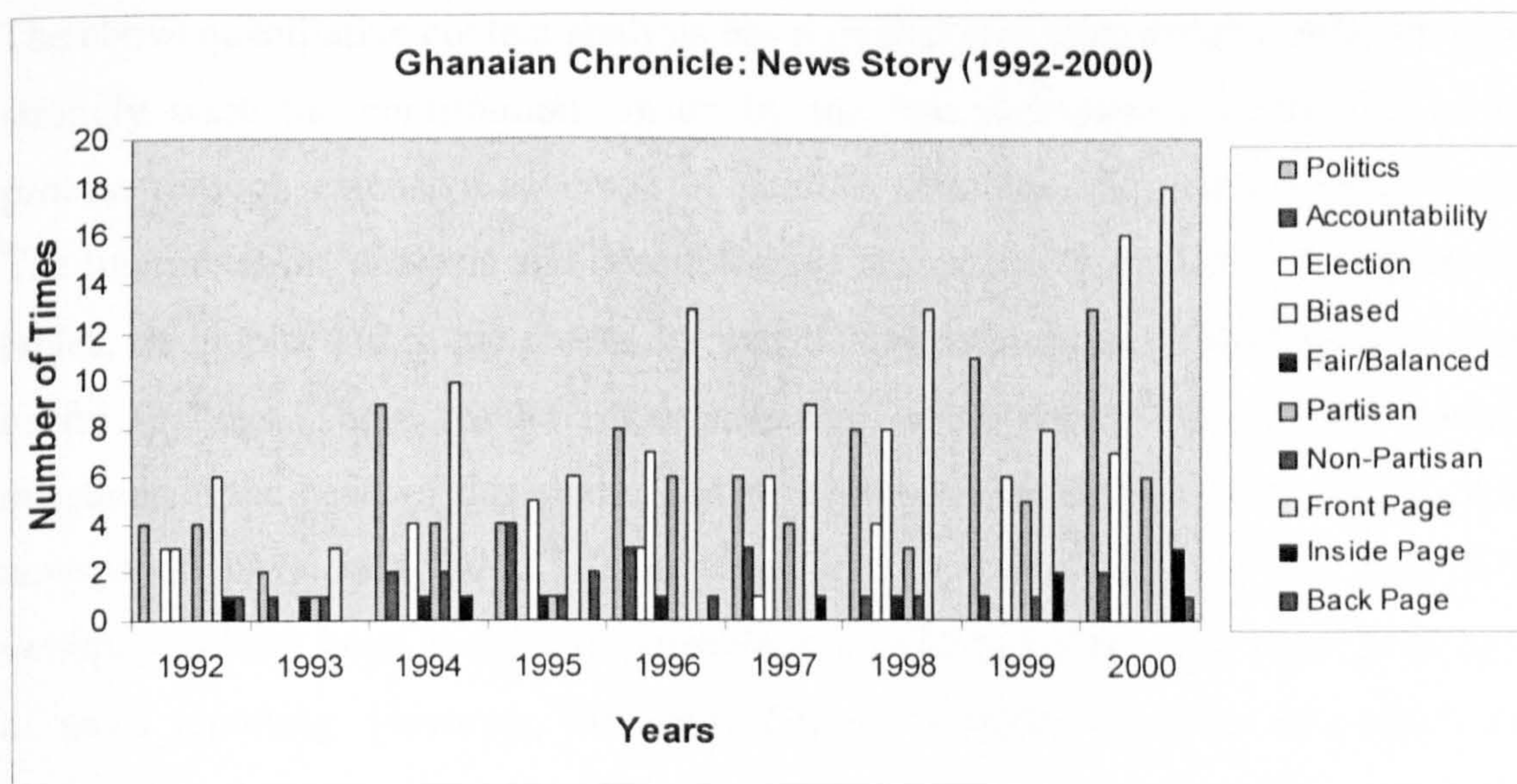
There is the compelling evidence to argue that the increased coverage noted for the three categories is indicative of the newspaper's role or agenda to assist the multiparty democratic process. Within the ambit of high frequencies for politics and elections, the interest in multiparty democratic activity could also be gleaned from the levels of bias and partisanship coverage by the newspaper. As a state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* has been less biased in its coverage but relatively more partisan. This partisanship has been somehow moderated by its high degree of fairness and balance in its coverage.

7.6.2 Chronicle News Story: Politics, accountability and election

Table 8: Ghanaian Chronicle News Story

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Politics	4	2	9	4	8	6	8	11	13
Accountability	0	1	2	4	3	3	1	1	2
Election	3	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	7
Biased	3	0	4	5	7	6	8	6	16
Fair/ Balanced	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Partisan	4	1	4	1	6	4	3	5	6
Non-Partisan	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0
Front Page	6	3	10	6	13	9	13	8	18
Inside Page	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	3
Back Page	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1

Graph 7: Ghanaian Chronicle News Story



The trend in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* with regard to the coverage of news story on politics as a category (table 8 and graph 7) produced the following frequencies: 13, 11 and 8 for 2000, 1999 and 1996 respectively. In the 'election' category on news story coverage on year by year basis, 2000 still maintains the lead in terms of posting a

higher frequency of seven. This is followed by 1998 with four, 1996 with three and 1992 also with three respectively. For accountability, the years with the highest occurrence are 1995, 1996, 1997 and by some distance 1992.

It is clear from the data presented in table 2 and graph 1 that *the Ghanaian Chronicle* also devoted its coverage to the politics and election category and to some extent accountability. The focus has been multiparty democratic election periods. However, the strong reportage in the two categories prior to major multiparty elections, as shown by table 8 and captured on graph 7 for 1999 and 1998, is worthy of note. This phenomenon underlines the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* editorial policy or ideological position as circumscribed in focusing on politics and election. On accountability, the high frequency in 1995 prior to a major multiparty election in 1996 could be argued to be the motivation for directing the beam in that direction. This is premised on the issue of accountability being a strong point for the newspaper in holding political office holders accountable, as argued and discussed in chapter four.

Conclusion

The above quantitative content analysis has provided intriguing results. What emerged strongly were the contributions made by the two newspapers to the democratic process through extensive coverage of politics, elections and accountability issues. The interpretation, analysis and description of the various statistical data captured in tables, on graphs and in pie charts, by way of frequencies and percentages, provided useful findings. These results either answered or disproved some of the research questions at the heart of this study. The strengths and weaknesses in coverage of the newspapers have been found in areas of politics, accountability and elections. Both newspapers have been socially responsible in providing coverage of these three areas of news reporting. However, the *Daily Graphic's* wider coverage of politics and elections as shown under political news story and general news story for example has been indexed against its partisan, biased and fair/balanced reportage of these news items. Their leanings in these reports could be gleaned from the measurement of the tone of reportage. Placement of stories also provided the preference for story selection in the two newspapers. Of significant interest also has been the very encouraging coverage of elections, politics and accountability outside non-election years, a

development which showed that the newspapers were committed to the overall multiparty democratic development.

SECTION TWO

7.7 Textual Analysis

This section deals with textual analysis of the two newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. It is based on the deployment of analytical semantics and aspects of the socio-linguistics form of discourse analysis. The main focus is intended to help the two previous methods in the process of triangulating the results of the previous findings that have emerged from the analysis. Following the empirical content analysis of the two newspapers, this section is analysed under the two main news categories. These are namely: Elections, Multiparty Democracy, Ownership and Pluralism; and Political Accountability and Democratic Politics. These are analysed using sub-groups and deploying variables such as partisanship, Bias, Fair/Balance coverage among others. Importantly, the news frames to be analysed involves items carried on the front pages, inside pages and the back pages of the two newspapers. The stories analysed include news stories, editorials, letters, and feature articles. The analysis begins with the *Daily Graphic* and the same criteria pattern repeated for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. A few sampled stories have been attached as an appendix 'E'.

7.7.1 Multiparty democracy, elections ownership and pluralism

7.7.2 *Daily Graphic* coverage leading to national elections and multiparty democracy

The analysis begins with the selection of three stories in the *Daily Graphic* which addressed electoral issues prior to a general election in the country and the problems of justice delivery in a multiparty democracy. The three sampled stories from the *Daily Graphic* are all front page stories and are headlined as follows:

- PARTISAN POLITICS TO RESUME MAY 18 (March 6 1992)
- PHOTO IDs FOR CAPITALS ONLY ...If Funds are not provided, Says Electoral Commission (October 5, 1994)
- THE CASE FOR JUDICIAL REFORM (November 11, 1999)

The first two headlines are on elections and are self-explanatory. The first one informs the reader and the citizenry of the time table for the return to multiparty constitutional order. This is meant to differentiate between the almost eleven years of military or unconstitutional rule and the return to a multiparty or partisan politics. Its use of the words partisan politics instead of multiparty constitutional democracy in the headline could arguably be interpreted as a deliberate verbal ploy by the *Daily Graphic*.

What the news story tends to do is provide a comprehensive insight into the processes and procedures leading to multiparty elections in the country. The *Daily Graphic* used attributions, for example the head of State as the source of its story in order to achieve credibility. The assurances of fairness and the purported empowerment of the Election Commission as an independent institution to supervise the process is used to allay the fears of the various groups who do not trust the military government to ensure a level playing field for the constitutional order announced.

However, in the story text for example, the paper quoted the head of state's use of words such as "violent" and "provocative" and also makes references to "certain quarters". These words are not neutral or value free but reflect the bias and the partisanship tone of the speaker. On the other hand, it outlines the processes and procedures for constitutional multiparty democracy, with the emphasis on the conduct of the various groups and the need for tolerance. The story confirms the newspaper's commitment to help ensure free and fair elections and to build democratic structures. As McNair has argued, democracy's main vitality is an "agreed set of procedures and rules governing the conduct of elections, the behaviour of those who win them and the legitimate activities of dissenters" (2003: 18). What is essential is the element of democratic tolerance and electoral democracy adhering to the accepted norms and procedures. In providing comprehensive information on the preparations for return to partisan multiparty democracy, the *Daily Graphic* fulfils its informative role and also raises debate within the public sphere for the citizens to deliberate on the vital issues concerning their lives and the democratic process in general. It is therefore assisting in generating and moulding acceptable opinion for constitutional multiparty elections and democracy in general.

The other election related story headlined “Photo IDs for capitals only ...” as reported by the newspaper is also meant to inform the electorate and prepare their minds for the next elections which were two years away. By reporting the difficulties faced by the Electoral Commission (EC) in ensuring free, fair and transparent elections mainly due to financial constraints, it has performed its duty by alerting the voter and all interested parties in the process. By reporting the inability of the EC to issue all eligible voters in the country with photo IDs two years before the next elections, the newspaper has demonstrated its commitment to the democratic process. On the other hand, the analysis of the texts implies that the EC is being discriminatory for opting to satisfy voters in only the ten regional capitals of the country.

This selective provision of IDs is not only discriminatory but biased and could undermine the enthusiasm of those outside these geographical areas in the electoral and democratic process. But the newspaper seems to have doused the flame with its early warning system by making it an issue for public discussion. It also reveals that the survival and sustenance of multiparty democracy is a priority of the newspaper. In the coverage of the true position of the electoral process, the newspaper confirms the view of Barnett and Gaber that the reporting of events accurately, intelligibly and offering an in-depth knowledge about political issues to the electorate, makes it easy for citizens to “formulate their own informed responses and if they choose - to participate accordingly (2001: 11). The vital ingredient of this reportage is to generate debate, promote discussion and strive to build consensus for a more acceptable electoral process. This obviously is a major contribution to the democratic process, more especially two years ahead of the general elections.

It is also worthy of note from the text that the newspaper is concerned about the participation of all eligible citizens in the electoral process hence the prominence given to the story as a front page lead. This participatory ideal is essential for democracy as full participation and representation confers legitimacy on the process. The generation of debate and healthy discourse over the shortcomings of the EC to satisfy all segments of the voter population will inevitably put the decision in the hands of the people through opinion formation. Therefore, the use of “participatory democracy” in the text reminds us of the Athenian ideal. It is an affirmation of Dunn’s philosophical argument that “in a democracy (the demos), the people, its human

members decide what is to be done, and in so deciding they take their destiny into their own hands (1993). Participation entails citizens' involvement in activities through which they can communicate their preferences, interests, needs, collective problems and aspirations to seek redress from those in charge of public policy or change them (Bratton, 1999; Putnam, 2000).

It is clear that newspaper contribution to the democratic process is not meant to undermine the EC but to help it assert its critical independence by allowing the citizens the opportunity to use their dialogic functions to promote a more reasoned position and acceptability, hence the information dissemination mechanism using the public sphere as the forum for popular participation and rational-critical discussion. Political parties and other interests can then enter the arena of debate over the provision of the photo IDs and so enhance the quality of the discourse (Schudson, 1995: 192).

The other headline sampled for analysis from the *Daily Graphic* titled "The Case for Judicial Reform" is a feature article published a year before the general elections of 2000. Its main thrust was to show how the judicial system could enhance multiparty democratic governance. The article deals with a very important component in constitutional and multiparty democracy. As an arm of government which deals with justice and fundamental freedoms of the people, the judiciary is very essential in the sustenance and consolidation of a constitutional democratic order, through the administration of justice in an independent manner. A complete reading of the text reveals the writer's concern about the defects in segments of the judicial structure, which if care is not taken could collapse and bring about total disharmony with incalculable consequences for the essential separation of powers in a government or constitutional democracy.

Essentially, the writer/newspaper recognizes the crucial role of justice in the sustenance of democracy. The justice system, from the writer's perspective must place a premium on quality with the citizens' liberty and freedoms being the topmost priority of the whole edifice of judicial responsibility in a democracy. The *Daily Graphic's* choice of this article could be given various interpretations. However, its commitment to the multiparty process of informing the people and educating them as

to their rights and responsibilities, and the avenues opened to them for redress, might have influence this publication.

It is the citizen who is the beneficiary of all laws and the justice system. The ultimate satisfaction that the people derive from the law or the judicial system is the protection of their liberties and rights as well as their safety. Clearly, it would seem that the notion of the writer was to set the stage for the discussion of lapses observed in the judicial system. A careful explication of the texts reveals that the writer/newspaper explores the premises category of argumentation as argued by Dijk (1991) in building on facts, generalizations and opinions in order to arrive at a convincing conclusion, which deals with objections and counter-arguments from those who may disagree with a line of reasoning and thought. This premise category is further identified in paragraph three which claims that “the public’s disaffection with the administration of justice in Ghana stems from what appears to be incurable defects of both the judicial structure and the judicial process”.

What is interesting from this feature article is the newspaper’s sense of duty to let the public debate the essential features. As the Fourth Estate, there is every reason to believe that the citizens are grumbling about the quality of justice delivery and administration in the country. A more acceptable way to deal with this disaffection is to promote debate in the public sphere. A democracy is normally built around an independent judiciary and robust legislature to allow for greater freedoms and liberties of the individual citizens. For the writer to state that the people “derive their affliction from years of neglect of this vital organ of good governance”, the underlying understanding is that the procedural processes of democracy which affirms separation of powers, rule of law and due process is usually underpinned by good governance. The absence of a healthy judicial system therefore renders one of the pillars of democracy defective and denies the necessary oxygen to the other levers in the machinery of state to ensure good governance.

The writer’s argument for a remedy to cure this “cancer afflicting the judicial system” is analytically premised on the conviction that the judges represent the final sentinels at the door of justice. Invariably, if they are corrupt, then the edifice is really in danger of incurability. This problem is a signal that all is not well with democracy and the

values it purports to promote. Keane warns us in the literature of these dangers of seeing democracy as the alpha and omega of all forms of governance when he attacks modern democratic practices and the loud claims in the Western world to democratic idealism, as a semblance of “a homeless drunk staggering uncertainly in search of a lamp-post for support if not illumination” (1994: 170-171).

Table 9: *Daily Graphic* sampled stories of the above categories

Story Headline	Date	Story Type	Placement
Partisan Politics to Resume May 18	6 March 1992	News Story	Front Page
Photo IDs for Capitals Only	5 October 1994	News Story	Front Page
Day of the Elephant	20 April 1996	News Story	Front Page
Rawlings Cruises to Victory	9 December 1996	News Story	Front Page
NPP's Search For a Leader	24 October 1998	Editorial	Front Page
NPP and 2000 Election	24 October 1998	Letter-to-Editor	Inside Page
The Case for Judicial Reform	11 November 1999	Feature	Inside Page
194 Results Out	30 December 2000	News Story	Front Page

7.7.3 *Daily Graphic* coverage of internal party politics and elections

- DAY OF THE ELEPHANT ... 6 Struggle for NPP's presidential flag bearer at congress (*Daily Graphic*, October 21, 1996, page 1)
- NPP's SEARCH FOR A LEADER (*Daily Graphic*, October 24, 1998, page 7)

In this sub-group, the analysis focuses on the coverage of internal party politics and electoral issues by the *Daily Graphic*. The purpose of this analysis is to show trends of the state-owned newspaper's coverage of political activity and election issues in the

quest to promote and deepen constitutional multiparty politics. Its partisanship, biases and fair/balance coverage will be pointed out, while its commitment or otherwise to democratic tenets will also resonate through the analysis. The headline "Day of the Elephant" is a front page news story while "NPP's Search for a Leader" is an editorial.

All the headlines are targeted on the then opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP). The central theme behind the story headlined the "Day of the Elephant" has to do with the internal choice of presidential candidate of the party to contest the general elections of 1996. The second headline which is the editorial is also on the nomination process within the party for the presidential candidate to lead them into general elections which was then two years away. More importantly, the devotion of the *Daily Graphic's* pages to the NPP has shown that it wants to play it fairly by providing coverage for all the political parties. As a state-owned newspaper, it is in fulfilment of the constitutional injunction in Article 163 of the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana (1992: 112).

A textual analysis of the storyline, as carried by the *Daily Graphic* on the headline "Day of the Elephant", reveals that it assisted in projecting all the contestants in the contest. The newspaper published the photographs of the six contestants, a move which offers equal exposure of the aspirants to the public. Equally useful is the political communication strategy adopted by the newspaper in featuring all the six contestants on its front page. In doing this, it cannot be accused of bias

However, a clear case of bias and partisanship of the newspaper has been identified in some paragraphs. While this is supposed to be an internal contest, the paper diverts attention to the main political opponent, the National Democratic Congress (NDC). It describes the then governing NDC party as a "colossus". The attempted comparison of the two political parties in what is clearly a preview of the NPP congress is to belittle and water down the chances of the main opposition party. "Colossus", as used in the story, connotes the invincibility or giant status of the NDC. This piece of writing betrays the ideological inclination of either the writer or the newspaper thereby confirming Dijk (1991); Hall (1973); Altschull (1984); and Cohen and Young's (1981) argument of news having an ideological implication. According to

Cohen and Young, although news may not influence how people think, it does determine what they should think about. Invariably, news shapes public opinion. The newspaper is therefore doing covert politics for the NDC. Further proof of the covert politics of the newspaper or the writer is implicitly hidden in paragraph 15,

Above all, the party would have to formulate a concrete and comprehensive manifesto that can serve as a convincing alternative capable of positively transforming the lives of the people and also consolidate the nation's peace and stability.

What the *Daily Graphic* tries to do is usurp the rights of the readers to form their own judgement. The recourse to overt partisan politics addresses the position discussed in the literature which articulates Dahlgren and Sparks argument that the media/press has shifted their focus from reporting politics and have become active agents in the political process (1995). Partisanship as argued by Street is deliberately promoted in support of a political party (2001: 20). Impliedly, the *Daily Graphic* is indirectly endorsing the NDC over the NPP. In this example, the state-ownership is being abused in favour of the ruling party. Clearly, the evidence is compelling for one to argue that ownership of newspapers could either be a political tool for serving certain partisan ends or to influence the outcome of the electoral process. The covert manner in which the newspaper strayed from the NPP's internal politics in order to attempt a comparison with the NDC is totally unacceptable.

It is, however, refreshing to note that by offering the platform and space in the newspaper for all of the six NPP presidential aspirants to be known, and what they stand for, the *Daily Graphic* deepens the liberal democratic options available to the people by affirming its commitment to multiparty politics and plurality of choices. This is in fulfilment of McNair's position that democracy ought to provide the necessary political choices for the electorate among the competing political parties, and the election of the candidates only through rational and informed decisions of the electorate (2003: 18).

Moreover, the prominence and space devoted to the coverage is affirmation of the newspaper's commitment to political journalism on election coverage. Furthermore, it identifies with the social responsibility theory argument of Baran and Davis (2003). The analysis of the properties of text indicate that the *Daily Graphic* seems to have

devised new strategies in the democratic process of the country by being at the vanguard of the struggle to preserve the opportunity by giving space to contending individuals whether in the same group or different groups, to be heard or read about.

In the case of “NPP’s Search for a Leader”, the newspaper in its editorial is urging the then opposition NPP, as a political alternative, to enrich its sustainability and to recognize its existence in a multiparty setting as an alternative choice to the ruling party. This view is deepened by Maier who maintains that the institutionalisation of political parties in a democracy has helped “transformed opposition from conspiracy into acceptable dissent” and therefore provided a vital channel for an otherwise virulent and potentially lethal rivalry into a workaday and tolerable antagonism of “ins and outs” (in Dunn, 1993: 135).

This is affirmed in paragraph three by the paper when it states “This is why anything that happens within the party must be of concern since it would impact on our search for sustainable democracy and leadership”. The paper reckons that the NPP is a national party and has attracted much attention in its quest to elect a new leader to take them into the year 2000 elections.

In some paragraphs the newspaper expresses concern about the tirades by supporters of some of the contestants against other contestants. The *Daily Graphic*, however, urged the party’s delegates to make informed decisions regarding the choice of a leader in spite of what it describes in paragraph five as “subversive and verbal abuse of opponents” by the supporters of some of the contestants. The interest in the internal democratic politics of the opposition party is indicative of the fairness the newspaper attaches to its coverage of election and democratic politics as a whole.

The call for “civility and tolerance of dissenting views from subversive and verbal abuse of opponents” in the subsequent paragraph is a deliberate verbal ploy to dismiss the party’s claim to democratic idealism and constitutional legality. What the newspaper has done is to take the middle ground in condemning the intolerance of fringe groups while at the same time displaying its distaste for the kind of democracy being adopted by the supporters of the contestants. Internal democracy is as vital and important as national politics. Therefore, the paper’s concern is grounded even though

the ideological position of the newspaper could be at variance with that of the NPP, hence the deliberate attempt to magnify the internal disagreements. In paragraph nine, the *Daily Graphic* writes:

The party has often condemned the country's electoral processes, anytime it has felt that things have not been moving as required in an open democracy. It has a duty therefore to operate in a manner that it would not be accused of renegeing on the principles it professes to cherish and stand for.

This comment appears to be laced with partisanship and bias. By claiming "it would not be accused of" is to hide its own position and seek refuge in the imaginary public. The newspaper is out to question the democratic traditions of the NPP and to offer the reader the opportunity to see through the false claims of the party. Using the analytical tool of semantics, it is evident that the paper is deliberately deploying literary devices meant to paint a gloomy picture of the party to the electorate. By its reference to the party's concern over the conduct of some of the national electoral and democratic processes, one is at a loss as to understand the connection between the internal wrangling among party members and their right to demand fairness at the national level. Clearly, the newspaper was engaging in covert politics.

7.7.4 *Daily Graphic* coverage of national multiparty elections

The analysis in this sub-group is limited to two sampled stories from the *Daily Graphic* on the coverage of the outcome of general elections held in 1996 and 2000. The stories are front page lead reports and contain very useful material necessary to assist in addressing some of the research questions at the heart of this study. The stories are headlined:

- As the race gets to the Osu curve RAWLINGS CRUISES TO VICTORY (December 9, 1996, page 1)
- The Presidential run-off ... 194 RESULTS NOW OUT ... Kufuor in the lead (December 30, 2000, page 1)

The two *Daily Graphic* headlines summarize the stories as one of an electoral contest in which the victors have been mentioned. They are election-base stories and generally reflect multiparty politics. In the first story titled "As the race gets to the Osu curve ... Rawlings Cruises to Victory" the state-owned newspaper deployed adjectival clauses, believed to have been deliberately engaged with, to taunt either the

losing political parties and their candidates - or it is merely out of excitement and the euphoria which makes the newspaper/writer display so much partisanship in this reportage.

The paper, in magnifying the extent of the victory with words/phrases such as “as the race gets to the Osu curve... Rawlings cruises” relies on rhetorical tricks of dramatization, exaggeration and hyperbole. Its main thrust is to emphasise meaning as to the nature of the victory. In this case, the metaphorical usage of “race” has been applied to dramatize the electoral success of the victor.

In paragraph four the newspaper’s partisan colouration is evident in the choice of words to describe the other political parties, and how they fared in the contest. For example, it describes the People’s National Convention (PNC) and the National Convention Party (NCP) in very negative terms in relation to their performance when it states “...while the People’s National Convention (PNC) and the National Convention Party (NCP), are still struggling to register their footprints”. Here, the *Daily Graphic*/writer exploits alliterative devices such as “still struggling” to paint a dismal picture of the performance of the two parties. The paper/writer is indirectly drawing on evaluative meaning from their performance as to influence the reader in negative or positive terms in the formation of an opinion.

Critical independence which is expected from a state-owned newspaper has been thrown overboard here as the *Daily Graphic* descends into the arena of partisan politics. As Hachten and McQuail (1992; 2005) have argued, the state media/press ought to be at the vanguard of the struggle to preserve democracy. However, what the newspaper seeks to do is slide into the development concept in supporting everything done by those in political authority (Hachten, 1992). Rawlings, whom it says “cruises to victory”, is the incumbent in the contest and his authority in the electoral contest is unquestionable, just as his victory. The affirmation of the development theory in the literature is underlined by the position of the media/press to support authority and not challenge it.

In paragraph five, the newspaper used words such as “remarkable” to describe the NDC. Furthermore, it adds that its strength lies in rural Ghana. This is a major

observation by the writer/newspaper to distinguish the NDC from the rest as evident of the votes obtained. The paper's bias and partisan inclination is again detected in paragraph six when it writes "There is every indication that the President is still popular with the rural folk majority who have been provided with basic necessities of life". This is pure overt politics by a state-owned newspaper. One wonders what has been the measuring instrument of the newspaper's assessment of the provision of basic needs of the rural people. This is a subjective piece of journalism which displays open support for a particular candidate. Beside the opportunism beneath the judgemental writing, the ownership question is also evident from the reportage. Ansah holds the view that government control of the media/press could crowd out dissent (1991). In addition to Ansah's argument, McQuail problematizes how it is difficult to extricate the media/press from its ideological leanings. The analysis here addresses the second research question in that newspaper ownership has both direct and indirect relationship with multiparty politics.

However, for providing a detailed account of the trends being recorded in the election results, it fulfils a democratic function of informing and educating the citizenry as well as offering them the issues to assist with debate as to enrich the political and electoral public sphere. Whatever position the newspaper has taken in the electoral contest as per its reportage, once pluralism results from democratic participation multiparty politics enhances the libertarian guarantees of the media/press. Libertarian theory as posited by Siebert et al, by its very discussion in the literature makes room for the citizens to sift the truth from falsehood, instead of authoritarian prescriptions which do not even allow for the ventilation of viewpoints (1963: 3).

In the second election results-base story headlined "The Presidential run-off 194 Results now out ... Kufuor in the lead" the *Daily Graphic* uses the photograph of the chairman of the Electoral Commission (EC), Kwadwo Afari-Gyan to adorn the front page and runs it alongside the story. Whatever the motive, it is to tell the reader about the man in-charge of the whole electoral arrangement. It is also likely that the photograph is used to confirm, or as a ploy to authenticate, whatever is published about the election results in order to attain credibility. The paper provides statistical data on the election results so far by stating the results obtained by each of the contestants in the presidential elections. In doing this it enables the readers, the

electorate and the general public, to make their own analyses and projections as to who is likely to finally clinch victory. In addition, the newspaper ensured that the yet to be declared results from the various constituencies was provided for in the story.

The newspaper, based on its own analytical judgement, provided a break down of the strengths of the two main political parties in the run-off – the NPP and the NDC. For example in paragraph seven, the paper/writer makes use of the power of interpretation and formulation, relying on the retrieval of knowledge and other strategies of the cognitive dimension as Dijk (1991) prefers to call it. This is manifest in the *Daily Graphic's* analysis of the pattern of voting in which it claimed “Mr Kufuor did not only consolidate his hold over the hitherto strongholds of the incumbent NDC, but also increased the number of votes which he won in the NPP’s main backyards”. The paper’s analytical grasp of the behavioural change in the voting pattern is worth noting. Invariably it uses Halliday’s functional linguistics approach by offering readers a textual construction of language from an underlying personal perspective. It grapples with the results in a particular way by noting the shift in support from one candidate to the other (cited Fairclough, 1995).

The *Daily Graphic*/writer exploits an essential element in semantic analysis that is, the adoption of implication to explain the pattern of change in the election results in some constituencies. By applying implicit meaning/interpretation to the increases in the votes cast for candidate Kufuor, the paper/writer is out to express the variation in the original results and this is based on its own implicit analysis and the cognition offered by the calls from the leadership of other opposition parties for their supporters to give the vote to the NPP flag bearer. This position is further corroborated by paragraph nine thus:

For instance in the Effutu, Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abirem and Awutu-Senya constituencies, all in the Central Region, where the NDC won in the recent parliamentary election, the picture was totally different in the run-off which saw NPP sweeping the mass of votes to give Mr. Kufuor a comfortable lead in the contest.

As noted in paragraph eight, the newspaper’s bias and ideological leaning resonates strongly. While the paper supports its arguments with examples in paragraph nine to

correlate with what is stated in paragraph eight, it is also imperative to note that no empirical data has been provided to determine the change in voting behaviour.

An equally important observation and discovery has been the *Daily Graphic's* effort to project its ownership philosophy as a state-owned newspaper. It maintains for the greater part of the storyline a more balanced and fair coverage of the election results. Its own analysis of the results, however, skewed its leaning towards the then ruling party, the NDC. Not much credit is given to candidate Kufuor but rather a subjective analysis which presents his voter gain to other extraneous factors such as the support of other opposition parties and the alleged voter apathy by NDC supporters.

Table 10: *Ghanaian Chronicle* sampled stories on same category

Story Headline	Date	Story Type	Placement
The Great Depression	9-15 November 1992	News Story	Front Page
Who Dares Wins	10-16 August 1992	News Story	Front Page
Well Done, Opposition	25-31 January 1993	Letter-to-Editor	Inside Page
BNI Detains NPP Man	16-19 June 1994	News Story	Front Page
It's Kufuor in Round One	2 December 1996	News Story	Front Page
Rawlings Surprise Successor	16-17 March 1998	News Story	Front Page
Bazookas for Navrongo Alert in 2000 Elections	6-7 January 1999	Letter-to-Editor	Inside Page
The Final Onslaught	22-28 December 2000	News Story	Front Page

7.7.5 *Ghanaian Chronicle* coverage of national multiparty elections

- IT'S KUFUOR IN ROUND ONE (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, December 2, 1996, page 1)
- THE FINAL ONSLAUGHT Who Should Win? The odds favour Kufuor, but can juju and cash work (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, December 22-28, 2000, page 1)
- J. J. Romps home in Round-One and sets off ... THE GREAT DEPRESSION ... How did Erskine Score Zero in Station he voted? (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, November 9-15, 1992, page 1)

In this sub-group of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* coverage, are three sampled stories on the electoral process and multiparty politics in general. The three stories identified were all front page leads in the newspaper at different dates and years. The first one titled "It's Kufuor in round one". What the headline seeks to do is to either influence or direct the outcome of the elections. The newspaper presents the readers with some sort of empirical undertaking which points to this authoritative headline. In other words, if the ownership ideology of partisan support for a particular political party and candidate is under consideration then that candidate is being 'played up' by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*.

If the headline reveals the newspaper's manipulative agenda, intended to swing the voting mood of voters in a particular direction, the introductory/lead paragraph confirms this position with the claim to straw polls and surveys. The paper claimed its staff had conducted surveys and straw polls to determine who is likely to emerge the winner of the presidential contest. What it fails to tell us is the methodology adopted, the sample size of those surveyed, and the number of field staff who carried out the opinion polls.

However, as a basis of ensuring free and fair polls, the newspaper performs a critical democratic duty when in paragraph five it calls for vigilance at all the polling stations. As a watchdog, it has a constitutional obligation to ensure the education of voters and those in the electoral contest to make sure the election is free, fair and transparent so as to validate the acceptance of the results of all the contestants. What is unacceptable and biases the newspaper's story as one of partisan propaganda for the opposition is

the call on the opposition 'Great Alliance', made up of the NPP and the PCP, to understand that "A number of Great Alliance polling agents will be bribed to leave their positions for some time. Rigging can also be reduced through vigilance". What is clear from the last sentence is the shift from survey and straw polls into a lopsided analysis featuring intimidation, harassment and the fears of bribery of polling agents of the opposition parties. It is confusing as to how these factored into the survey and straw polls which gives the indication of a first round victory for candidate Kufuor.

Clearly, Halliday's (cited Fairclough, 1995) lexical approach can be associated with the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* position in exploiting journalistic opinion to deepen the social situation with a given meaning. Again the choice of words reveals who is in control and the possible relations which exist between journalists and readers or between them and those they write about. In the subsequent paragraphs, the paper returned to its core theme.

A critical scrutiny of the text, fails to indicate the regions and constituencies sampled let alone to tell readers the sample size. This makes it impossible to gain an insight into how it arrives at its conclusion on the expected outcome. Obviously absent were the questions posed to the respondents and their demographic characteristics. In order to buttress the deceptiveness of the headline and the introductory/lead paragraph's claim, misleading reportage can be detected as being the opinion of the newspaper, loaded with partisan consideration, when it records in paragraph thirty-five that "Professor Mills is a colossal liability, a simple academic mind with no idea of what he is doing or going politically and could not even win his Hall elections during his university days".

The paragraph above has no bearing on the analysis and interpretation of data the paper claims will give Kufuor victory in round one. It fails to connect with the whole story to indicate that it is part of the information which emerged from the survey. The disdain for the personality resonates clearly as it attempts to influence the electorate and direct their voting behaviour in a certain way. In short it is the deliberate deployment of literary skills in news reports, and as Cohen and Young (1981) argued, is meant to direct the people or readers decision-making. The *Ghanaian Chronicle's* manipulative capacity of being a player in the market, instead of a referee, is an

admission of the argument advanced by Curran about the canting of the press/media towards the powerful, resulting in the reduction in the quality of information and knowledge provision for the people (1995).

There is evidence from this reportage to show that the newspaper's private ownership influenced its coverage of political and election-base issues in a particular direction. It is also indicative of being a political and electoral tool in the hands of some elite politicians or groups with a particular ideology to prosecute. On the whole, whether partisan, biased or fair in its coverage, the newspaper devotes almost three pages of the story to multiparty politics and elections. It is a measure of its commitment to the democratic process and how to deepen political discourse in the public sphere even if its manipulative agenda sought to influence and direct the society in a certain direction was not healthy.

The story headlined the "The Final Onslaught ... Who should win ... The odds favour Kufuor but can juju and cash work" is explicitly biased and partisan. The subjective nature of the headline is gleaned from the position taken by the paper by surreptitiously delving into the realm of the underworld to denigrate one side in the political contest. This reveals the *Ghanaian Chronicle's* leaning and its mission to work either covertly or overtly to ensure the victory of its preferred political party or candidate. The rider which accompanies the main headline sums up the non-neutrality of the story. Its partisan underpinnings are clear, apart from being biased as depicted by the choice of words such as "odds favour Kufuor". It is a positive portrayal of candidate Kufuor as against its main opponent whom the newspaper presented in derogatory terms with the rider "can juju and cash work?"

Any casual reader of the last part of this headline is likely to form a judgement either positive or negative about the main opponent of Kufuor in the run-off contest for the presidency. In this connection, the purpose of the story could be interpreted as a deliberate partisan agenda to roll out a propaganda piece to assist the newspaper's favourite to win the elections. While the newspaper's ideological and political inclination resonates through the headline and the riders, it is aimed at influencing and directing the outcome of the elections. It therefore corroborates Dijk's assertion that headlines have an ideological function (1991). As he has explained, the information

put out by the newspaper in the headline, could greatly impact on the readers construction and understanding of the overall meaning of the text (Ibid).

In order to justify its position and sway political opinion in favour of its position, it introduces factors into the story which have no empirical verification. It delves into the realm of metaphysics or the supernatural when it asks "How can juju work to overturn the wishes of voters of all creed, religion or sex on a nation? Granted that it probably worked in the Volta Region." This is clearly a polemical piece of writing. It exposes the mindset of the writer/newspaper. The headline which sets the tone as to "who should win" has been reduced to a very simplistic analysis with no pattern of consistency to show a correlation between the headline and the story text. In this one-sided story, the paper ascribes all the negative conduct to the religious men and women, that is, pastors and bishops known to be friends of the other political candidate while elevating and extolling the virtues of those who openly speak against the other candidate.

Paragraph seven provides us with the pattern of inconsistency of the writer/newspaper as its partisanship inclination towards the NPP and candidate Kufuor becomes clearer. It states "Curiously, Christian Faith is completely dominated by Bishops who have been loudly preaching against the very issues that "Atta Mills/Rawlins represent". Unfortunately, what these things were was not revealed in the story for the reader. However, while passing judgement on the conduct of those seen to be friends, or close to Atta Mills/Rawlins, for their overt and covert partisan leaning, the same newspaper/writer was out to praise some of the pseudo-politicians parading as pastors in cassock.

The *Ghanaian Chronicle* writes "The outspoken Rev. Paul Apraku was set upon and beaten to near death by men believed to be soldiers for consistently speaking out against the NDC". If indeed it is true that a pastor had been assaulted for speaking his mind in a democracy, which was underpinned by a constitution allowing for freedom of expression then the experimented democracy could have been in serious danger. For the newspaper to bring this to the attention of the public was to alert it to the political intolerance engulfing the nation. It is unclear as to why the soldiers, who were supposed to be the custodians of the constitution, could descend into the partisan

arena of party politics. It remains at the level of allegation. The newspaper advisedly used the word “believed”, which in this context, is an intransitive verb, strategically deployed by the *Ghanaian Chronicle* to create the impression that there was an assault by soldiers but at the same time being careful not to present it as absolutely factual.

However, by placing premium on the alleged assault of this pastor, the newspaper, whose skewed reportage in favour of the NPP and candidate Kufuor was to swing opinion in his favour while portraying the NDC and its candidate as being intolerant and violent in a multiparty democracy. That the paper was a partisan instrument in the arsenal of the opposition to influence and direct the outcome of the elections was very glaring for any serious reader to discern.

Contextually, the biases and partisanship of the newspaper in this story defeats the normative claims by theorists such as McQuail, who emphasized how the “media ought or are expected to be organized and behave in the wider public interest” (2005: 162). There are also instances which run contrary to the newspaper’s position on pluralism and diversity. Ansah for example, has stated that pluralism by its very conceptual understanding does not necessarily guarantee diversity because various sources, intended to reflect pluralism could be advocating the same viewpoint (1991). What this tells us is that the multiplicity of newspapers in the free market, dominated by private ownership, may not necessarily lead to pluralism and diversity. The *Ghanaian Chronicle*’s claim to independence has been shown in this news story analysis not to be grounded in practice.

The last story in this sub-group is “J. J. romps home in round-one and sets off... The Great Depression ... How did Erskine score zero in station he voted? The story is in connection with the outcome of the 1992 general elections. Its main thrust is that it is a political news story with the theme around multiparty elections and politics. The headline signals the winner of the contest. However, it also raises some doubts about the victory, creating the impression of despair, uncertainty and despondency. The headline also paints a very grim picture of a presidential candidate allegedly scoring zero at a polling station he voted at. What the *Ghanaian Chronicle* sought to do was to cast doubt on the conduct and credibility of the elections.

The headline used is replete with literary devices which provide on the one hand, a summary of who has won the elections and on the other, how the victory sets the tone for despondency and disappointment in the country. In the introductory/lead paragraph, there is a partisan and subjective piece as follows:

A feeling of depression hung like a pall of smoke over the country as news of the staggering victory of the NDC's presidential candidate reached homes and offices in key towns and cities.

Analytically, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has taken a position by offering their subjective perspective on the outcome of the elections to the reader.

In effect, the lead paragraph and the headline reveal the partisan position of the newspaper. Clearly, it is not inclined towards the winner of the elections, nor has it carried out a survey which empirically provides the "feeling of depression". This was not explained in the story. However, to lend some credibility to its position, it writes in paragraph two "The victory of Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings confounded analysts and made nonsense of popular perceptions and opinion surveys ... ". The reference to "popular perceptions" is a conjectural statement. On the other hand "opinion surveys" are indicative of some form of empirical analysis based on scientific opinion polling. What is also not clear is the methodology used for the surveys alluded to and if they could be relied upon.

The reliability of the surveys and opinion polls is devalued by the "popular perceptions", and this doubt is enhanced in paragraph three which states: "Instead of the expected spontaneous outbursts of national jubilation, beer bars remained empty and streets deserted". Paragraph three further reveals the biased stance of the paper thus: "Cities and towns like Sekondi, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Accra and Tema and Oda were deflated of their usual life". The ownership of the paper could be gleaned from the total displeasure of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* towards Rawlings and NDC victory. The ownership influence of the partisan position taken by the *Ghanaian Chronicle* connects well in paragraph six when it states: "With the sinking feeling came countless allegations of rigging and malpractices". Here is the rub. It had shifted from the general comments category which it used to prepare the minds of readers so as to sway opinion in the direction of its ideological inclination to specific allegations.

With specific examples, it engaged with issues at certain stages in the text which showed flashes of fairness and balance but on a very minimal scale. From paragraph seven, through eight, nine, ten and eleven, the paper listed allegations of rigging or massaging of results. In all these instances, it quoted the representatives of the losing parties. This cannot be said to be fair and balanced. What this means is that whatever the losers said was taken to be the true account of the general conduct of the elections.

Confirming its deep-rooted partisan approach to election coverage/reportage, the paper chronicles the account of the allegations of mainly the opposition candidates or their representatives. It states: "What would probably rate as the limit was the nightmarish experience of the PHP candidate General Erskine who scored zero in the particular polling station he personally voted". The paper follows up with: "In a telephone interview to confirm this, a clearly shaken General gave a brief account and just said "I won't say anything". In the first place, if indeed the story was true, then the newspaper's account of rigging could have elements of truth, though they need to be corroborated.

For a presidential candidate to score zero at a polling station he voted at means he did not vote for himself. This is "bizarre" as the newspaper puts it in the story. On the other hand, for the candidate to state that he does not want to elaborate on what happened is to leave the reader in doubt, or the allegation left hanging without enough evidence to support it. It was confusing for the candidate who the paper described as "clearly shaken", to refuse to speak to the issue by only stating "I won't say anything". These two phrases, if examined from the semantic point of view using implication, leave us with factual gaps and contradictions.

As the *Ghanaian Chronicle* tried to justify its position on the elections being factual, it presents us with a confused reportage and also an admission of the potency of the winner of the elections. In paragraph eighteen, it states: "What the elections proved also was the real popularity of President Jerry Rawlings – a reality which was grossly underestimated by everybody". This paragraph leaves the reader confused if juxtaposed with what the paper initially affirmed in paragraph two which lays claim to "popular perceptions and opinion surveys". If the greater part of the text justified the claim that the election was rigged, it is confusing for the paper to shift from the

empirical stuff of polls and massive rigging, to acknowledge the “real popularity” of the victor. By choosing to hide this important information very deep in the story, in the wrap-up, reveals the pressure on the writers/editor to please the owners or the loyal readers of the paper who could mostly have been the opposition supporters.

Whereas there are obvious gaps and discrepancies in its reportage, J.S. Mill (1962) provides us with the position the paper had taken on its election and political coverage. Whether the coverage was based on the truth or was affected by its ownership or ideological considerations or its watchdog role, as an independent newspaper, has been subjected to the test. Mill also addressed the issues of exaggeration when he cautioned that the ability of one to freely express his/her opinion “should not be held up as enough safeguard for the promotion of free expression but one that seeks the truth” (cited Siebert, 1963: 46).

The complaints of the losers in the election, which has been given wide coverage by the newspaper, must be seen as a healthy development in a multiparty liberal democracy. This corroborates Keane’s reference to *Montesquieu’s De l’esprit de lois* (1784) who argued that “the liberty to grumble and to complain through a free press helped to liberate England from the heavy, silent fear of despotism” (1994: 27). The report was meant to sway public opinion in a certain direction. In this context what the *Ghanaian Chronicle’s* coverage sought to do was to actively enter the political arena and become an active participant and not a passive agent. This confirms the claim of Dahlgren and Sparks that:

instead of reporting politics, the media are active participants in the political process ... events are manipulated to provide the maximum impact. Debates are structured so that extreme points of view can clash to maximum effect, increasing ratings but doing little to contribute to the formation of discursive public will or opinion (1995: 66).

7.7.6 *Ghanaian Chronicle* coverage of internal party politics and elections

- The Great 'Kukrudu' Congress ... WHO DARES WINS (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, August 10-16, 1992, page 1)
- RAWLINGS SURPRISE SUCCESSOR ... Inheritance Plan Shelved Guzzie Tanoh Emerges As Presidential Favourite (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, March 16-17, 1998, page 1)

The sub-group as indicated above deals with internal party political coverage by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. The analysis begins with "The Great Kukrudu Congress ... Who Dares Wins". The headline accords the NPP Congress so much prominence. It is indeed the contest to elect a flag bearer to lead the party into the 1992 presidential multiparty elections. The use of the word "Great Kukrudu" is intended to add more spice to the political event. The use of "great" could be seen to bias the newspaper's leaning because adjectives have the potency of conveying meanings as they qualify or magnify events. "Kukrudu" as used in the headline is a term used by the Ga speaking people around the national capital of Accra to refer to "earthquake". It portrays the significance attached to the occasion and the publicity being generated through the newspaper to assist the multiparty democratic process.

The newspaper's prominence given to electoral politics shows its commitment to democracy not only in the country but in the respective political parties. McNair argued that multiparty politics must provide the necessary choices among contending parties and the election of the candidates through rational and informed decisions (2003).

The introductory/lead paragraph informed the reader of the enormity of the task before the party. The inclination in favour of the NPP is also clearly evident when it states: "eight people putting their name, reputation and record on the line this Friday before 2000 delegates of what is demonstrably the most organised, coherent and strongest political party in Ghana this day ..." The paper could be commended for adding some elegance to the contest by the choice of words, laced with adverbs and adjectives. The over-dramatization of the potency of the NPP is also situated in the

superlative usage of “strongest”. The adjectival phrase “strongest political party “, as used by the newspaper, has no empirical proof to legitimate this categorical piece of writing. How the *Ghanaian Chronicle* measured the strength of the NPP before its definite judgement is not very clear.

The definite use of “strongest political party” was contradicted in paragraph five as the paper discussed who the NPP could pick as the most suitable NPP contestant, to engage the other presidential candidates in a serious and exciting contest for the country’s top job. It wrote: “One of the considerations of the delegates will be and should be which of the candidates can match the scorching, breathtaking pace of Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings and his wife who is a blur of activity ...” It is clear from this paragraph that what the paper sought to do was to give a purely opinionated piece of writing. The reference to the NPP as the strongest could have been a ploy to influence the electorate to vote in a certain way in the national elections.

This power of manipulation to sway public opinion had been actively deployed by the newspaper when reporting on the background of the various NPP candidates. The paper trivialized the contest by delving into the private life of the wife of one of the contestants. It bordered on the vulgar and obscene. What is baffling is that the wife of the candidate is not involved in the contest. How she could become the subject for discussion in the paper is questionable. Using analytical semantic notions of implication as argued by Dijk and Rosengren (1991; 1981), there was a subtle attempt on the part of the newspaper to disadvantage this particular contestant.

The paper's biases are also explicit based on certain comparisons in its story. For example, in profiling candidate Albert Adu Boahen, it wrote in paragraph sixteen of his wife that: “She had a drink problem, is still fond of her whisky, is too stropky to be first lady. Above all is too bossy”. Contextualising this against what the *Ghanaian Chronicle* said about the wife of one of Adu Boahen's main competitors, Safo Adu, when profiling him: “He has an aggressive, strong tom cat of a wife behind him”. It is glaring that it had taken a stand. In this case, the claim to rely on any survey data flies in the face of the evidence of bias.

Generally, what is interesting about the reportage is the depth of background provided on the strengths and weaknesses of the various contestants, even though it exhibits flashes of malice against some of the candidates and their spouses. By offering an insight into the lives of the candidates and their spouses, whether ethical or unethical, it nonetheless provided the delegates to the NPP congress with information they were not privy to in order to make informed choices. In this case, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* could be said to have exercised its critical independence as a private newspaper in what Curran sees as being vital for entrenching the democratic process and promoting free opinion in a liberal democratic setting (1995).

It provides readers, both partisan party supporters and the general public with detailed information on the candidates in the electoral process as well as the political dynamics of the NPP, fairly or unfairly. The inherent contradictions and lack of evidence to support the survey it claimed it had carried out undermines an otherwise informative piece of political journalism, which Barnett and Gaber insist has to be through “accurate, intelligible and comprehensive knowledge about contemporary political issues to the electorate ...” (2001: 11). However, the effort is rewarding in many respects as it assists in enlarging the forum for debate on the electoral process, the essence of multiparty democracy and the controversial ethical issue of what is of public interest, and how to respect the boundaries of privacy as revealed in the reportage on the wives of some of the contestants.

The other internal party political reportage is a front page lead story headlined “inheritance Plan Shelved Guzzie Tanoh Emerges as Presidential Favourite” This story was about the potential successor to the then President, Jerry John Rawlings, in his party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The headline is capped with a pictorial presentation on the front page of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, with the photographs of Jerry Rawlings and the man being speculated as the would-be successor, Guzzie Tanoh.

By adorning the page with the pictures, the newspaper was out to tell a story. How the readers viewed the story and their opinion formation was likely to be influenced by the appearance of the man in the picture. Arguably, it had been done to test the pulse of the public. If the story and the pictorial presentation influenced the perception of

the electorate, that is both the core NDC supporters and the uncritical voting population, then the newspaper attained the status of a Kingmaker. There is the likelihood that the story impacted on the electorate and could have given the man allegedly tipped to succeed Rawlings, Tanoh a head-start in the contest.

The introductory/lead paragraph was structured in a way so as to bias the story. The newspaper assumed the role of speaking on behalf of Ghanaians and the membership of the NDC by stating that it was a kind of relief that the wife of the President, Jerry Rawlings, will not succeed him. In the first place, to be so categorical as if the people of Ghana had no choice to select from competing political parties is to compromise the reportage. The impression created by the paper when it stated: "Ghanaians can heave a sigh of relief as the inheritance clouds that threatened to engulf the constitutional Head of State when the second term of President Rawlings ends in the year 2000 have cleared".

"Inheritance clouds" as used is a noun phrase to denote a kind of hereditary succession. Nevertheless, "clouds" as used in this context could be anything which creates a blurring vision or a smoke. Therefore, "inheritance clouds" as deployed by the newspaper to describe the succession plan in the NDC and country could be said to be unhealthy. For the newspaper to claim there is a sigh of relief is to claim to have gauged the mood of the country in respect of the speculation regarding the succession plan. Its claim could be likened to a kind of despondency, gloom over the country an indication that the people will be sad to see an attempt at "hereditary democracy" or dynastic form of rule.

In paragraph two, the newspaper's intention of settling on the headline and repeated in parts in the introductory/lead paragraph was the fear factor. There had been a rising apprehension that Jerry Rawlings might refuse to relinquish political power after the expiration of his constitutional two-term limit as a democratically elected President. Why the paper thought it plausible is not very clear. It could have been based on antecedents not clearly spelt out in the story, which was based on speculation and quotes unidentifiable sources that leaves the reader stranded in paragraphs three, four and five as no single speaker was mentioned. This creates doubt about the authenticity

of the story, more especially when it breached no law, such as reporting on security and intelligence matters.

Arguably, the doubtful nature of the story confirms Halliday's linguistic argument that newspaper's use of language to build modality in texts so as to create doubts instead of certainty about controversial issues. For example, in building its story on rumour through the unnamed sources it wrote: "the surprise choice ... was forced on the President by cadres of his ruling party who have enjoyed a very good patronage from Mr. Tanoh". However, in a dramatic twist revealing the contradiction in its own report in paragraph six, the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, claims "President Rawlings is said to be keeping the new option to his chest. But insiders say Madam has already picked the signal and is gradually distancing herself from mainstream NDC activities".

In one breath, the choice of the President's successor is a guarded secret and in the next the wife has picked signals which points to a change of options. The incoherence of the text and its lack of clear trajectory render its factuality in very serious doubt. In spite of the contradictions, inconsistencies and its reliance on rumour or speculation, the paper could be credited with putting the issue in the public domain for discussion. This is important as it allowed the readers and the public at large to discuss and deliberate on the internal political mechanisms of the various parties in order to arrive at an informed judgement based on exhaustive discussion and debate in the political and democratic public sphere.

While the information might not be factual and accurate or even intelligible, as stated by Barnett and Gaber (2001), it could assist in endangering debate. Milton's view is also relevant in as much as through the oxygen of debate, the truth could be arrived at as arguments help in the distilling process to sift the wheat from the chaff (cited Kunczik, 1988).

Table 11: *Daily Graphic* sampled stories on the above category

Story Headline	Date	Story Type	Placement
Democracy can be Nurtured to Grow-NPP	21 October 1992	News Story	Inside Page
I Need to be Commended	19 December 1995	News Story	Front Page
Bartels Caught Pants Down	25 October 1997	News Story	Front Page
NPP to Probe Kufuor	23 May 1998	News Story	Front Page
Mills, Why Not Mills?	24 October 1998	Letter-to-Editor	Inside Page

7.8 Political Accountability and Democratic Politics

***Daily Graphic* coverage of allegations of political malfeasance**

- I NEED TO BE COMMENDED ... And not to be condemned ... Says Adjei Maafo (*Daily Graphic*, December 19, 1995, page 1)
- BARTELS CAUGHT PANTS DOWN ... He's been ordered to pay C698m (*Daily Graphic*, October 25, 1997, page 1)

The analysis now shifts to the political accountability and democratic political category. The sub-group for this textual explication involving the *Daily Graphic* selected sample has been identified above. However, two stories have been selected for textual analysis. The two stories being dealt with here are front page lead stories revealing the premium placed on them. "I need to be commended ... And not to be condemned ... Says Adjei Maafo" is a news report into allegations of financial impropriety by Adjei Maafo, who was then the Presidential Staffer in-charge of the Cocoa Schedule²⁰ at the presidency. The *Daily Graphic* carried a verbatim quote of the speaker/presidential staffer when he appeared before the constitutional body

²⁰ Cocoa being the lead foreign exchange earner of Ghana makes it a priority area. In order to give it that special attention, Dr. Adjei Maafo was then given a special responsibility in the seat of government to coordinate its activities.

investigating the allegations, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ).

This case against a public office holder underlines one major principle in multiparty democratic practice – accountability. While the headline used by the newspaper sets out to present the speaker’s side of the story, it could have been of greater value to readers had it shifted to the middle ground by stating that he denied the allegations. The prominence attached to what the speaker had said starts from the headline through to paragraph twenty-one. The journalist who made the allegations had been accorded only five paragraphs. Even these five paragraphs had been tactically tucked at the end of the story which ran into the inside page. Any casual reader would not even have seen what the accuser had said.

The storyline exposes the newspaper as being biased in favour of the public official. It is clear that it was out to shield him, hence the deliberate use of its pages to indirectly influence the work and outcome of the investigations. As indicated by Altschull, for anyone to think that journalists are a breed apart as to somehow be objective in ways that others cannot be is to accept logical absurdity (1979). As noted by Van Dijk also, headlines in the media/press have cognitive and textual functions (1991). In this sense, any reader on coming into contact with the headline was inclined to use it as an organizing principle for the representation of the news event in memory.

Strategically, the newspaper’s foray in putting a positive spin on the reforms the Speaker claimed to have initiated in the cocoa industry did not answer directly the allegations of impropriety, even though subsequent paragraphs addressed the issue. As a state-owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* could be commended for covering the probe and reporting the proceedings for the public to form their own judgements. But how this opinion was formed either positively or negatively was being moderated by the kind of headline selected and the spin put on the story. For example, in paragraph twenty and twenty-one respectively, the *Graphic* reports: “He denied any knowledge of having put one Victoria Addo in the family way”. And paragraph twenty one quoted him as saying “as far as I am concerned, nobody by that name has come forward to say I have impregnated her. If anybody comes to say that and I am convinced, as a responsible father, I will take the child and look after him”.

Relying on semantic analysis, as proposed by Rosengren (1981), by using the implicit analytical function of sentences through the creative role of the interpreter, there is the need to critically analyse and compare paragraph twenty with that of twenty. It is clear that the speaker has admitted to engaging in an adulterous relationship. The categorical denial as contained in paragraph twenty has given way to paragraph twenty-one, where he alliteratively stated “as far as” which connotes an indulgence in extra-marital and amorous affairs. Again the admission is inherent in the exploitation of the conditional device “if” which does not rule out his extra-marital life.

Invariably, the *Daily Graphic* fulfilled an obligation to its readers by covering the probe. It is a fulfilment of the democratic accountability function of the media/press to highlight how the tax-payers money is being managed by those in political authority. In performing this function the newspaper was helping build a democratic public sphere of free expression, resulting from the story. It is an essential point arising from Habermas’ account of deliberative and dialogical communication (1989).

In the second story headlined “Bartels caught pants down ... He’s been ordered to pay c 698m”, the headline stands on its own by offering the reader the gist of the story. Bartels was a politician and a Member of Parliament (MP) on the ticket of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) at the time of the reportage. The story is mainly about accountability and the inappropriate conduct of the politician. The introductory/lead paragraph does not relate to the headline. While the headline literally imputes wrongdoing to the MP, the lead paints a completely different picture of what is at the heart of the story. By giving it such prominence as the main story on the front page, the *Daily Graphic* displayed partisanship in being a tool in the hands of the ruling government to nail its opponents. As a state-owned newspaper, which needs to be guided by news values, it is difficult to explain how a default in repaying a private loan from a bank could become the main subject for its front page publication.

In the catchy headline of being “caught pants down” one expects that the body of the story would explain the shady deal in which the politician was involved. On the

contrary, he is said to be a shareholder of a company which deals in fish imports. The company and not the MP had been unable to repay the loan. To proclaim him to the public as being 'caught pans down' was to engage in a piece of reckless/irresponsible journalism because it was the bank which took the non-payment of the loan to court. The rider to the main headline succinctly captures it thus: "He's been ordered to pay C698m". The introductory/lead paragraph reads "A Member of Parliament is embroiled in a legal battle over a multi-million cedis loan granted by the Ghana Co-operative Bank for the importation of fish. The fish is said to have been diverted to and sold in a neighbouring country".

On the other hand, it can be argued that the newspaper cannot be faulted wholly, because there is a semblance of wrongdoing on the part of the politician or his company as the last sentence of the introductory/lead paragraph explained that he diverted the fish. For diverting the fish and selling it outside the territory of Ghana, the paper had every constitutional right to inform Ghanaians. This was more essential when the loan had been granted for the importation of fish to be sold to the people of Ghana. In spite of this, the reason for the court action as gleaned from the story was the inability to repay the loan. Moreover, the matter before the court was a civil suit and not a criminal one.

However, the newspaper could hide behind the theory of social responsibility to explain the motive for using such a headline. As professionals in journalism, they are enjoined to be accountable to the society, especially when the fish was diverted and sold in a neighbouring country (Baran and Davis, 2003; McQuail, 1983, 2005; Hachten, 1992). Besides, it had the power to carry the story since the issue of private/public life of the politician had become blurred.

As further proof of ensuring the accountability of politicians, whether in their private or public lives, the paper had been meticulous when it exposed the dodgy character of the MP for using a different name in the loan deal. Paragraph four reads: "According to details made available to the *Graphic*, the company F& K Eximport Ltd. Was incorporated with Mr Bartels using his Fante name of Kwamina Essilfie, and another person as director".

Words such as “diverted” invoked negative image in the minds of readers. In diverting the fish, the MP and his company engaged in questionable transactions which drew rings of fictitiousness around it. The *Daily Graphic* must be commended for contacting the MP for his version with regard to the diversion. McQuail has argued that the press/media needs to set high professional standards of being informative, objective and balanced (2005). Therefore, by speaking to the MP, the newspaper strove to achieve balance in their reportage, though the headline and the story line in most parts clearly show the partisan colouration and bias of the state-owned newspaper.

Table 12: Ghanaian Chronicle sampled stories for the same category as above

Story Headline	Date	Story Type	Placement
P. V. Obeng's Gilded \$0.5m Airport House	15-18 June 1995	News Story	Front Page
Henry Dei, a Bank & another 25Bn Disaster	31July-2Aug. 1995	News Story	Front Page
One Minister's Two Year Loot	14-16August 1995	News Story	Front Page
The Billion Maafoman	15-17 January 1996	News Story	Front Page
Why Emma Quit	29-31 January 1996	News Story	Front Page
Shock Report: The \$40m Ho Hospital Scandal	18-19 November 1996	News Story	Front Page

7.8.1 *Ghanaian Chronicle* coverage of political and institutional malfeasance

- ‘P.V OBENG’s GILDED \$.05m AIRPORT HOUSE ... Norwegian businessman’s bribe for getting him a state enterprise on the cheap’ (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, June 15-18, 1995, page 1)
- ‘A Near Bankrupt U.K. Company’s Bonanza - SHOCK REPORT: THE \$40m HO HOSPITAL SCANDAL. Castle called Steve Obimpeh a day after signing the contract and tore it up. From \$33m the contract sum jumped to \$40m.’ (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, November 18-19, 1996, page 1)

The stories in this sub-group reveal the trend of coverage of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* as it related to democratic accountability of power. The above headlines were all front page leads in the issues selected. However, because of the sheer volume of the sampled stories in this sub-group, only analyses of two of the stories will be attempted, while the rest deserve to be cited in order to show the trend of coverage as indicated earlier. These are “P.V Obeng’s gilded \$.05m Airport House ... Norwegian businessman’s bribe for getting him a state enterprise on the cheap”; “One Minister’s Two Year Loot ...Sprawling Housing Complex ... Gold Jacuzzi ... Special Metal Street Lights ... 30million Cedis Poultry farm and still counting”; and “A Near Bankrupt U.K. Company’s Bonanza - Shock Report: “The \$40m HO Hospital Scandal ... Castle called Steve Obimpeh a day after signing the contract and tore it up. From \$33m the contract sum jumped to \$40m”.

The first story selected for analysis under this sub-group is “P.V Obeng’s gilded \$.05m Airport House ... Norwegian businessman’s bribe for getting him a state enterprise on the cheap”. The story begins with the comment that:

Mr. Paul Victor Obeng, 48, the Government’s silkiest motor-mouth is in the epicentre of a major house-for-state resources corruption scandal as agitated debate rages within press and intelligence circles about wholesale grabbing of financial and material assets by self-proclaimed men of integrity.

The headline is indicative of another political and democratic accountability story which alludes to the wrongdoing of Mr. Obeng. It is one part of an authoritative headline that implies that the newspaper has had access to all the facts before publishing the story, since Mr. Obeng's reputation and that of the Norwegian businessman are at stake. This is reflected in 'Norwegian businessman's bribe.' The use of the phrase 'Government's silkiest motor-mouth' in the lead is locked up in a pattern of interpersonal meanings. It is a descriptive piece of writing, which accords Mr. Obeng a positive distinction as an orator. The same phrase could deductively mean the most glib tongue and liar. Words such as 'self-proclaimed' and 'men of integrity', as used in the introductory/lead paragraph, are laced with partisan connotations both in content and context. It exposes the patterns of interpersonal meaning in the text as being subjective. By alluding to 'men of integrity', the newspaper decidedly branched into overt politics. Furthermore, the use of words such as 'gilded', an adjective to depict wealthy edifice and transitive and intransitive verbs such as 'bribe', 'appears' cannot be allowed to pass without comment. These material and mental verbs exposes the newspaper's mixing of opinions and ideologies with facts.

For example, by citing Mr. Obeng's acquisitions with authority as "the most conspicuous one overlooking the Achimota to Tetteh Quarshie rotary (roundabout) - a 500 million cedi property of sheer architectural and aesthetic delight" is a scrupulous display of certainty. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* capped the description of the house with a photograph published alongside the story. This left the reader in little doubt as to the use of the adjectival phrase 'sheer architectural and aesthetic delight' in order to explain the unmitigated quality of the house. The publication of the photographs of the house and the written information in the story are indicative of a thorough investigative undertaking.

However, in paragraph nine, the newspaper writes of the acquisition of the land for the project thus:

The land, *Chronicle* sources say, was given to him by Alhaji Abba Kilber (now booted out of the lands commission) official supplier of government land to corrupt PNDC men and influence peddlers.

By use of the adjectival phrase 'corrupt PNDC men', a collective is used without any credible evidence to support the reference to a whole group, while the main story is about an individual. It is a subjective and partisan descriptive narrative. The writer/newspaper injects his/her bias into the story. In this way, its ownership praxis is brought into scrutiny.

A careful analysis of the story from the headline, lead, satellites to the wrap-up, did not accord P.V. Obeng, the man at the centre of the newspapers accountability article, even a line to ensure balance, objectivity and fairness. It was a one-sided account, as attributions were limited to unidentified sources. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* exposed the shady connection between P.V. Obeng and the Norwegian businessman in paragraph thirteen of the story thus:

The most disturbing aspect of the caper is that P.V. actually had a greater part of the house built for him by a Norwegian businessman whom he helped acquire one of the state-owned enterprises that were divested, Bibiani Complex, for a bargain price.

What was missing in this allegation was the actual name of the Norwegian businessman. This takes credibility away from an otherwise good story committed to ensuring democratic accountability of politicians to the citizenry. It also addresses the first research question at issue in respect of newspapers' contribution to democratic accountability.

The last story for analysis in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* in this sub-group is "A Near Bankrupt U.K. Company's Bonanza - Shock Report: "The \$40m HO Hospital Scandal ... Castle called Steve Obimpeh a day after signing the contract and tore it up. From \$33m the contract sum jumped to \$40m ... After signing the contract and tore it up". The headline used by the newspaper defines or infers fishy or underhand dealing. Words such as 'Near Bankrupt', 'Bonanza', 'Shock', 'Scandal' and the choice of the prepositional phrase 'From \$33m the contract sum jumped to \$40m' are worth analysing.

What is striking in this headline is the use of the words we have identified in the above analysis. These words and phrases are subjective and above all inflammatory. Any reader who came into first contact with the newspaper would arguably, have

been ensnared. The story would also arguably draw the ire of most readers, because it connotes corruption in government and the misuse of their resources.

In analysing the headline, it is worth commenting on the page design work of superimposing the headline on the photograph of the then President of the Republic of Ghana, Jerry John Rawlings. By choosing to place his photograph in the background of the headline, the newspaper is indirectly imputing the scandal to him.

Apart from the headline, the lead follows the conventional journalistic structure. It tells us what to expect in subsequent paragraphs. The lead is one of precision reporting. All the vital ingredients needed to prove the authenticity of the story were there. This is a confirmation of Walter Lippmann's metaphor of the news media being the "beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision" as articulated in the theoretical framework (cited Barnett and Gaber, 2001: 2).

The watchdog function of the newspaper was in full flow when the story mentioned the company John Laing, which it claimed had won the original contract bid. The newspaper writes that: "Laing is an English company of repute known for their delightful range of well-appointed residential properties in Great Britain". This piece of discourse confirms Halliday's linguistic appreciation of the pattern of interpersonal meaning as well as subjectivity of the text of news stories.

However, the meticulous reporting of the newspaper is revealed by the details published for public consumption and appraisal. Nevertheless, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* was not fair to Trafalgar House, the rival company. By choosing to take sides in this case, the newspaper has assumed the role of a public relations tool for John Laing at the expense of Trafalgar House. According to the newspaper article:

After over a year of vetting, interviews, the gruelling tender process and several correspondences between the Health Ministry and Laing, somebody at the Castle had decided that, the contract should be voided.

Who that 'somebody' was had not been mentioned by the newspaper? Instead it left readers to speculate, when in the accompanying paragraph it reported that "All fingers pointed in the direction of the President and the name of the 31st December Women's

Movement (DWM) came up.” This put the credence of the story into doubt. By relying heavily on the use of transitive verbs, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* succeeded somehow to leave readers guessing as to who has the power to order the abrogation of a legal agreement at the Castle. By inference, it is only the President. He is the epitome of the seat of power who resides in the Castle. By speculating with the name of the President, one can aver from the headline and the photograph that the newspaper was just playing with words. They meant the President. Put in context the analysis arguably points to this fact.

Another explanation arising from the analysis could be that the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM), which the newspaper mentioned, could be the brain behind the move by the President. This view is further enhanced by the newspaper when it stated:

Enter Trafalgar House, part of a huge British conglomerate with extensive Ghanaian presence and connections in the corridors of power. They are also believed to be generous ‘donors’ with cosy relations with the 31st December Women’s movement.

In spite of this the phrase ‘also believed’ in the above quote is one of conjecture and an opinionated piece of writing. It blemished an otherwise brilliant investigative story despite the apparent contradictions. Moreover, the use of the word ‘cosy’ cannot be said to be neutral or value free. It denotes a kind of immoral relationship between Trafalgar House and the DWM.

Exercising due diligence in its investigations, the newspaper performed one major singular act of watchdog journalism and political accountability when it informed readers of the financial paralysis of Trafalgar House. It reported in paragraph ten that:

Fooled by the high profile of Trafalgar House and without proper due diligence investigations, the contract was given to Trafalgar. Unknown to Rawlings, the British conglomerate was in the throes of bankruptcy. Last year alone, they posted a colossal loss of 320million pounds.

7.9 Conclusion

The results arising from the above textual analysis indicate that the contribution of the newspapers to the democratic process has been wide and varied. Crucially, the findings which emerged from the analysis addressed some of the research questions

framework of this thesis. The analysis also accounted for some conceptual issues surrounding multiparty democracy, democratic accountability, ownership and general and specific election and political concerns. Of value has been the explication of coverage in texts containing biases, partisanship and fair/balance presentation of issues bordering on elections, democratic accountability and multiparty politics and democracy in general. This has been done by deploying analytical semantics and aspects of socio-linguistics discourse analysis. Attempts to influence and direct outcomes of elections by the two newspapers have been found. In the same way, the analysis shows how ownership of newspapers affects coverage in the newspapers. Furthermore, it has been revealed that democratic accountability has been abused in the uncovering of corruption and general malfeasance in public life, as the two newspapers concentrate on political opponents. It is clear that the results from the analysis has been enriching and will complement the other findings which emerged from the thematic and quantitative content analysis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

8.0 Democratic accountability, politics, elections and ownership

There is ample evidence to show that ownership of newspapers and their political ideology affects political coverage of elections and the candidates involved. Notwithstanding that the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* display clear biases and partisanship towards the ruling party and government and the opposition, they deserve commendation for their occasional flickering of balance and fair coverage of elections, politics and accountability.

The quantitative content analysis showed that under the comparative analytic approach, both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* devoted a lot space and time to political coverage of politics and elections. The *Ghanaian Chronicle*, however, has been more committed to democratic accountability by exposing corruption in public life. In this context, it fulfils the watchdog function and libertarian guarantees of being a true 'Fourth Estate' element in the society. The concentration of the *Ghanaian Chronicle* on accountability is part of its mission statement, as discussed in the ethos of the media in chapter four. It must be stated that the quantum of stories on politics, elections and accountability in the two newspapers reveal their commitment and contribution to promote political discourse, influence political opinion and promote democratic governance.

While the *Daily Graphic* has been more involved with politics and elections and has been more favourable in its reportage towards the government, it nevertheless tried to achieve some level of balance in coverage of the opposition parties. The placement of stories and the tone of the stories as they relate to the issues of politics, elections and accountability clearly indicate the focus of the two newspapers in order to influence and manipulate the public sphere. In this sense, the public arena has become a battleground for control as they strive to enrich democratic and political discourse. This level of competition to gain a foothold in the public sphere is also largely due to the constitutional freedom granted to the press to operate with few inhibitions. The quality of information thrown into the arena for debate and consumption, whether

truthful or untruthful, is left for the public to sift from. However, the conveyor status of the press/media in the political and democratic realm, as recognized by Barnett and Gaber (2001), remains one of its main bulwarks as clearly spelt out in the sociological arguments which underpinned the libertarian and social responsibility doctrines of the 'Fourth Estate' espoused by Siebert and Peterson (1963).

The biases and partisanship influences of the state-owned newspaper towards the government has been clearly articulated in the theoretical framework, amounting to an authoritarian hold on the press. This is what historically compelled liberal proponents to advocate for privately-led ownership of the press. In this way, the government, which is expected to be a contestant in the multiparty democratic process, could be prevented from abusing state resources to its advantage. Ansah (1991) also deliberated on this difficult position of the state participation in the press/media. A government, which is bent on retaining political power, has the tendency to manipulate the state-owned media to the fullest advantage to the detriment of other political parties and contestants. On the other hand, by virtue of constitutional obligations, and safeguards, the state-owned newspaper media, as the findings have showed, has been somehow fair and balanced in its coverage of politics and elections. This, however, is skewed in such a way as to include only topical issues which are of no serious challenge or consequence to the ruling government's grip on political power. The appropriation of the press/media which is funded by the tax-payer and becoming a ventriloquist of the ruling party is not healthy for the promotion of balanced policy issues for the people to select from. This in consequence is a malaise afflicting the Ghanaian media. The thesis against the state-ownership of the press/media as fought for in the libertarian and liberal environments is in itself a move to stop the dictatorial tendencies in the state to stifle dissenting voices.

On the other hand, the high level of balance/fairness seen in the state-owned press/media, in part supports the crucial role the *Daily Graphic* plays in the democratic process by striving for the middle ground in its reportage, even if its partisanship and biases are disturbing. In this context therefore, McChesney (2000) is justified in arguing against the private-ownership of the press by the elite or behemoths. There is evidence from the study to show that a privately-led press/media results in the virtual crowding out of certain political groupings from the information

dissemination process. The complaints of negative portrayal and spin are essentially responsible for the call for the intervention of the state in the press/media market. This is to allow the state to sell its policies to the citizens instead of the commercial press/media interested in profit and influenced by its political ideology to toe a certain line. The findings are justified by state intervention in the press/media.

McChesney's (2000) argument has arguably been proved right by the heavy involvement of the *Daily Graphic* in the coverage of politics and elections. This development of being a proponent for deepening democratic and electoral discourse, through the provision of information and education, affirms McChesney's position of state involvement helping to halt the indirect marginalisation of a majority of the population. (2000: 6). It is an answer to the Development theory critiqued in the literature as this thirst for the state to articulate its policies is mostly argued for by development theorists. Hachten (1981, 1992) clearly stated this position, alluding to the developmental concept as a necessary tool for developing countries because of its "amorphous and curious mixture of ideas, rhetoric, influences, and grievances" (1992: 34). While this might be true, the underlying current of this concept or model is the over-concentration of the private press/media in a liberal setting being a tool in the hands of the powerful and elite (McChesney, 2000).

It is clear that the state-owned press/media, such as the *Daily Graphic*, are not different from the private press as the partisanship and biases detected in the quantitative content analysis showed its inclination towards the ruling party and government. What this means for the finding is that the liberal theory of the market determining content cannot be wholly supported in other parts of the world. As Rosemary Righter (1978) argued, and is captured in the literature, the main thrust of the development model is to simply kick against the Western model's normative theory of privately-driven press/media. In this way, the press/media:

instead of backing diversity and free flow must adopt a didactic, even ideological, role of explaining to the people their part in forging a new social order (1978: 14-15).

Whatever might be the motivation for such high partisanship is reflective of the ownership structure and the principles which underpin its political ideology. In this case, however, partisanship and biases are legitimate weapons if they help in

providing political alternatives to the citizens and the electorate in particular. Importantly, it is clear that the state-owned press/media has been skewed in its reportage of activities which favour political activities of the government but at the same time remains alive to its constitutional responsibilities.

Importantly, the statistical analysis showed the level of fairness and balance displayed by the *Daily Graphic*, a state-owned newspaper in reporting issues bordering on politics, elections and accountability. This compared with the more partisan and biased approach adopted by the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, a privately-owned newspaper. The *Daily Graphic's* commitment to reflect such fair and balance in its reportage is informed by the social responsibility paradigm. It is mindful of the rules and regulations necessary to maintain some form of equilibrium in the public arena. Invariably, aware of the political dynamics mostly thrown up by multiparty democracy, it tends to reflect the argument put forward by Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) "all political systems generate principles derived from the tenets of their political cultures, for regulating the political role of the mass media" (1995: 19). In indulging in partisan and biased reportage, the state-owned paper also helps to generate debate, and invoke passion necessary for political and democratic debate in the public sphere. The trajectory of the stories and the statistics it spawns is proof of its commitment to seeing the multiparty democracy work. In this way the central role of the media as a central resource in providing information allowed citizens to have informed opinions in order to vote. This is enhanced by *Daily Graphic's* active engagement with the ventilation of knowledge of policy issues which in turn service democratic participation (Carpini & Keeter, 1997).

In the case of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, it fills the vacuum left by the not too critical reportage of the state-owned *Daily Graphic*. It relies heavily on news from the other spectrum of the society while being adversarial in its presentation as they relate to the ruling party and government. This is healthy for the growth of the press/media, especially once it is not reduced into a howling match with the language becoming asinine and unacceptable. In any case, the essence of multiplicity of press advocated by the libertarian purists is for the press/media to be diverse and satisfy all segments of society. This is well accounted for by the ownership structure and the varying degrees of ideology which resonates through the analysis. The *Ghanaian Chronicle*,

judging from the findings in respect of the quantitative content analysis, could be said to fill the void created by the inability of the *Daily Graphic* to offer critical voices to other vital segments in the political and democratic process. The high level of partisanship and bias are key to its role in the public sphere. It is to assist the various groups and segments to have a variety to select from and also make informed decisions and choices based on the quality of debate within the democratic and political public sphere. As an active agent in the public sphere it has been proved that its presence is essential to compel the political authority to, as Kunczik (1988) puts it;

... to act justly and in accordance with the constitutional principles then it will have to be necessary for it to hear all voices and all opinions. But that is possible only if it grants freedom of the press (cited Kunczik, 1988: 16)

Importantly, the multiplicity of press/media argument advanced in the literature is of value from the findings which have emerged. It facilitated debate from various sources as news or information dissemination comes from different sources. In this way the truth is subject to the test. How this happens is enhanced by the flood of information which could be of value through Milton's self-righting theory. This is evident from the quantitative content analysis. It is a classic answer to Milton's position in that it:

... would make it possible to find the truth by public argumentation because, free public debate at the end of the day served the common good. Truth could be found only if one considered the possibility that others could also be right. In argument and counter argument, one could arrive at the truth (cited Kunczik, 1988: 16).

Furthermore, the privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* represents the face of a true independent press free from any control or direction of the state. In this way, any encroaching authoritarian tendencies of the state could be checked in a liberal democratic society through the use of civil society to rally round the independent organs of information and education. The high premium placed on democratic accountability alongside political and electoral issues which dominated its pages is a clear testimony of the arguments put forward in the literature, as reflected by Keane (1994) when he posits that a privately-led press in a democracy are "justified by their ability to maximise freedom in the sense of individual or group autonomy", because it remains the main barrier to the abuse of power by those who wield and exercise it (1994: 175).

Therefore, because the state-owned press has not been able to expose sleaze and other abuses in government, the alternative private press has taken it upon itself to inform and educate the people accordingly. Clearly, in the textual analysis of the *Daily Graphic*, for example, the stories on corruption or democratic accountability are those which do not affect government officials but civil and public servants in state institutions and those involving opposition politicians. In this way, although it is shown on the statistical table and graphs from the quantitative content analysis of being a strong crusader of democratic accountability as it relates to its watchdog function of exposing corruption, human rights abuses and others, it is biased towards only one side in the multiparty democratic process. From this position, the public sphere is served with a somehow one-sided reportage on critical national issues.

According to democratic theory, the very survival of democracy we maintained is owed to the level of information and communication dissemination and its availability to the citizens to distil and sift from (Barber, 1999: 582). The informed “consent of the governed” is a cherished principle of representative democracy. In this way, it is only useful for the people to know how their resources are being used and applied. They can only get this information if the press/media maintains an adversarial relationship with the rulers.

The partisanship, biases and political ideology as reflected in ownership plays a key role in coverage of stories bordering on accountability, elections and politics among others. The *Ghanaian Chronicle*'s relative fairness and objectivity in large parts of its coverage and the resort to partisanship and biases are nothing new. In a multiparty democracy, partisanship is a useful ingredient to help generate debate and raise argumentation to a higher plane. It is a mark of democratic maturity for the press/media to engage each other based on political ideology and policy issues. As argued in the literature and affirmed by Ansah (1991), he concedes how “one cannot rule out the taking of categorical positions on specific issues reflecting particular ideological options” (1991: 20). Hall (1973) also shares in this view of obvious partisanship and unbridled biases based on his position that “journalists operate within a framework of power because they are a part of a political and social system” (1973: 15). Hallin (1994) adds further impetus from the literature on partisanship, or what could be regarded as passion, when he explains that:

It is neither realistic nor necessary nor even desirable, for public debate to be strictly 'rational'... Political dialogue has always involved passion and spectacle; just like 'reason,' they have been used sometimes to manipulate and pacify, and sometimes to push consciousness to a higher level" (1994: 9).

It is evident that the high preponderance of coverage of politics and elections by the two newspapers, underlines their interest and enthusiasm in ensuring the success of multiparty democracy in Ghana. The level of bias and partisanship identified in the two newspapers in respect of politics, elections and democratic accountability also points to their being used consciously and unconsciously as political tools before during and after elections. Their watchdog functions notwithstanding, the polarization of issues bordering on the above issues raised, betray their subservience to sectional and partisan interests. This is not a bad practice because without partisanship, democracy loses its value as the contestation of different viewpoints.

As Maier (1993) argued, and has been articulated in the literature, the partisan nature of politics has helped transformed democracy into a more legal instrument of governance. What is essential to democratic politics is its partisanship nature. Pluralism and divergent discourse therefore are necessary if the multiparty system is to engender debate and assist in the building of public opinion. This from the standpoint of this discussion is ideal, to ensure the determination of the various opinions in the public sphere towards the various tendencies in the political system. Invariably, Maier is right when under democratic theory he recognizes the institutionalisation of political parties in a democracy as a useful corollary, which "transformed opposition from conspiracy into acceptable dissent" and therefore provided a vital channel for an otherwise virulent and potentially lethal rivalry into a workaday and tolerable antagonism of "ins and outs" (in Dunn, 1993: 135).

The comparative framework has implications for Ghana's electoral and democratic process. Clearly, the interpretation, description and analysis of politics, accountability and election coverage in the *Daily Graphic* is indicative of its social responsibility as a state-owned newspaper. It has been and ought to be seen to be more objective, or less biased, in its coverage as argued in the literature on media theory. In showing flashes of balance and fairness even if retaining some form of partisanship and bias, the state-owned press confirms the theoretical arguments of McQuail (2005). He

reiterated the position that the press/media needs to set high professional standards of being informative, objective and balanced.

What this means and discovered in the analysis, is that the regulatory framework places more responsibility on the *Daily Graphic* to be fair, balanced and non-partisan since it is funded by the tax-payers money. Crucially, social responsibility theory challenges media practitioners to devise new strategies of serving their communities, while seeing themselves at the vanguard of the struggle to preserve democracy in a world that is arguably drifting inexorably toward dictatorship. The *Daily Graphic* by virtue of this obligation to serve the people as a state-owned entity has to be located within the tenets of fair/balanced and more objective presentation of information as elucidated by McQuail, Hachten and Baran and Davis articulated in the literature (1983, 2005; 1992; 2003). In the textual analysis, the *Daily Graphic*, in its reportage on politics and elections consistently called for political tolerance and peaceful prosecution of electoral campaigns, both within political parties and without, in terms of general elections. The *Graphic*, has often called for the respect for constitutional provisions to ensure a free, fair and transparent elections, which are important developments and affirms its commitment to the democratic process and the building of the liberal representative democracy.

The contribution of the *Daily Graphic* to democratic evolution in Ghana has been both explicit and latent. In large parts, it took the responsibility through its coverage and reportage to articulate the essence of participatory democracy. In this way, it consciously and unconsciously tried to motivate citizens to in the democratic electoral process to get involved to ensure full participation and representation. This policy is meant to aggregate the view and opinions of all for a more credible end-product. On the other hand, the use of “participatory democracy” reminds us of the Athenian ideal argued in the literature. It is an affirmation of Dunn’s philosophical argument that “in a democracy, the people (the demos), its human members decide what is to be done, and in so deciding they take their destiny into their own hands (1993). The participatory principle which has been one of the main goals of the state-owned newspaper, in reality is necessary not only for the process of elections but for politics in general and in particular for the citizens to hold the governors accountable for their actions. Therefore, participation entails citizens’ involvement in activities through

which they can communicate their preferences, interests, needs, collective problems and aspirations to seek redress from those in charge of public policy or change them (Bratton, 1999; Putnam, 2000).

On the other hand, although the *Ghanaian Chronicle* showed some degree of responsibility of being guided by the journalistic elements of fairness, balance and objectivity in its reportage on elections, politics and accountability of power, the data revealed that it is not under any strict obligation due to its ownership being privately-owned newspaper. As a privately-owned entity the exigencies of the market and the profit at all cost dictum overrides any other consideration in terms of the choice of tone in its coverage. This confirms the libertarian guarantees of the free market of choices between a good product and what is less appealing.

The *Ghanaian Chronicle* from the textual analysis affirmed the position of one of the research questions by trying to influence, and more particularly, to direct the outcome of the electoral process during election periods in favour of a particular party and candidate. While this is not a bad practice it exposes not only its partisan leaning but also the crucial question of ownership. Invariably, the findings indicate that the paper, while it displays partisanship and bias, has been very outstanding in the democratic process by striving to ensure accountability of power and resources. At other times, the coverage in its pages could only be implied using the linguistic devices of implication. It emerged from the analysis of texts that politics and free, fair and transparent elections have been actively promoted.

As for the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, it more often than not reports official statements and insider information from the Electoral Commission (EC) and the government, and conveys them to the public. Comparatively, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has been skeptical of the whole electoral arrangement and adopts a more adversarial role in the process. For example, in reporting the logistic difficulties of the EC the *Graphic*, as a state-owned newspaper, tends to shy away from the discriminatory practices of the EC in excluding sections of the electorate from having photo identity cards and chose to calm the voting public by adopting an early warning system by making it an issue for public discussion. A major feature in the *Graphic's* reportage on electoral issues has been to inform and educate and not influence the voting pattern

or behaviour of the people. It has been found to provide a more accurate coverage of the electoral process, thereby confirming the stand of Barnett and Gaber that the reporting of events accurately, intelligibly and offering an in-depth knowledge about political issues to the electorate, makes it easy for citizens to “formulate their own informed responses and if they choose - to participate accordingly (2001: 11).

In the area of democratic accountability as a major research question, there is ample evidence to show from the analysis that the *Daily Graphic* has been dismally ineffective in holding political office holders to account. The few occasions it reported about the misconduct of politicians in the democratic process, as included in our chosen sample, has been on political opponents of the ruling party and government. In doing this, the opposition politicians were given front page lead treatment. The reports were not only biased but in one particular instance totally unmeritorious as the issue was a private matter for the Member of Parliament and had nothing to do with partisan politics or his public service. The *Ghanaian Chronicle* on the other hand, has been very probing and concerned about the public purse. It has devoted more time to exposing corruption and ventilation of opinions of the citizens through its letters to the editor page. In carrying out this function, it has also been partisan revealing its ownership and ideology as being rabidly anti-government and opposed to the ruling party.

In furtherance of the analysis of democratic accountability and elections, the thematic analysis of the interviews revealed the position of professional journalists on this very important topic. Political leaders, it emerged, have to be faithful to their constitutions and see it as a sacred text to regulate their conduct in office in order to promote healthy democratic development. In this way, democratic accountability and elections go beyond corruption and the holding of free and fair elections as has been touted in most African countries undergoing political transitions. For Nyamnjoh (2005), relying on periodic elections as a means to arrive at the democratic paradise, as preached by liberal theorists, could be likened to ‘face-powder democracy’ (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 24). The findings truly reveal his argument for a real democratic culture being seen beyond the electorate exercising their franchise. In this context, it has been revealed by the two newspapers that it involves other essential factors “... more than the occasional election of leaders who excel in callous indifference to the predicaments of their

people” (Ibid: 24). It is imperative from the findings that democratic accountability is not only reserved for the press but the active engagement of the citizens in the democratic process. Therefore, the participatory ideal discussed in this chapter is of value. However, the use of money and ‘freebies’, by politicians to buy their mandate is a serious drawback on the democratic process and undermines accountability of power to the people. The voters sell their birthright to politicians and so mortgage their inalienable right to question how their resources are being used. There is therefore a vacuum because of the abdication of this role by the citizens so compromised and this void is then filled by the press/media.

Democratic accountability, it emerged has been stretched to cover the conduct of political leaders being faithful to their constitutions which brought them to office and regulate their conduct. Manifesto promises and democratic institutions which deals with policy infractions and others have all been added. The contention is politicians make promises in their blue-prints knowing fully well they are unattainable. Ineffectiveness of democratic institutions such as Ghana’s Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the Serious Fraud Office (SFO), to ensure democratic accountability is clearly traced to partisan political patronage and a blot on the extremist positions of the newspapers. While this generates debate and influences public opinion formation in the public sphere, it however, reduces the quality of the discourse in the arena of democratic engagement. This debility of too much partisanship and active engagement of the press in the political process has in a way diluted their contributions to the growth of democracy. In this context, the articulation of Dahlgren and Sparks on reportage and coverage is true of the eroding positive contribution to the sphere of opinion formation. Their position in the literature is that:

... instead of reporting politics, the media are active participants in the political process ... events are manipulated to provide the maximum impact. Debates are structured so that extreme points of view can clash to maximum effect, increasing ratings but doing little to contribute to the formation of discursive public will or opinion (1995: 66).

8.1 Multiparty democratic elections, pluralism and diversity

Both newspapers reveal the diversity of opinion, views and the level of freedom of the newspaper press. It is fascinating to unravel what the two newspapers deemed important and as being in the interest of the readers and the public in general. The level of democratic engagement as seen in the plurality and diversity in the two newspapers has also been riveting. What is imperative about the findings is the inclination of the reading public and the newspapers' preference for political discourse. Whether partisan or biased, the essential feature of this development is the promotion of divergent views and the freedom of choice of a medium of communication. This is a vital ingredient in a multiparty democracy and electoral politics as articulated in the literature.

The argument by writers such as Fukuyama in holding aloft the banner of liberal democracy as the ultimate has been faulted in the findings even if it retains in large measure the ideal. A major contribution of multiparty democracy is its ideological underpinnings. In this regard, it allows for free circulation of ideas, which are subject to scrutiny in the public sphere. On the other hand, to believe that multiparty democracy alone is the solution to pluralism and diversity and quality opinion formation is debatable as the findings have shown. What is important here is the clash of ideas in what Keane (1994) recognizes as being the philosophical arguments which underlined the principles of Tom Paine, Mill and Locke's natural rights maxim, and the Marxian ideology of the triumph of authentic democracy represented by the class struggle (1994: 170-171).

Multiparty democracy is a vital ingredient for diversity. Multipartyism is severally conceived as electoral and constitutional democracy which is adorned with different political persuasions and orientations in search of power. In this way, multipartyism promotes pluralism of the political party system. The news media are hailed for their criticality in exposing corruption and other dubious practices of politicians thereby helping to eliminate such vices and maximise good governance. By providing different perspectives and policy choices the citizens are freer to discern and decide on the political party which best serves their interest (McNair, 2003). Invariably, the news media's coverage helps in defining policy and issues and communicates the

same to the public, and thus enables them to form their own judgement through critical deliberation and argumentation (Habermas, 1989). This is possible through multiplicity of news media.

While the press/media has played crucial roles in the building of multiparty democracy as the analysis revealed, it has also been faulted for certain aberrations likely to undermine the whole electoral and constitutional democracy. For example, the findings point to the newspaper press' narrow focus on personal attacks on politicians to the detriment of policies. For the development advocates still rooted in Development Theory, the *Daily Graphic* is seen as the fulcrum for assisting in raising the quality of life of the people. According to them, besides the coverage of politics, elections and issues of accountability, the paper also focuses on other essential sectors such as lack of good roads, potable water and clinics. The perception and position is that these developmental needs are obviously overlooked by the private press and in its place, their attention and focus is on how many concubines and girlfriends politicians have. Despite these concerns against the private press/media, their plural and diverse coverage has created the platform for the conduct of government officials to become legitimate subjects for discussion in the public sphere. Dahlgren (1991) sees the level of efficiency of the public sphere as an index of democratic performance. He states:

... how well the public sphere functions becomes a concrete manifestation of society's democratic character and thus in a sense the most visible indicator of our admittedly imperfect democracies (Dahlgren in Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991 : 2).

In this way, while the press/media function to reflect the ideals of liberalism and constitutional politics, as seen in the promotion of democratic elections, pluralism and diversity, these cannot be said to be the only fundamental requirements. The informational and educational roles played by the state-owned press/media as lauded in development theory from the findings has also been complemented by the private press/media through the exposure of the citizens to intra-governmental activity necessary to activate them. This is what compels Garnham (1992) to refer to the press/media role in a multiparty democracy, as the process which not only deals with freedom but the knowledge necessary to activate choices through political judgement of the various alternatives opened to them

8.1.1 The *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and professionalism

Having discussed the major thrust of the findings under the other two sub-headings, the last sub-group is a fusion of the earlier discussions, and basically the implications of the coverage and reportage of the two newspapers on the press/media and democratic engagement in Ghana. The essence of the press/media and democracy argument is hinged on how well they function in the public sphere as argued by Dahlgren (1991). However, the press/media role in the democratic process has been affected by its level of professionalism, more particularly by the two newspapers at the heart of this enquiry. The different methodological tools employed in order to triangulate data revealed almost the same findings. The language employed by the *Ghanaian Chronicle* as a privately-owned newspaper has been found to be very inflammatory in most parts as the stories relate to politicians in government. Ethical violations resulting in defamation and libel suits have been identified as a low point in the performance of the press/media in a multiparty democracy. What account for the ethical aberrations are indecent language usage, low level of education of journalists and mixing of comments with facts in the news media coverage.

For the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, the findings affirmed that constitutional safeguards notwithstanding, its independence and professionalism is debatable. It was clear it has been a tool in the hands of the manipulative agents of the government. In this way, while the drift is not necessarily towards the authoritarian regime of control of the press, it neither allows for the paper to assert its critical independence nor its social responsibility function to the people (Siebert et al, 1963). The whole argument of press/media independence has been found to be questionable from both the thematic and textual analysis in respect of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*. Clear biases and deep partisanship makes it difficult to point to any of the two newspapers as totally independent. News selection, as gleaned from the three methods deployed, proved that the news value judgement principle has been tainted by the leanings of the newspapers and in most cases not informed by the objectivity ethos or their presumed independence as the 'Fourth Estate'.

It is also essential to point to the financial base of the press in a democracy. A full fledged press/media could only function well if it attracts advertising. As for the *Daily Graphic*, as a state-owned newspaper, the findings indicate that it enjoys most of the advertising revenue while the private press is hamstrung in this area. The analysis and findings reveal the effective watchdog role of the privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* in exposing corruption in governmental circles. It also stands out as being very critical of the electoral process in general. However, a weak advertising base could stifle its operations to perform its functions efficiently and effectively. A major boost to the democratic process is only feasible and sustainable if the newspapers could enjoy a more autonomous financial base, highly trained journalists and other professionals in the industry as well as independence. Keane (1994) has been clear in the critical independence of the press/media in a democracy. As explained in the literature review, it is essential because of its "... ability to maximise freedom in the sense of individual or group autonomy" (1994: 175). The denial of financial oxygen to the 'Fourth Estate' could erode its critical role in the public sphere and in multiparty democracy as a whole.

8.2 Conclusion

The findings discussed in this chapter have pointed to the immense contribution of the press/media to the democratic process in Ghana from 1992-2000. The thrust of their role has been hinged on the new wave of liberty as circumscribed in the 1992 Constitution. It is clear from the discussion that the partisanship spawned by the rivalry between the state-owned newspaper and the privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* has helped raised the platform of debate within the public sphere. Accountability, elections, ownership, diversity and pluralism in a multiparty democracy resonates across the analysis and findings discussed. Therefore, the influence of the press/media in the electoral politics of Ghana has been riveting.

The dichotomy and binary position of the two newspapers discussed reflects the competitive environment the multiparty democracy has brought into the political and general socio-economic discourse of the people. The triangulation of methods, on the other hand, has been very useful in fulfilment the objective of the study as most of the research questions have been accounted for and answered either towards positive or negative portrayal of the crucial role the press/media play in a liberal constitutional

setting. Moreover, the discussion of the findings has assisted in revisiting the theoretical arguments and how they relate to the findings and the research questions. There is enough material from the discussion to show that the normative theories of the press/media and democracy have been useful corollaries in the Ghanaian public sphere for the promotion and deepening of the multiparty democratic arrangement brought into focus.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.0 Summary of conclusions.

The thesis has covered diverse fields of the newspaper media and democracy. My findings have shown that the newspaper press is very vital in the building of the democratic process in Ghana. What has emerged strongly has been the arrangement in which the state-owned *Daily Graphic* and the privately-owned *Ghanaian Chronicle* both have space to contribute meaningfully to the emerging democracy. This model of a state-owned media, insulated from governmental control and playing a very active and somehow independent role in the democratic process is a model worthy of this study. Again, the findings have shown that no one standard, in the case of the models or theories articulated mostly from Eurocentric and American points of view are sufficient for the practice of media and democracy in other soils such as Ghana. A mixture of cultural and historical realities, the study has shown clearly, the brand of news media practice relevant for each region or country. However, the findings also showed that the Western normative theories and models of media and democracy remained strong pillars and very supportive of this study.

What we cannot lose sight of is the theoretical arguments providing a platform for the state/private ownership of the media in the context of a democratic country such as Ghana. From this standpoint, a comparative analysis of the media-democracy dichotomy was dealt with using selected methodological arguments and analytical tools to unearth evidence of their role in democratic development.

Importantly, the normative theories of media and democracy, particularly the '*Four Theories*' have been instrumental in addressing the research questions. Development theory and related models in the case of the African concept of media and democracy have played into the findings, which invariably contribute to knowledge. Arguably, the critique of the theories and models of media and democracy, and more particularly, the '*Four Theories*' mostly engaged with, are mostly from the Anglo-American tradition. Their emphasis on the traditional liberal theory to support democracy and its related issues within the free market system has been challenged

and shown from the analysis that the market alone is not the sole determinant of media/press viability in a democratic setting.

Beyond the debatable traditional liberal theory's promotion of pluralism and diversity, and encouraging the watchdog role in the society, there is growing intellectual criticism of their efficacy in modern pluralist societies. However, it is equally important to acknowledge its continuous role in democratic transitional systems such as those in some nation-states in Africa. There is also not a doubt that the so-called "sophisticated theories" as Hallin and Mancini (2004: 10) alluded to, have not, in my view impacted on the intellectual and academic debates as deeply as the traditional normative ideal, even if as Nordenstreng puts it the classic had collapsed into one level at least three different layers worthy of analysis that is the philosophical, political, and press systems (2006: 37). In the case of this thesis, the classic and the variant models dealing with the African concept enunciated by Nyamnjoh (2005), Ake (2000), Ansah (1991), Awoonor (1990) among others have been more than useful in assisting with the growth of democracy in Africa and particularly Ghana. It is clear that in as much as the Western liberal theory has been relevant in this study, a leaf of advice from Nyamnjoh using the metaphor of the "full-figured person, rich in all cultural indicators of health with which Africans are familiar, a dress made to fit the slim, de-fleshed Hollywood consumer model..." (2005: 25-6) deserves much attention.

The central thrust of the study has been to establish, or otherwise the contribution of the newspaper press to the democratic evolution in Ghana from 1992-2000. Within this context, a comparative analysis of private-state newspaper ownership has been researched and examined to find out if they have affected, positively or negatively, a democratic contribution. Crucial to this, the study proceeds to seek answers to the coverage of elections, accountability, multiparty democracy or politics, newspaper ownership influences and the implications of coverage of elections and related issues on the democratic process. Private ownership of the press/media has been established as necessary to satisfy the free market and the self-righting paradigms. While this has been very positive in assisting the outcome of findings based on the watchdog role of the media/press, more particularly the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, the state-ownership of the press/media has also defied the theoretical arguments of most Western theories by

being critical and in so doing striking a level of balance and independence. This is better appreciated due to the regulatory role of the National Media Commission (NMC) and the constitutional space given to the state-owned media and the NMC to assist in maintaining high journalistic standards and independence of the state-owned press/media. Partisanship in the private-state press/media and multiparty democracy in the context of Ghana has assisted in deepening the democratic culture embarked on since 1992, through the promotion of diversity and pluralism.

For the two newspapers from different ownership and controlled structures, the reflection and coverage given to different perspectives in the press on elections, accountability and politics are useful findings at various levels which showed that the arguments by development theorists in the wider context of Africa, for state-ownership of a means of communication, is not wholly a bad idea. What is interesting about the *Daily Graphic* is that, all the three different methods adopted in the analysis of the private-state-ownership of the two newspapers revealed a strong case of balance and fairness in the reportage of the *Daily Graphic*. While its partisanship and biases of leaning to the ruling government was not in doubt, placed on the ultimate point of the scale based on the findings, it justifies the strong arguments of writers such as McChesney (2000), Schramm (1963), Ansah (1991), Nyamnjoh (2005), Ake (2000) and Aggarwala (1978) among others. Crucially, it has defied the theoretical arguments and research findings of Western scholars that the press cannot be in government hands and function properly as the vanguard of the people.

In respect of the historical reality of emerging from colonialism, Ghanaian governments (just as other African countries) had, and still have a responsibility to their people. The cultural milieu in which they found themselves had impacted on their assessment of the 'truth'. Besides, the constitutional safeguards given the state-owned news media, such as the *Daily Graphic*, protecting them from being dictated to by government, or any other vested interest, other than being regulated by the constitutionally established body, the NMC, has indeed provided them with the requisite teeth to blossom without much interference. Instances of interference which emerged had to do with subtle pressures. This I find very usual of all organs of communication either privately-owned, publicly-owned or those of the state.

In respect of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, being a private newspaper has assisted it to also contribute immensely to the democratic process. Its command performance has been identified from the analysis in the areas of holding politicians and public office holders to account for the people's resources under their care. The *Ghanaian Chronicle's* ownership ideology allows it the freedom to pursue and report on very sensitive national issues, particularly that of the electoral process. A critical role in this respect has been its immense contribution to Ghana's electoral development and multiparty democracy in general. What is, even more compelling from the findings is the divergent viewpoints and the plural role it has helped establish, especially by giving a stronger and louder voice to the other players on the other side of the political spectrum. In providing this critical platform, it fills a vacuum arguably created by the *Daily Graphic*, and more seriously the promotion of critical debate, leading to the formation of quality opinions to enrich democracy.

Clear cases of partisanship, reflecting the *Chronicle's* ownership paradigm, have been found to be healthy for multiparty democracy. What makes its private ownership worthwhile is the ability to stick its neck out and try to influence the electorate to vote in a certain way. Whereas to others, it could be seen as trying to compel the electorate to think in a particular way, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* could be said to be exercising its liberal function beyond providing information. However, this role is what has given the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, some leverage. As a state-owned newspaper, enjoined by constitutional guarantees, it is less encumbered in acting overtly partisan in the coverage of the political parties and candidates involved in the electoral contest.

9.1 Strengths of the Thesis

At the level of the main theoretical arguments which underpin this thesis, the study has thrown up very interesting caveats in terms of the dependence on Western theories to analyse the press/media's role, and more particularly the African liberal idea. Importantly, the development concept, which was the argument advanced by most African leaders and given meaning and backing by some modernization theorists such as Schramm, have been proved to be useful in the context of state-ownership of newspapers as shown in the case of the *Daily Graphic*. The *Daily Graphic's* role in the critique of the classic or generally the traditional liberal theory did not function

simply in the context of the Anglo-American ideal but within the purview of the African cultural realities.

The inadequacy of the Western theoretical paradigms to construct a truly African public sphere for debate and opinion formation in Ghana's democratic development in the past has now been resolved with the hybridisation process of marrying the various theories with its attendant historical and cultural specificities and reality. Therefore, the idea of the self-righting and free market cannot be taken to be the ideal in all parts of the world. As recognized by Siebert *et al*, the newspaper press has to take the form and colouration of the public sphere where it is practiced. In this context the African ideal, in relation to developmental concept, clearly departs from the libertarian emphasis on the individual, as an autonomous subject, to that of shared values of individuals being an organic part of the community. It has to be admitted also that liberal democracy is not alien to Africa. When there is a fusion of the positive cultural and political values of the West with those of Africa, as argued in this thesis from the standpoint of the unique role of the private-state dichotomy, there is hope for its future growth and development.

Ghana's return to constitutional rule after years of oscillating between civilian and military dictatorship has been an opportunity for the newspaper press to play its role in contributing meaningfully to the democratic order. It is my firm conviction that this function has held very well, as articulated in the thesis, as there are clear empirical examples to point to in revealing its contribution to the building of the political and democratic public sphere through pluralism and diversity. In this study, the newspaper press in Ghana has been proven to be strategically situated to contribute to the attainment objectives of crystallising democratic governance through the promotion of universalistic cultures, as well as the relevant Ghanaian historical cultural specifics, without undermining the new thesis of globalization, with specific reference to the world becoming a melting pot for cultures and goods.

Furthermore, the diversity and pluralism engendered by the two newspapers at the heart of the study has been found to be vital for the checks on democratic infractions, the ensuring of greater accountability, sustainable electoral constitutional democracy, and encouraging multiparty politics. Part of the strength of the thesis has been the

realization that the newspaper press still remains a very critical organ of communication, information and education in the society and in the moulding of political and democratic opinions in the public sphere. A case in point has been the theoretical arguments and other empirical material establishing the relevance and importance of the newspapers in the programming menu of radio and television as detailed in 'Appendix A'. I have in the discussion of the ethos of the media argued forcefully that newspaper reviews, which have become a major programming source in radio and television in Ghana, on daily basis for six days a week and for almost six hours daily, affirms how the newspaper coverage of politics, elections, and accountability are virtually taking over the airwaves in what I have termed "newspapertronics".

The theoretical arguments applied in the construction of a solid methodological framework for the thesis has been critically examined and has been useful in arriving at the results obtained from the study and how they relate to the findings. By adopting both quantitative and qualitative methods in explicating phenomena, the use of quantitative content analysis has assisted in formulating statistical information to address some of the difficult research questions. Likewise, the qualitative content analysis, or the textual analysis and in part the discourse analytic category, played valuable roles in arriving at the findings which resonated from the study. Equally crucial has been the qualitative thematic analysis of the interview transcripts. This has been a useful tool in addressing some of the complex issues raised by the respondents. The greatest theoretical relevance of the methods deployed has been the flexibility available through the triangulation of the results of the various tools of analysis applied.

9.1.1 Weaknesses

While the theoretical frameworks established for the thesis have been carefully thought through, and were arguably well suited for the study, the possibility of other approaches in addressing the central questions of the study such as the three media concepts or models of Hallin and Mancini (2004) could have added more impetus. However, a careful analysis of their book *Comparing Media Systems: Three models of media and politics* for example, showed that it is short of addressing the African and

the Ghanaian ideal. The theories suffer from the same malaise of the earlier models. In this context, the classic '*Four Theories*' and the variant models of development and democratic participant theories have been found to be extremely outstanding and relevant to the thesis. Nevertheless, the study was very stingy on explicating the Habermasian ideal of the public sphere into detail, and I believe that it could probably have added more zest to the study. Additionally, I found the scholarly and academic arguments of others, who have covered the same field in relation to the sphere of opinion's impact on democratic theory and practice, more captivating.

Methodologically, a critical look at the audience reception of the coverage of elections, accountability, multiparty politics and issues of ownership influences could have been equally useful. This is not to state that the study's inability to adopt this approach has negatively impacted on the findings. Again, the newspaper sample size used for the study, on hindsight could have been relatively larger to deal with the nine-year period chosen for the study. However, judging by the focus of the research and the multi-strand methodology adopted, the inadequacy of the sample size has been compensated for by the intensive and extensive deployment of qualitative methods. They enriched the outcome of the study and the findings affirmed this. As stated, the deployment of a larger sample for the quantitative content analysis would have added more value.

9.2 Value of the Project

There is evidence from the study to show that the state-ownership of the newspaper press remains a signpost to further democratic development in Ghana. In the areas of elections, accountability, multiparty politics and ownership, it is clear from the thesis that neither private nor state owned press/media hold the key to the development and growth of democracy, but rather a mixture of the two structures. What has emerged from the arguments and empirical data is that democracy flourishes best when there is a vigorous and fearless news media. Freedom of the press, however, does not mean that the press should dabble in half-truths and rumours. Cases of personalisation and vulgarity deployed in language usage in the press cannot help in the construction of a healthy democratic debate. What it does is to poison the atmosphere and build tensions. Within the historical context of Ghana, which had long spells of military

intervention, the press/media needs to be more circumspect and decorous in the choice of words in order not to inflame passions unnecessarily.

I believe that the comparative analytic study embarked on in researching the two newspapers from different ownership and control structures adds to the wider field of knowledge on the media and democracy in Ghana. Of significance is the attempt to delve into and research what I consider to be protean areas by way of what Hallin and Mancini (2004) refer to as “concept formation and clarification and its role in causal inference” (Ibid: 2). What this provided for the study was the opportunity to systematically dissect the “work that falls into these patterns of over-generalisation and conceptual narrowness” (2004: 3-4). The comparative analysis of the two newspapers, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, has added to my knowledge of how to investigate relevant social phenomenon as it relates to the newspapers’ role in media and democracy from different ownership and control structures and has been a worthy experience. The key findings arising from the various analyses, as well as the theoretical arguments discussed and critiqued, have been valuable contributions to the knowledge and scholarship not only about the Ghanaian newspaper media and democracy but also useful hints about the African news media and more crucially, the study of the discipline in any part of the globe. I trust that the methodology employed, and the analytical approaches adopted, may be of value to other future researchers interested in wider fields of news media study in Ghana, Africa and beyond.

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Appendix A

Radio as an Industry

Radio represents one of the early mass communication channels to get a foothold in Ghana after the newspaper press. Established in 1935 through the instrumentality of the British colonial Governor, Sir Arnold Hodgson, the station was named ZOY. It began broadcasting to about three hundred subscribers, mostly foreign residents and some members of the African elite as a relay station, re-broadcasting British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service programmes (Ansah, 1985). Station ZOY is now what is called Radio Ghana, a part of the national broadcaster, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC). Modelled along the tradition of the BBC as public service broadcaster, it is owned and funded by the state.

Radio's intrusiveness as a mass mobilising tool and educator has seen it take a vanguard role in Ghana's development. As acknowledged by Mytton, though it is a twentieth century phenomenon, it has made giant strides in Africa and in particular Ghana. In his contention:

Radio has made such rapid progress and become so fundamental a part of daily life throughout much of Africa that it is easy to forget just how recently it arrived and how fast it has grown. Today it is at the centre of things. Much important political or national news is likely to be announced over the radio (1983: 52).

However, the first government of the Fourth Republic of Ghana under the leadership of Jerry Rawlings was particularly reluctant to open the airwaves to private participation and plural voices. This situation of hesitation in respecting constitutional provisions for the establishment of such news media outlets persisted until 1995, when the first licence to operate a private radio station was given consideration. Under a partnership arrangement, the sole national broadcaster, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) ceded part of its allotted frequency to Multimedia Broadcasting Company (MBC), a private broadcaster, otherwise known as JOY FM. The station started operation as a frequency modulated radio entity. However, it is important to state that this rearguard move by the government of the NDC, to loosen its hold on the airwaves, was the outcome of a radical attempt by a group known as the Independent Media Corporation of Ghana (IMCG) to set up a pirate radio station called 'Radio Eye'. Its members led by Dr. Charles Wereko-Brobby were arrested by the security services on December 4 1994 (*Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, 6 December 1994: 1). The group, however, put their case before the court of public opinion insisting that they

needed no licence to operate according to the constitutional provisions. Their argument is circumscribed in Article 162 (3) of the 1992 constitution which states explicitly that one does not require a licence to establish means of communication. For the sake of emphasis, clause three as mentioned states:

There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media and in particular there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a licence as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information (1992: 112).

It is the contention that this constitutional provision contains some ambiguities. There are clear guidelines for the operation of electronic media in Ghana. Due to the sensitive nature of their operation and to avoid chaos on the airwaves, the International Telecommunication Union has allocated frequencies to all the signatory countries. It therefore follows that the frequency spectrum allotted for use by Ghana has to be properly managed and allocated. If this is the case, then the claim of the IMCG is questionable.

However, this development seems to have awakened the government to the stark realities facing it. In response to the yearnings of the people for pluralism in the electronic media, the then National Frequency Registration and Control Board (NFRCB) initiated the process of granting licences to independent broadcasters. The outcome of this step in liberalising the airwaves resulted in active entry into the industry and the establishment of radio stations and television channels in the electronic media market from 1996 onwards (AMDI, 2007: 14).

The pride of place of radio in Ghana's socio-economic and political life is now well established. Special programming strategies developed, which made it possible for the use of local languages in radio, afforded the medium the needed impetus to surpass the newspaper press as the most reliable means of disseminating information and education across the spectrum of society (Ibid). This is further boosted by the high illiteracy rate. Recent figures provided by the United States Central Intelligence Agency put Ghana's literacy figures at 74.8% (CIA, 2006, Cited AMDI, 2007: 5). The statistics showed that 82.7% of the literate population are males and 67.1% females (Ibid). This makes the radio a more appealing medium for both the literate and illiterate population. It is important to state that it is not all the literate population that is capable of digesting most of the information conveyed through the official English Language. Though most of the statistics point to their being literate, their

understanding and processing of meanings in the English language is still suspect. In this case, a high preponderance of literates still prefers to listen to the news in local languages indicating their high attraction.

According to audience research conducted by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) dubbed *Politics in the Airwaves: "How Radio Covered the 2000 General Elections in Ghana"*, of the 80% of the sampled interviewees who owned radios, 52% were males who claimed they listened to radio regularly compared to 48% who were females. For television, 37% of the respondents said they were regular viewers while 30 % of the sample stated that they read newspapers regularly (cited AMDI, 2007: 11). While this data is target specific in order to determine the contribution of radio to Ghana's 2000 general elections, it nevertheless provides useful information that affirms the unparalleled position of the medium in the context of mass communication in Africa in general and Ghana in particular. Hachten adds the political dimension to the uniqueness of radio in the African and Ghanaian context when he writes:

The importance of radio is underlined by the role it often plays in political crisis. In almost all coups d'état - successful and unsuccessful – seizure of the radio transmitter is one of if not the primary goal (1971: 18).

Ansah provides an underlying relevance of radio as the foremost means of communication in Africa and Ghana when he corroborated Hachten's position by stating,

in fact the difference between a successful coup attempt and an unsuccessful one in Africa is usually determined by who gets control of the radio station. This explains why most African broadcasting stations are veritable fortresses with sandbags, barbed wire fences and armoured cars guarding the premises at night (1985: 8).

4.3.1 Ownership and Control of Radio

Broadcasting in Ghana was, until the second half of the 1990s, a state monopoly. Unlike the print media, broadcasting has to be regulated to avoid frequency and spectrum chaos in the industry. The firm place of radio as a public service broadcaster was initiated in 1968, when the National Liberation Council Decree 1968 empowered it to develop ethical codes to reflect its existence as a state-owned service provider (Ibid). This situation was in force until the inception of the Fourth Republican Constitution in 1992. The Ghana Parliament, in response to the changing dynamics and constitutional provisions passed the National Communication Authority Act 1996 (NCA, cited AMDI, 2007: 8). The NCA replaced the National Frequency Regulation and Control Board. By virtue of this Act, private broadcasting companies emerged on

the media scene with most of them establishing Frequency Modulation radio stations (Ibid).

According to Gadzekpo, there are now 130 radio stations in Ghana with licences to operate. However, only 96 are currently on air and operating through the frequency modulation electromagnetic spectrum (2005, cited AMDI, 2007: 14). This transformation in the radio industry, moving away from state monopoly to a liberalised one, allows for private participation and has increased the audience reception rate. A 2005 survey by InterMedia and recorded by AMDI reveals that at least 90% of the population listened to various programmes on the radio in the previous seven days, about 69% listened at least once a day. Commenting on FM radio, the report stated that 82% of the population receive radio through this medium (AMDI, 2007: 14). What the report fails to address is whether they listened to the medium on a local or national scale given the fact that Frequency Modulated radio is limited in terms of its reach, unlike Short-Wave frequencies.

In the case of Radio Ghana, the national broadcaster, GBC operates two studios - GBC One and GBC Two. The former is a multilingual station, broadcasting in the major Ghanaian languages such as Twi, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani, Hausa and Nzema. GBC Two's, main medium of transmission is English. Not to be overtaken in the competitive market with the massive entry of private FM radio, the national broadcaster managed to establish regional, district and community radio networks, making it the most extensive in the rural areas of the country (Gadzekpo, 2005). Operating through the use of the VHF-FM, some of the notable regional stations of GBC's Radio Ghana are Radio GAR (Accra), Garden-City Radio (Kumasi), Twin-City FM (Sekondi-Takoradi), Volta Star (Ho) and Radio Savannah (Tamale).

As for the private FM radio stations, most of them are concentrated in the national capital, Accra, with a handful in Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, and the rest scattered in other urban centres such as Koforidua, Sunyani, Keta and Obuasi. Limited in reach as a result of their being on FM, the stations have adopted a partnership arrangement which enables them to be hooked to some regional and District FM stations, offering listeners out of their transmission reach to consume these special programmes including news bulletins, current affairs and newspaper reviews with their attendant phone-in segments. The stations have been able to provide the citizens with a diversified fare. This has helped to lift the gloom and boredom associated with

government 'say-so' news and propaganda carried out by the national broadcaster when its political programming offer is put to the test. As noted by Gadzekpo, some of the private radio stations such as Joy FM and Peace FM have developed websites which afford listeners the opportunity to tune into the stations online (2005). Notable and most influential private radio stations are Joy FM, Radio Gold, Peace FM, Citi FM, ADOM, LUV FM, Choice FM and Radio Jubilee among others. There are some non-profit and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) funded community radio stations. Their scope of operation is quite small in terms of geographical area (AMDI, 2006: 15). Ghana also plays host to some foreign radio stations. These are the BBC World Service, Radio France International (RFI), Deutsche Welle and the Voice of America (VOA) through affiliation with a select number of FM stations for example Joy FM/BBC and direct FM broadcast.

Almost all the private FM stations have made topical partisan political issues a major item in their daily programming menu. While they are independent of governmental control, most of them lean or display partisan loyalty and affiliation towards political groups (AMDI, 2007: 16). An important feature of FM radio in Ghana's democratic discourse has been the devotion of substantial airtime to discussing political news stories carried by the newspapers, under the guise of newspaper reviews. During the review segment, these FM radio stations open their phone lines for the public to participate in discussions through phone-ins (Ibid). What this entails is that public officials and other major players in the political game, business and other social spheres of life in Ghana are normally grilled on air following disclosures in the newspapers on issues bordering on corruption, abuse of office, subterfuge and immoral conduct. The selection and treatment of stories is believed to depend on the political leaning of the radio station or the political coloration of the producers of the newspaper reviews.

In the state-owned radio, coverage of politics and other important events continues to be skewed in favour of the ruling parties in government. With the illiteracy rate still hovering around 30 per cent (CIA, 2006 Cited AMDI, 2007: 5), the government machinery is well oiled in its information dissemination with most news translated from the official English language into local languages by the Ghanaian languages section of the national broadcaster. Differentiating between genuine government policy and propaganda becomes difficult. Any mention of Article 162 (4) of the 1992

constitution, which unambiguously insulates the state-owned media from governmental control, is seen more as rhetoric than reality:

The state broadcaster GBC, though by law insulated from governmental control... is still sometimes perceived to be playing a partisan role, defending the party in power (AMDI, 2007: 16).

There appears to be a serious constitutional lacuna in the constitution in respect of the state-owned media. While Article 163 stipulates that the state-owned media should afford equal opportunity to all political parties for the expression of divergent views and opinion on national issues and Article 162 (4) states inter alia:

Editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by Government, nor shall they be penalised or harassed for their editorial opinions, views or the content of their publications (Constitution of Ghana, 1992: 112).

While the provision is very clear, there are no clear provisions denouncing partiality on the part of editors in the state-owned media. Though there are clear guidelines, and constitutional injunctions by the NMC for example, these are regularly breached. It is in this context of a constant uneven playing field which gave most incumbent governments the latitude to manipulate democratic contests in their favour since 1992. A radical step perhaps is needed through parliamentary and civil society collaboration to give true meaning to the constitutional provisions that calls for equal time and space to be given to all parties.

The partisanship which resonates through both state-owned and privately owned radio has clearly raised debate issues worth explaining. The method whereby producers select topical newspaper stories for discussion and the officials often alleged to have committed infractions who are cross-examined on air amounts to bringing 'good governance' to the doorstep of the population. In this context, radio stations are assisting in ensuring democratic accountability, plurality of viewpoints, diversity and above all mobilising public opinion to enrich the political public sphere debate. The radio watchdog role could be said to be steadily growing in the liberal democratic setting.

4.4 Television and Democratic Discourse in Ghana

Television, as an audio-visual media of communication was not part of Ghana's news information and entertainment media until 31 July 1965. It became part of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation's assets simply referred to as Ghana Television or GTV. Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, reputed to have a firm grasp of the

importance of tools of mass communication, in opening the station cautioned that it should not be used for cheap entertainment but be part of a vigorous national construction to eradicate poverty and illiteracy (Hachten, 1971). Nkrumah, who used the print media to mobilise the nationalist cause for independence, seems to have fully appreciated the persuasiveness of television as a magic multiplier in forging a sense of closeness with its audience.

In making it clear to Ghanaians and the world the purpose for which GTV has been added to the state owned or public service media, Nkrumah had in mind the use of television for national integration and cohesion. The purposeful use of the medium was not only for promoting developmental goals but also the protection of minority and disadvantaged rights which has seen GTV in the forefront of education, mobilisation and as agenda setter in highlighting developmental needs.

4.4.1 Era of Diversity

A major debilitating factor in the operations of GTV is the difficulty in adjusting to changing trends. Having operated as a monopoly, the national broadcaster has been very slow in adapting to the democratic swing after return to constitutional rule. The monopoly enjoyed for the long haul from its establishment in 1965 has turned the management at GTV into political representatives of the old order. A case in point was the refusal of the management of GBC in 1993 to accord the then main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the same platform on Ghana Television to subject the NDC government's budget presented to the nation to critical scrutiny by offering their view on it. The NPP sued GBC at the Supreme Court for being denied their constitutional right to comment on the budget (Blay-Amihere and Alabi, 1996: 61).

The legal suit in question demanded an interpretation and enforcement of Article 163 of the 1992 Constitution. The provision demands that all state-owned media offer equal opportunity to all for the expression of divergent views and opinions. The NPP opposition party won the suit. However, the situation of denying a voice to the opposition still persists. The NPP which is now in government found nothing wrong with GTV's refusal to accord the opposition NDC presidential candidate, John Evans Atta Mills, a voice when he sought to make use of the same facility to explain the opposition party's alternative views on national issues, even when he offered to buy airtime. The reason given was that no political activity was permitted because it was

the 'political off-season' (<http://www.myjoyonline.com/frontarts.asp? P=3826>) [Accessed Archives April 2007]

The various factors mentioned in the discussion on liberalizing the airwaves for radio apply to the television sector too. With the National Communication Authority Act 1997, the electro-magnetic spectrum was opened for participation by the private sector in television broadcast. The AMDI report, in commenting on the significant transformation which has accompanied the liberalisation of the television spectrum for competition, states that "key changes and developments in the television marketplace in the past five years", has been the establishment of five new television networks thereby bringing the total to six (2007: 18).

The first private commercial television station to take advantage of the liberalised airwaves was TV3. This is a joint venture between TV3 Malaysia (70%) and Winmat Limited, a Ghanaian private business entity (30%). It started broadcasting in October 1997 with its operational scope being mostly urban-based. The station generates its revenue purely from vigorous advertising (Ibid).

Metro TV, which is a public-private venture between GBC and a business syndicate headed by Talal Fatal came on stream in 1999. As recalled by Gadzekpo, since the establishment of Metro TV, it has been experiencing steady growth and expansion covering about 60% of the country (2005). Other television stations in Ghana include Crystal TV, MultiChoice (a Cable television network available on pay-per-view basis) which runs M-net and Dstv.

Unlike the era of monopoly, when GTV was the only audio-visual medium providing the platform for socio-economic and political debate in the country, the arrival of other television channels, more particularly those privately-owned, is helping to stimulate competition and diversity in the broadcast media. However, the private commercial television stations are in business to make profit, unlike the national broadcaster which is a public service. Further, GTV is the only station with a national footprint as it covers almost the whole country (Gadzekpo, 2005 Cited AMDI, 2007: 18).

In the case of the private commercial television stations, the high number of Ghanaians interested in democracy related discussions and other political debates has

gradually persuaded the operators to shift their programming focus. Invariably, TV3 and Metro TV for example, have shifted their programming focus to suit the taste and demands of the political class. A classic shift is the rise in television programmes that cover newspaper reviews in the mornings, with discussions heavily laced with partisan debate. A former Member of Parliament, Kosi Kedem, in an interview with Joy FM expressed his indignation at the quality of discussion and debate which characterise the reviews on television. He avers that it

has become so compromised and sometimes so scandalous that it has become a platform sometimes to peddle blatant lies and vicious rumours and for practising 'muck-raking' journalism [Accessed myjoyonline.com archives, April 2008].

If we juxtapose Kedem's concerns with the untrammelled monopoly and power which the state-owned television (GTV) has enjoyed over the years, and its denial of alternative voices to be aired on its network to counter government propaganda, then Kedem's reference to the half-baked, rumour-filled and so-called vicious lies being peddled by discussants on air is better appreciated. However, falsehood as a substitute for 'truth' and decency cannot be condoned. Lawson (2002); Sekhon (2004); and Sandbrook (1996) support this position when they argue that the private independent news media has the chance of exerting enormous influence in emerging democracies, especially when sources of political information are limited and the alternative institutions necessary to fill the void are weak. In this regard, political accountability is only safeguarded by alternative sources of information. When GTV, as a national broadcaster, divests itself from being tied to the apron strings of ruling governments, the likelihood of alternative channels of communication peddling falsehood and half-truths being allowed to run riot could be arrested.

Diversity and pluralism in television is central to a greater degree of democratic participation. It is a vital energy needed to help promote quality debate and opinion formation in the political public sphere. As noted by Amartya Sen, private media involvement in democracy engenders economic development, as the information generated and disseminated becomes part of the knowledge gained, opinions formed and behaviours shaped towards the greater responsibility of holding governments accountable and responsive to the overriding needs of the society (1994: 31-38). This is characteristic of the libertarian philosophy of the free market media. The assumption is that consumers of television products have sovereign rights to choices and guarantees of quality. As John Keane puts it, for consumers,

the only workable index of quality is their pattern of choices, that is, the degree of popularity of ... television programmes; effective demand, the willingness of the individuals to purchase a product is the criterion of its quality (1994: 121).

What this reveals is the benefits of multiplicity of products for one to choose from. Be that as it may, the role of public service television, in this case GTV in contributing to democratic discourse requires greater responsibility and political accountability that is hampered by interference. It can only assert its proper place when there is alternative media in order to bring about true representation. Keane claims that the public service model accords the ordinary people the opportunity to

deal with controversial issues ... and to view quality in terms of the ability ... to bind together disparate and fragmented audience into a classless community of individuals who feel others to be their equals (Ibid: 118-120).

The attempt at comparing the state-owned broadcasting service with the private commercial entities is to assist in establishing the divergences and convergences of the comparative framework of the state-private dichotomy within the scope of the thesis. It also helps to enrich the media and democracy discourse from two perspectives. A major feature of the debate is the merits and demerits in the ownership and control structures emerging from the state-owned and privately-owned dichotomy. Diversity, pluralism and unrestricted discussion of democratic features in the society tend to promote greater accountability through the building of a greater democratic political public sphere debate.

Appendix B

Sample Justification and Interviewee Profiles

The choice of the sample has been extensively explained. However, there is the need to provide a brief profile sketch of the interviewees' professional backgrounds and positions they hold in their respective work places. The interviewees did not raise any objections to their names being mentioned in the thesis with regard to the opinions and views expressed in the attempt by the researcher to elicit responses to help in unpacking the dynamics surrounding the news media and democratic development issues. An explanation for their selection will therefore be offered. In offering a brief professional background of the interviewees, the researcher was guided by ethical considerations in disclosing their identities based on mutual consent. Those interviewed are:

1. Yaw Boadu Ayeboafoh, then Editor of the *Daily Graphic*, a state owned newspaper, which is one of the two newspapers at the heart of this study. He rose through the editorial ranks to become an Associate Editor of the newspaper. He temporarily accepted a appointment with the National Media Commission (NMC) as the Executive Secretary before applying for the editorship of the newspaper. He assumes the role and still holds that title. His newspaper being one of the two newspapers involved in the study, there is every justification to seek his views as to pertinent issues concerning their operations. (Date of interview: Tuesday 12 September, 2006)
2. Kofi Coomsson, Owner and Publisher of the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, until 2001 was also the Editor-in-Chief. Kofi Coomson started his journalism career in Nigeria, specialising in investigative journalism. He later moved to England before returning to Ghana to establish the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, a strictly privately-owned entity. This is the other newspaper being used to address the problematic of this thesis. It was the view of the researcher that the need to interview Kofi Coomson had very compelling reasons. As the Editor-in-Chief and the owner/publisher, during the period under investigation, he was better placed to offer a deeper insight into the complex issues of the news media and democracy. It also placed him in a position to be able to present an appreciation of his newspaper's contribution to democratic development, or otherwise, to be determined by

the research findings. In addition, the researcher thought it relevant to critically examine, from his standpoint, what his views were on the phenomenon being investigated. This is to be juxtaposed against the content of the newspaper using the content analyses methods of stories published from 1992-2000. (Date of interview: Friday 15 September, 2006)

3. Kwesi Pratt Jnr. is the Managing Editor of the *Insight* newspaper, a private company. He also served at the time of the interview as the Chairman of the Publicity Committee of the Convention People's Party (CPP), a political party with historical antecedents to the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Kwesi Pratt is also a human rights activist and does not shy away from stating his socialist inclination. As a journalist with many years experience, he remains one of the most consistent voices in the news media and democracy discourse in Ghana. (Date of interview: Tuesday 19 September, 2006)
4. Ben Ephson is the Editor of the *Daily Dispatch* newspaper, also a privately-owned concern. Ben, for a very long time has been a correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) African Service in Ghana. In addition he is a pollster, having achieved remarkable success with Ghana Alert, an opinion poll think-tank, in predicting outcomes of elections in Ghana. With this background, I found him an irresistible choice as one of the interviewees. (Date of interview: Wednesday 27 September, 2006)
5. Ahmed Ramadan is a politician and business magnate. Ahmed is the National Chairman of the People's National Convention (PNC), one of the major political parties in Ghana today. The PNC is an Nkrumahist party similar to the CPP. Its main driving force has been to complete what it termed the unfinished agenda of the Founder of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The party was formed through the instrumentality of the late Dr. Hilla Limann, President of Ghana in the Third Republic. The PNC, since its formation in 1992, has been committed to democracy through the ballot box. It has also been one of the most consistent political parties with a loyal support base. Of about a dozen parties which have been involved in

the multiparty democratic process from 1992, the PNC has maintained its strong showing as one of the four major parties in the country. The inclusion of political party representatives in the sample is meant to seek their opinions and first-hand knowledge of the democratic process and news media coverage. (Date of interview: Friday 6 October, 2006)

6. A.B.A. Fuseini: He is currently the Deputy News Editor of the *Daily Graphic*. Fuseini, has for a very long time being the Political Editor of the paper and at other times the Foreign News Editor. With a depth of knowledge of how the *Daily Graphic* applied its principles to political and election coverage in the period under review, I found it appropriate to include him in my sample. This was done with the hindsight of tapping his vast experience and knowledge in critically addressing the thesis research problem. (Date of interview: Monday 9 October, 2006)
7. Ekow Essuman is the Editor of the *Ghana Palaver*, a private newspaper. Ekow is a veteran in Ghanaian journalism, being a pioneer student of the Ghana Institute of Journalism, Africa's first journalism institute, south of the Sahara. He has worked in both the state-owned and privately-owned media in Ghana for a period spanning over forty-five years. He was one time Deputy Editor of the *Ghanaian Times*. His inclusion is informed by his unmatched reservoir of experience, knowledge of the Ghanaian and African media, and his first hand grasp of the constitutional and military governance which straddled Ghana and Africa's political landscape since independence in the 1950s and 1960s, and to the present day. (Date of interview: Wednesday 11 October, 2006)
8. George Sarpong is the Executive Secretary of the National Media Commission (NMC). Before his appointment he spent time with the School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana as a lecturer. His choice is very strategic to the project. It is aimed at gaining first hand knowledge of how the Commission is helping regulate the operations of the news media, as mandated under Chapter 12 of the Fourth Republican Constitution. The NMC's core functions, as provided for in Article 167, includes ensuring higher journalistic standards in the media and to insulate the state-owned media from governmental control. The NMC is therefore a

powerful body, whose activities have a direct bearing on the media and to an extent, democratic governance. (Date of interview: Tuesday 17 October, 2006)

9. Bright Blewu is the General Secretary of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), the main umbrella representational body of journalists in Ghana. Bright worked for many years as a professional journalist with the country's wire service, the Ghana News Agency. As the General Secretary, he co-ordinates the activities of journalists in the country. The GJA is a pressure group actively involved in news media and democracy engagement. This placed the General Secretary in a strong position to be selected to respond to interview questions relating to media and democracy. (Date of interview: Friday 8 September, 2006)
10. Kwesi Jonah at the time of the interview was the Head of the Governance Programme of the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). Kwesi is also a senior lecturer in Political Science at the University of Ghana, Legon. With a depth of knowledge of Ghana's democratic and political institutions, his selection is also influenced by his position at the IEA. The IEA is an important democratic think-tank which is donor funded by the Government of Netherlands. The institute has been in the forefront of providing financial and manpower support through capacity building to deepen the democratic culture in Ghana. All the major political parties receive some form of financial support for political research and related activities. (Date of interview: Friday 29 September, 2006)
11. Razak El-Alawa is a veteran journalist and former deputy press secretary of Dr. Hilla Limann, former president of Ghana in the Third Republic. He has been in journalism practice from the early 1970s. As the immediate past editor of the *Ghanaian Democrat* and the *New Ghanaian* newspapers Razak has, until his appointment as assistant secretary to former President Limann, worked with the *Daily Graphic* as a journalist. He also practised journalism in Nigeria for over a decade. He is currently a media and communications consultant to some major enterprises and institutions in Ghana. (Date of interview: Thursday 19 October, 2006)

Appendix C

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONS FOR QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GENERAL QUESTIONS

PART I

(A) Democratic Accountability in Africa

1. Is there accountability of politicians to the citizens?
2. What are the mechanisms? And is the news media an effective organ for ensuring this democratic accountability?
3. What is the state of democracy in Africa? From your responses, are you optimistic or pessimistic? What are your reasons?
4. Are there any cultural/historical basis? Outline.

(B) Democratic Accountability in Ghana

AS above

(C) Role of the Press in Ghana's Democracy

1. What role has the press played since 1992?
2. Has it helped multiparty politics?
3. How has it assisted the electorate?
4. Has the press contributed to pluralism?

(D) Constraints on the Press

1. Were there any direct or indirect external constraints on the press i.e. political/government interference/control/influence? On which newspapers? What is the degree of success? And what form does it take? Provide examples.
2. Were there any proprietorial/ownership pressures? To what extent? And with what effect? Give examples.
3. Were there any editorial pressures? To which extent? Examples

PART II

Election Coverage

1. How did the press contribute to the democratic elections of 1992- 2000?
 - (a) Were they one-sided and propagandist?
 - (b) Informative?
 - (c) Did they encourage pluralism
 - (d) Did they try to change or direct the outcome?
 - (e) Did they enhance the communication of information for free and fair elections? In what ways? Cite examples
2. Daily Graphic versus Ghanaian Chronicle
For each newspaper:
 - (a) Were all policies / political parties given equal access and coverage?
 - (b) Examples of one-sidedness/propagandist practices?
 - (c) Were there clear editorial biases?

(d) Were all candidates in an election or their speeches covered and given same prominence?

3. Standard of Journalism on each

(a) How committed were they to independent journalism?

(b) How far were journalists called to pursue stories without being directed?

(c) What directives/editorial guidelines were laid down for journalists? Give clear examples

4. Lessons from each

(a) How did each newspaper contribute to the elections?

(b) What improvements ideally could they make?

(c) How have they helped liberal democracy or its revival in Ghana from 1992-2000?

Appendix D

Interview with Kwesi Jonah, Head of the Governance Programme, Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and Senior Lecturer, Political Science Department, University of Ghana, Legon

WD: I would like you to share your thoughts on democratic accountability as far as politicians are concerned.

KJ: This is a very big topic if you are talking about the whole continent but basically we have two types of accountability. We have both the vertical and horizontal accountability. In the vertical accountability, higher authorities are answerable to those who put them there and horizontal accountability is more or less the same level like the Judiciary, Legislature and Executive being accountable to one another. For example the Executive being accountable to the Legislature etc. There are serious problems with both types of accountability on our continent. Legislatures are organs to which the Executive should under every democracy be answerable. As a matter of fact, in our African continent, Legislatures are so very weak that they are literally under the control of the Executive. This means the whole question of horizontal accountability are very, very weak. Legislatures are virtually under the control of the ruling party, which also controls the Executive; if you talk to any parliamentarian in Ghana and you asked him; if the Legislature is strong, he would tell you that the Legislature is under the control of the Executive. So as far as horizontal accountability is concerned, I would say that we haven't yet developed to the stage where the Executive would be answerable to the Legislature as they are in developed democracies. Now let's come to vertical accountability for example, elected governments being answerable to the voters, parliamentarians being answerable to the people who elected them to these structures. Here again, we have observed some weaknesses; democracy on the African continent is dependent on money. You should be in an African village to observe what goes on during election campaigns. When campaigns are going on, politicians purchase all kinds of items to bribe voters with rice, sugar, etc. The influence of money and other material benefits are gradually eroding the benefit of vertical accountability also.

WD: So you are saying that there are certain inhibiting factors militating against the realization of democratic accountability in Africa and Ghana?

KJ: Exactly so.

WD: Do you believe that the newspaper press could be an effective organ for ensuring this democratic accountability?

KJ: In many ways, yes! Newspapers raised issues about corruptions, raised issues and debate the conduct of politicians, to that extent, the media are a very, very powerful instrument for exerting accountability on the part of politicians. But here again, a dangerous trend is developing. The media have become so politicized, they have become identified with a particular section of the political spectrum to such an extent that they could not exercise the power of criticism that you expect from the media in every democracy. So the media

have aligned themselves with politicians and therefore turn to overlook some of the wrong-doings of some politicians. And that is in my opinion until we have developed into a stage where the media would take a neutral position and pass critical comments on politicians, regardless of the media and its leanings, it has not yet reached the stage to be an effective weapon or instrument of democratic accountability.

WD: So looking at democracy in Africa, what would you say is the state of democracy now?

KJ: I would say it is an Electoral Democracy; an Electoral Democracy is reasonably well stabilized. By Electoral Democracy, I mean the ability of African countries to conduct periodic elections, elect their leaders, etc. But elections are not all that democracy is about. Democracy involves institutionalizing certain ways of life, accountability, transparency and those aspects that we are able to conduct elections every four or five years. To that extent, I would say we are doing so very well. Because in the past even this was absent. In terms of institutionalizing the values of democracy, accountability, transparency, rule of law, etc, there is still a long way to go.

WD: So from your responses are you optimistic or pessimistic?

KJ: We have democratic pessimist and democratic optimist. I am very, very optimistic that we can turn our democracy around and move forward.

WD: Would you say that the inability of certain sectors for example political accountability of politicians as mentioned to respond to the democratic ideals could be linked to Africa's democratic systems which are contrived on cultural and historical factors?

KJ: I would say that the value for democracy is good for every society but at the same time we should recognise cultural relativism. It is good for everybody to have freedom of speech, it is good for everybody to have freedom of association; it does not matter where you come from but at the same time we should also bear in mind that there is something we call cultural relativity; what this means is that depending upon the kind of culture into which you are implanting democracy, it would take long time for the values of democracy to become institutionalized. So, democracy is good for everybody but we should expect that because of cultural differences people would institutionalize democracy at their pace and time.

WD: What would you say had been the major role that the press has played since 1992?

KJ: The press has played, on one hand a very positive role. First, they have been disseminating information about the political system; they have been covering the activities of political parties and therefore making different perspectives and policies available to the people. The press has also been very critical of corruption, politicians in general; to that extent they are contributing effectively to democracy. However, a few questions have been raised about

the performance of our media. The first problem of the media is that they tend to concentrate on personal attacks on politicians and when you concentrate on personal attacks, attention is diverted from policies. There are real policy issues to address but because you want to know how many girlfriends a politician has, how many children he has had secretly and so on and so forth. People don't have roads, water, clinics and you are not focusing attention on these problems; you are more interested in how many concubines and girlfriends a politician has. To that extent I think the press has not done very well. They should focus on the needs of the people. The issues that are of importance to the people are what they should concentrate on.

WD: So from inference you're saying that in as much as the investigative aspect of the press is laudable they should also highlight developmental issues. So you believe that the Press has helped the growth of multi party democracy?

KJ: Oh yes it has! In many, many ways it has

WD: Do you believe that they have really assisted the electorate in terms of making informed choices or should be seen to be doing that?

KJ: That is precisely the point. I expect the press to be a bit more analytical in showing me the policy difference between the NDC and the NPP, between the PNC and the CPP. In what way is the NDC different from the NPP as far as provision of education is concern? In what ways is CPP different from PNC as far as providing portable water to the rural people is concerned? They are not good at that.

WD: But you believe that the Press has strongly contributed a lot to democratic development and pluralism in general?

KJ: They have contributed a lot to that effect.

WD: You have highlighted some constraints of the press. Talking about personalization of reports and other issues instead of concentrating on policy issues, would you say that this is as a result of direct and indirect influences from owners of newspapers or proprietress?

KJ: Owners of newspapers can influence and do, in fact, influence the direction in which the media go in this country, that to a very large extent are the several causes which account for the lackluster performance of the press. The very first one is lack of professionalism. Our media people have not imbibed the ethics of their profession and therefore do not behave professionally as well as other media do behave in other countries. The second aspect of the media is lack of training. Coming out of the School of Journalism is not enough. Journalists must constantly retrain themselves; do a lot of reading and so forth. Our journalists or the press turn to think that once you come out of School of Journalism that is it! That is not it! You must constantly upgrade yourself by reading more, by training yourself, etc. Then the unfortunate thing is that some

of our people do not even have the discipline that it takes to be a good journalist.

WD: Do you think that there are editorial pressures?

KJ: No! In the past editorial pressures were very serious in the state owned media but you know that a major constitutional change that has come about as a result of the 1992 Constitution, the state owned media are not directly under the control of the government. They are under the control of the National Media Commission and this has protected them a little. So the president; the government cannot directly dismiss an Editor.

WD: Would you say the media have been one sided and propagandist in terms of covering election since 1992?

KJ: The media's role in covering elections is not static. It has been changing. From the beginning, they used to be very one sided but as a result of a number of court cases arising from unbalanced coverage, the media are gradually balancing their coverage to the extent that when the media coverage of the main parties were covered in the last elections the opposition NDC party had a larger coverage than the ruling NPP.

WD: Can you put that in terms of negative or positive coverage in the state-owned media for example as regards the opposition party coverage?

KJ: It is negative in the sense because in the past the ruling party had the greatest coverage then in the last election, you observe a slight change in the 2000 and that of 1996. It is important that the media should be balanced.

WD: Do you think from 1992 to date the media coverage of the elections has in a way either directed the outcome or change the direction of voters' perceptions towards a particular party?

KJ: Sure! That is true!

WD: It means they have directed the outcome of elections

KJ: Precisely so! In fact, the NDC used to argue that it was largely because of the media that was why they lost the 2000 elections; that the media was so biased against them.

WD: So what can be said of the coverage elections before, during and after elections? Has coverage enhanced communication of information for free and fair elections?

KJ: Oh yes! It has indeed enhanced the communication of information. I'll tell you that one of the biggest improvements in communication of information took place in the 2000 elections. Joy FM went ahead to announce some of the results before the Electoral Commission did. So people know what they should expect. They performed this role creditably because they were collecting the

results from the polling stations while the EC would have to wait for the true certified results from the constituency through the region to the national. So they have considerably enhanced communication of information and ensured a greater level of fairness.

WD: Now let us turn to a comparative analysis of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* which forms the basis of my thesis. Do you think that all political parties were given equal access and coverage in these newspapers?

KJ: For my own point of view, the *Daily Graphic*, yes! I would not say the same for the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle*, as you know, is a private newspaper, owned by a person who is not too well disposed to some of the parties and so I will say that the *Daily Graphic*, as a state owned newspaper tried to do a balance publication.

WD: So you believe that the *Ghanaian Chronicle* has been one sided and propagandist.

KJ: No! I wouldn't say propagandist but it has tendency to sometimes be unfair especially to some presidential aspirants and their political parties in its elections coverage

WD: And would you say that there were clear biases in both the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Chronicle* coverage of political parties?

KJ: I would not put all in the same basket. The *Daily Graphic* as a state owned newspaper under the control of the National Media Commission (NMC), tried to be a bit more balanced, less sensational, less bias than *Chronicle*.

WD: From your own assessment of the coverage of elections do you think that all the candidates in an election from 1992 and their speeches were given equal coverage and the same prominence in both the *Graphic* and the *Chronicle*?

KJ: No. In the *Graphic* yes but the *Chronicle* as a private newspaper, they don't feel obliged to give same coverage to all candidates

WD: Dr. Jonah, let's turn to the standard of journalism on each of these newspapers. How committed were they to independent journalism?

KJ: Not really. I would say that the *Chronicle* as an independent newspaper is committed to more independent journalism than the *Graphic*. The *Graphic*, under the constitution is under the control of the NMC and at the same time, they realised that they are state-owned and would not like to offend.

WD: So they are bit docile? And you think that the *Chronicle*, as an independent newspaper has given its staff more latitude to pursue certain stories compared to the *Daily Graphic*. In effect

- KJ:** Journalists are freer to pursue certain stories. In the state owned newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* it is a bit of problem.
- WD:** Can you tell me some of the editorial guidelines that were laid down for journalists?
- KJ:** We have what is called the Code of Ethics, we have ethics for Journalists which were formulated by the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) which requires that when you write something about somebody and the person complained of unfair or distorted report and demanded correction you should give prominence to the rejoinder as you gave to the original report. Even the NMC also has the same guidelines.
- WD:** Let's look at the lessons for each of the newspapers. What improvements should they make to enhance their own professional competence and for the realization of fuller democratic dividends?
- KJ:** I would recommend that the media focus on those policies that lead to the needs of the majority of the people. This is a very poor country. We have approximately over 30 per cent of the people living in poverty. It is therefore, the responsibility of our journalists to take this factor in consideration and cover the needs of the people as much as possible instead of resorting to sensationalism, focusing on the lives of politicians, etc. The second improvement they can make is to give the opportunity to weigh the policies of different parties, articulate the different policies of the various parties; tell the people so that they can make a clear choice, an informed choice. And the other thing too is if the press wants to contribute to improved democracy, they should improve upon their own professionalism.

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APPENDIX E

Daily Graphic

Certified results at a glance

'Investigate assault cases'

By Graphic Reporter

THE Ministry of the Interior has asked the police to investigate cases of assault at the Ablekuma North and South constituencies as well as reported incidents in Accra and Kumasi during the presidential run-off on December 28.

It urged all leaders of political parties to cooperate in the investigation in the interest of national unity, peace and tranquillity.

A press release issued in Accra last night and signed by the Minister of the Interior, Nii Okaija

• Continued on P. 3

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 2000. NO. 148102 PRICE: ₵1000

Turn to Ps 8 & 17

The Presidential run-off

194 RESULTS NOW OUT

'Voting pattern reflects will of the people'

By E. Kojo Kwarteng & Thelma Atamudzi

THE Presidential candidate of the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), Mr Dan Lartey, has said the pattern of voting in the just ended presidential election is a reflection of the popular demand for change in the governance of the country.

He emphasised however that the incoming government must not indulge in witch-hunting and trivialities but rather bring a "sweet relief" to the people by going straight to tackle the socio-economic problems of the people.

Speaking in an interview in Accra on the presidential re-run on Thursday, Mr Lartey said the exercise ended well with the results going the way the people want.

He said the electoral process and the participation of the electorate are indicative that Ghanaians are alive to their responsibilities.

He said there was the necessity for the deployment of security personnel on the election day because he did not expect such an exercise to be trouble-free.

Mr Lartey, whose party alongside other opposition political parties threw their support behind Mr J. A. Kufuor, New Patriotic Party (NPP) flagbearer, in the second round of the presidential election, said the support of the five parties have made a positive impact on the election, especially on the part of the NPP.

He said he was happy the results seem

• Continued on P. 3

• Kufuor in the lead

By Kweku Tsen

THE Electoral Commission (EC) last night released certified results of 194 out of the 200 constituencies in the presidential run-off on Thursday.

According to the data provided by the EC, Mr John Agyekum Kufuor, Presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) leads with 3,528,535, votes representing 57.28 per cent of the votes whilst Prof John' Evans Atta Mills, candidate of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) polled 2,632,068 votes or 42.72 per cent of the total of 6,160,603 valid votes cast in the election.

Constituencies yet to be declared are Juaboso and Bia in the Western Region, Nkwanta in the Volta Region; Asokwa East in Ashanti; Seno in Brong Ahafo and Yapei/Kusawgu in the Northern Region.

Whilst the NPP dominated the Western, Central, Eastern, Ashanti Greater Accra and Brong-Ahafo

Regions, the NDC received the mass of its votes in the Upper East, Northern, Upper West and Volta Regions.

The breakdown of votes obtained by the NPP presidential candidate in the 194 constituencies are Upper West, 64,163; Western, 332,371; Central, 372,640; Greater Accra, 631,506; Volta, 68,041; Eastern, 447,154; Ashanti, 926,243; Brong-Ahafo, 337,602; Northern, 256,764 and Upper East, 115,880.

For Prof. Atta Mills, the breakdown of his performance in the 10 regions are Upper West, 104,533; Western, 186,539; Central, 199,006; Greater Accra, 421,954; Volta, 563,787; Eastern 269,270; Ashanti, 236,740; Brong-Ahafo, 228,361; Northern, 267,175 and Upper East, 154,703.

An analysis of the pattern of voting and votes obtained by the respective candidates revealed that Mr Kufuor did not only consolidate his hold over the hitherto strongholds of the incumbent NDC, but also increased the number of votes which he won in the NPP's main



• Kwadwo Afari-Gyan — EC boss

Man lynched in K'si

From Nehemia Owusu Achiaw, Kumasi

A MACHOMAN, who allegedly attempted to carry a ballot box away from the Kassi polling station in Kumasi, was lynched by a mob last Thursday during the presidential run-off.

The identity of the machoman is yet to be established.

According to eyewitnesses, the deceased was among a group of machomen, who arrived in an unregistered Pick-Up at the polling station at the close of polling at 5 p.m. on Thursday.

They said the machoman tried to snatch a ballot box and a warning shot fired by the security allegedly hit the thigh of a voter.

This created confusion and stampede at the polling station as voters and onlookers ran helter-skelter for life.

In the midst of the confusion, the machoman was alleged to have managed to pick the ballot box but the security personnel at the polling station prevented him from taking it away.

A scuffle allegedly ensued between the machomen and the security personnel and in the process, one of the machomen was attacked by the mob.

A police source confirmed the incident and said the issue was under investigations.

Meanwhile, the body of the deceased has been deposited at the Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital pending further police investigations.

Mr Kwaku Kyei, District Chief Executive of Asante Akyem North, told the Graphic on telephone that a group of NPP supporters who mistook the Electoral Commission's vehicle for an NDC one, shot and wounded a returning officer and an officer of the Ghana National Fire Service.

According to him, the two persons whose names are yet to be given are receiving medical attention at the Agogo Hospital.

In a related development, Salome Donkor reports from Koforidua that the Nkwakaw Police have mounted a search for a group of people, who allegedly stormed the Kwadwo Nkansah Local Authority Primary polling station near Nkwakaw in the Eastern Region on board a Pick-Up and a bus and bolted with a ballot box filled with 134 thumbprinted ballot papers and a thumbprint pad on Thursday morning.

The registration numbers of the vehicles were given as GR 2704 R and GW 6664 R.

The seal numbers of the boxes are 2093561 and 2093562. The ballot booklets were numbered 9216601-9216700 and 9216701-9216800.

According to a report faxed to the Regional

• Continued on P. 3

backyards. This development implies that the supporters of the other opposition parties which contested the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections obliged to the calls of their respective leadership to vote for Mr Kufuor in the run-off.

For instance, in the Efutu, Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem and Awutu-Senya constituencies, all in the Central Region, where the NDC won in the recent parliamentary election, the picture was totally different in the run-off which saw the

• Continued on P. 3

Man lynched

• Continued from P. 1

Sectoral Officer, Mr C.O. Addae, by the Presiding Officer of the polling station, the incident occurred after he refused to allow passengers in the said vehicles to vote since they did not produce any identification nor were their names in the voters register.

The report said the driver of the Pick-Up with registration number GR 2704.R, whose name was given as Nyarko, had earlier gone to the polling station, which is 30 kilometres from Nkawaw, and asked why the party agents were not sitting beside the polling assistants.

He went back after the Presiding Officer told him that he was operating the station according to the training he received from the EC.

The report said Nyarko later went back to the station with a bus carrying 40 passengers and asked the officer to allow them to vote because he had received information that a group of New Patriotic Party (NPP) activists had gone to vote en-bloc at the polling station.

The report said the presiding officer refuted the allegations and explained to them that nothing of that sort had happened.

This resulted in verbal exchanges between the polling officials and the group and it was in the midst of the confusion that they bolted with the materials.

Voting pattern

• Continued from P. 1

to be producing a change in government of the country.

He said the NPP did well in constituencies where it performed abysmally in the December 7 general election saying this was the result of the support of other opposition parties, including the GCPP.

He called for constitutional reforms to give recognition to roles played by traditional authorities adding that the next government should not sideline chiefs.

Investigate cases

Continued from P. 1

Adomafio, said the attention of the ministry has been drawn to an escalation in violent acts of molestation, harassment and intimidation of political party supporters in certain parts of the country.

It said in several cases some landlords are even reported to be ejecting tenants on account of their support for one political party or the other.

"These violent and unfortunate acts are particularly widespread in parts of the Ashanti Region, especially the Kumasi metropolis as well as parts of the Accra metropolis, Eastern, Western and Northern Regions", the release said.

The release urged leaders of political parties to restrain their supporters from any further provocative behaviour since any further escalation would not be in anybody's interest.

It added that the ministry has tasked the Police Administration to take necessary measures to contain the situation.



NGO gives to GAESA

SELF-HELP Foundation, an NGO based in USA has presented a computer and its accessories valued at about €10 million to the Ghana Agricultural Engineering Students Association (GAESA) of the Agricultural Engineering Department of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi.

Presenting the computer on behalf of the Foundation, Mr Forster K. Boateng, Programme Manager, said the donation is their contribution and also

forstall close relationship between the Foundation and the department.

It is also aimed at assisting the department to be hooked to the internet as well as equip the students with computer knowledge.

Mr Boateng assured the students of their continued support towards the activities of the department to enhance effective teaching and learning.

Prof I.K. Jokoto, head of the department who received the item on behalf of the association, expressed his apprecia-

tion to the Foundation for the support.

He said the computer would go a long way to improve upon the academic work at the department.

• Above: Prof I.K. Jokoto, head of the Department and some of the students admiring the computer after the donation.

Those with them include Mr Forster K. Boateng, programme manager of the Foundation.

Police arrest conmen

By Akua Adobebe Addo

THE Police have arrested two conmen, who allegedly attempted to defraud

an Nkawaw-based carpenter of €3.5 million.

The two, Kwesi Ofose, a Ghanaian and George Datsu Ayikutu, a Beninois, who were

said to have had in their possession some fake cedi currency notes allegedly, offered to give the carpenter an amount of €10 million fake cedi notes in exchange for genuine €3.5 million to enable the carpenter to transact business with the fake currency since, according to them, it was difficult to detect the fake notes.

Before the deal could go through, however, they were arrested by the police at Nkawaw.

Briefing the *Graphic* in Accra, Chief Superintendent Kwaku Dzakupata, in-charge of CID Operations, said the two men usually barter the fake currency notes for genuine notes and normally make high offers to entice their unsuspecting clients.

He said Ofose and Ayikutu had gone to Nkawaw to purchase some furniture from the carpenter and after making the request for the furniture, the two men told the carpenter that they had in their possession some fake cedi currency notes which would be difficult to detect because they had all the watermarks, signature and serial numbers of genuine notes.

Consequently, the two suspects asked the carpenter to give them €3.5 million genuine notes in exchange for the fake €10 million. According to Chief

Supt. Dzakupata, the carpenter after receiving the fake notes, was to mix them with genuine notes through which he (carpenter) would be able to transact his business with the fake money unnoticed.

He said when the carpenter expressed interest in the deal, the two men offered to bring the carpenter to Accra for the money since they did not have it at Nkawaw.

Unfortunately, someone got wind of the transaction and quickly informed the police who swiftly swooped on them at Nkawaw.

Chief Supt. Dzakupata said a saloon Mercedes Benz car which was been used by the two men was also impounded.

He said it is suspected that the money is mainly being bartered in the rural areas where the tricksters are defrauding unsuspecting people.

He therefore called on the public to be careful and check any amount of money they receive since these fake monies bear the same serial numbers.

194 results

• Continued from P. 1

NPP sweeping the mass of votes to give Mr Kufuor a comfortable lead in the contest.

In addition, the reduction of votes for Prof. Mills in several constituencies seems to indicate that a segment of the party's supporters failed to exercise their franchise in the run-off.

The Volta Region, according to the results, remains the NDC's most reliable partner and ally since the electorate in the region rallied solidly behind the party in the run-off.

Contrary to media reports that the run-off witnessed a low voter turn-out, 55 per cent of registered voters cast their votes based on the results declared so far.

According to Dr Kwadwo Afari Gyan, Chairman of EC, the declaration of the results of the remaining 6 constituencies will not necessarily make any difference in the outcome of the final result.

He said the commission is expected to collate and reconcile all the results of the run-off before yesterday evening and possibly hold a news conference this weekend to declare the winner of the polls.



Golden Tulip aids orphanage

THE management of Golden Tulip Hotel yesterday presented a quantity of various items worth €7.5million and a cheque for €2.5 million to the New Life Home and Orphanage in Kumasi.

The donation is in line with the management's annual support to needy homes instituted for sometime now.

The items presented by the General Manager of the hotel Mr T.H.C. Sherrif, comprises

drugs food items, detergents, disinfectants, clothings and toys.

Sister Maria Rita of Missionaries of Charity at Tema received the donation on behalf of New Life home management at a ceremony in Accra.

• Above: Mr Sheriff (second left) presenting the items to sister Maria (middle). With them are Mrs Elizabeth Sheriff (left) wife of the General Manager and Ms Agnes Bruce (right).

Actual Appendix E

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1998. NO. 147436 PRICE: ₵500.00



• J. A. Kufuor



• Nana Akufo-Addo

Today's national delegates congress at Sunyani...

WHO LEADS THE NPP?

• Will it be Kufuor or Akufo-Addo?

NUGS lauds GES

By Graphic Reporter

THE National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) has commended the Ghana Education Service (GES) for its decision to come out with a new drug policy for schools to curb the problem of drug abuse among students.

A release issued in Accra and signed by the union's Press and Information Secretary, Mr Bright Naveh-Bo said recent revelations and publications on drug abuse in schools especially second-cycle institutions have been a great source of worry to the students' body.

According to the release, "it is very heart warming to know that the GES has taken serious notice of the problem and taken concrete steps to solve that problem."

It said NUGS wishes to emphasise that in taking steps to solve this problem, much attention must be given to economic issues which have direct correlation with youth delinquency in the country.

The release said it is NUGS' strong believe that if certain petty payments in schools are abolished to give true meaning to the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme, parents will be relieved to enable them to pay more attention to the development of their children.

It said remunerations for teachers and lecturers and the general welfare of workers in the country must also be given serious attention if

• Continued on P. 3

Story: A. B. A. Fuseini

THE New Patriotic Party (NPP) will be the cynosure of all eyes today as delegates converge at the Brong Ahafo Regional capital of Sunyani to elect a presidential candidate to lead the party to the general elections in the year 2000.

The congress, which would feature 2,000 delegates from the 200 constituencies across the country, would be exclusively devoted to choosing one out of the six aspirants vying for the top slot of the party.

The contestants include Mr John Agyekum Kufuor, 1996 flagbearer of the party; Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Member of Parliament for Abuakwa; Dr Kofi Konadu Apraku, Member of Parliament for Offinso North and Mr Malik Alhassan Yakubu, Member of Parliament for Yendi. The others are Mr Joseph Henry Mensah, Minority Leader and Member of Parliament for Sunyani East and Mr John Kwame Koduah, acting Ashanti Regional Chairman of the NPP.

All six candidates with varying messages have already criss-crossed the country to interact with delegates and supporters of the party, unveiled to them their vision and plans for the party and nation as well as solicited their support in their bid to lead the party to the crucial general elections of the year 2000.

Mr Kufuor's message is one of continuity, keeping faith with his position as a popular and widely-known candidate across the country who would be easier to market than the others and who stands for peace, national reconciliation and unity of all Ghanaians.

Nana Akufo-Addo a leading proponent for change at both the party and national levels, advocates a new vision of a broad-based NPP with functional grassroots structures and workable strategies at the polling station level to anchor the party in its bid for power. He promises that the relevant contacts exist to ensure the mobilisation of financial and other resources to meet these challenges.

Dr Apraku, has asserted that the NPP needs his vision and experience of economic and social transformation as well as his stature as a unifying force in the party and nation. He also asserts that he is one not tied to the apron strings of any faction, and is therefore ready to deliver the badly needed power to the NPP and prosperity to Ghanaians.

Mr Yakubu, seeking to make history by being the first personality from the northern part of the country

• Continued on P. 3



• Kofi Apraku



• Kwame Koduah



• J. H. Mensah



• Malik Yakubu

Sunyani ready for the big event

From A. B. A. Fuseini & Kwame Asare Boadu, Sunyani

ALL is set for the special delegates congress of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to elect a presidential candidate to lead the

party to the general elections of the year 2000.

Members of the National Executive of the party, the six presidential aspirants and some of the delegates to the congress are already at Sunyani. The officials are also putting finish-

ing touches to the Christ the King Hall, the venue for the congress.

Canopies have been erected to accommodate extra three hundred delegates and other invited guests who would not find space in the main hall.

Sunyani is calm but anxious and excited supporters of the various candidates were seen indulging in arguments over who would eventually carry the day at the congress.

In an interview, Mr Dan Botwe, General Secretary of the party, expressed satisfaction

• Continued on P. 3

Who leads the NPP?

• Continued from P.1

UGS lauds GES

Continued from P.1

A problem will be actively checked. The release said, UGS wishes to ensure the GES that will do all in its capacity to support complement their efforts. It said the ongoing education programme in all campuses will be intensified to create more awareness of the dangers of drug abuse. We call on the GES and the government to take practical steps in solving the problems of street children since this problem is assuming an alarming rate", the release stated.

to contest and win the top slot of the NPP, has projected himself as the "strategic choice" the party has to take to get power as he combines the requisite political experience as a leader of the youth of the party with the goodwill of the various segments of the party.

Mr Mensah at 70, and the oldest in the race, asserts he is the bastion of maturity and experience and that at this crucial period in the life of the NPP, it needs not experiment with others, but must rely on his wealth of experience to get the party to its cherished objective of wresting power from the ruling NDC.

Mr Koduah, whose important message of anchoring everything the NPP and the nation does on divine intervention and blessings of the Almighty God, appears to have fallen on the deaf ears of most party members and delegates. He insists that without a return to these time-honoured and tested divine values and electing him as leader on this platform, vanity would be the end result of all such human pursuits, including the party's pursuit of power in the year 2000 elections.

So who will win the day and lead the NPP and perhaps the nation into the next millennium?

Firstly, a candidate to be elected flagbearer at the congress, needs to secure an absolute rather than simple majority of the 2,000 votes at stake—that is 1,001 or more of the votes.

Should none of the six candidates meet this requirement, a run-off would be organised for the two candidates with the highest votes secured in the first round where an absolute majority from one of the candidates would be secured this time.

Interactions with a cross-section of the party delegates and supporters, point to a narrowing down of the congress to a straight fight between Mr Kufuor and Nana Akufo-Addo with either Dr Apraku or Mr

Yakubu emerging as a strong outsider.

Mr Mensah, who has run a rather low profile campaign largely on account of lack of funds and Mr Koduah, whose campaign rests largely on divine intervention, appears not to have made any significant impact on the delegates and are tipped not to do well at this congress where money for organisation is a crucial factor.

Whilst Mr Kufuor is widely tipped by party insiders for a first round landslide victory, many others contend that Nana Akufo-Addo would emerge victor in the second round because none of the contestants would be able to secure the absolute majority in the first round. But bet on Kufuor for victory in round one.

The keen nature of the race has generated a lot of tension between the supporters of the two top contestants in the race which has seen threats of intimidation and violence issued if one or the other of these candidates carries the day at this congress.

Partly in response to this and also by the keen desire of the national executive of the party to conduct a trouble-free and successful congress, agreement was reached on Wednesday at a meeting between them and the Police Administration for an estimated 200 policemen to maintain security at the congress.

This is a critical period for the NPP and whether or not it can emerge unscathed from this congress and offer a credible challenge to the NDC in its bid for power in the year 2000 elections, depends on how events go today and how aspirants, delegates, members and supporters alike, conduct themselves during and after the congress.

It is hoped that as the best organised alternative to the ruling NDC now, the NPP would emerge strong and successful from this congress and play its rightful role in the bid to anchor democracy and the rule of law as the system of governance of this country.

Sunyani ready for the big event

Continued from P.1

preparations have so far and said the national executive and supporters of the party were looking forward to a peaceful and successful congress.

According to the General Secretary, the party had already notified the Electoral Commission to stand ready for the second round of balloting in tomorrow's crucial elec-

He pointed out that the situation could be if none of the six aspirants vying for the party's presidential throne attains an absolute majority of the 2,000

votes to be cast at the congress in the first round of voting.

"We in the national executive, do not want to be caught unawares by any such eventualities and, therefore, we must stand prepared for any development that might arise. We are not taking any chances at all in view of the fact that this congress means a lot to the party", he stressed.

According to Mr. Botwe, the national executive of the party would have no direct hand in matters concerning tomorrow's elections. "All matters pertaining to the elec-

tions would be handled by the Election Committee", he said.

Mr Botwe said those who are billed to speak at the congress are the national chairman, a representative of the Brong Ahafo regional secretariat and the six aspirants.

According to him, there is no strict deadline for campaigning and that aspirants and their campaign teams could still meet delegates at the hotels procured for them by the party to carry on with their legitimate campaigns except that it would not be at the congress hall.

At the time of going

to press, the full list of the delegates from the various regions except the Volta Region, had been submitted to the national executive and are believed to be in the possession of the Election Committee of the party headed by Mr Haruna Esseku, a leading member of the party.

Throwing more light on the issue of delegates to the congress, Mr N. Adu Kwabena-Essem, Director of Communications of the party, said a separate list of the full complement of the delegates except the Volta Region, has been made

available to each aspirant as demanded by them earlier.

He added that disputes over delegates, of some constituencies in the Volta Region were before the elections committee for arbitration and solution and gave the assurance that this would be amicably resolved before the take off of the congress this morning.

Mr Kwabena-Essem also indicated that a total of 100 policemen would be deployed to take charge of security and that the party would spare no effort to ensure that everything was done to make the congress smooth and successful.

Information available to the *Graphic* from congress sources, indicate that each of the six aspirants would be allocated twenty minutes to address the delegates.

Before this address, each aspirant would have to be nominated by a party member on the floor of the congress.

Investigations revealed that only delegates from the Volta and Western regions have been officially accommodated at Sunyani by the party with all other regional delegations expected to this morning and, for that matter, would need no official accommodation.

Mr Kwabena-Essem explained that because of the long distances of the two areas from Sunyani and the peculiar communication problems of the two regions, they had been singled out and given accommodation.

He said the Diplomatic Corps, some non-governmental organisations, the media and other political parties would also be represented at the congress.



THE Principal of Fortuna Financial and Media Consult, Mr Victor Katamani, has urged all literate Ghanaians to strive to know the basics in computer.

He said this at an orientation course for computer students held last Thursday.

The school, which started a year ago, has trained over 200 students in various courses, including secretarial, technical and programming.

Other areas include: Word Processing, Spread Sheet, Correl Draw and Pagemaker.

He announced that target group of the school are workers and SSS pupils who are about to enter tertiary institutions.

Above: Mr Michael Otu-Danquah, an instructor at the school, stressing a point to students during the course.

Orientation course for computer students

B.R.C

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In This Issue

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1996, NO. 14312 PRICE: ₵400.00

- NDC to dominate next parliament — P.10
- Update of election results — P.11, 12, 13

As the race gets to the Osu Curve...

RAWLINGS CRUISES TO VICTORY

Supporters hail elections at Cape Coast

From Dwamena Bekoe, Cape Coast

A CROSS-SECTION of people interviewed at the Cape Coast Municipality have described the presidential and parliamentary elections as very successful.

They were of the view that it will be completely unfair for anyone to level allegations of rigging.

They also commended the Electoral Commission and Ghanaians in general for their political maturity.

At Kotokoraba, Kawanopado, Prapintem and Castle areas, most of the people interviewed called for the losers of the elections, both at the presidential and parliamentary levels to put aside pride and any ill-feeling and congratulate the winners.

Mrs Dorothy Hayford, a telephonist with the Tema Metropolitan Assembly, said she expects more hard work from workers all over the country to move the country towards achieving her goals.

It is her expectation that more emphasis would be

• Contd on P.3



• President Rawlings, heading back to the Castle.

By Kweku Tsen

THE National Democratic Congress (NDC) has taken a comfortable and commanding lead in the presidential and parliamentary elections held throughout the country last Saturday.

Provisional results so far received from our correspondents indicate that the NDC has won in 74 out of 109 constituencies.

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) which is trailing the NDC has won the presidential and parliamentary elections in 35 constituencies.

The People's Convention Party (PCP) has won in only one constituency while the People's National Convention (PNC) and the National Convention Party (NCP) are still struggling to register their footprints.

The remarkable showing of the NDC was mostly recorded in the

rural constituencies rather than the urban area.

There is every indication that the President is still popular with the rural folk majority who have been provided with basic necessities of life.

While the bulk of the presidential and Parliamentary votes of the NDC came from almost every constituency, the opposition stop short of winning any constituency in the Upper

Contd on P.3



• Anxious supporters look out for results.

Victory Remarkable Rawlings



NDC supporters jubilate at Nima

As more and more results of last Saturday's presidential and parliamentary elections continued to pour in yesterday, it became increasingly clear that the government of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), led

by President Jerry John Rawlings will not only head back to the Castle for another four-year term, but also that the NDC will domi-

nate the next parliament. The news sent many supporters of the NDC pouring into the streets in various constituencies in

jubilation. • A section of Nima supporters of the NDC in a victory procession yesterday.

Rawlings cruises to victory

• Contd. from P. 1

West Region. The NDC won decisively in the presidential and parliamentary elections in all the eight constituencies in the Upper West Region. By such a massive win the NDC has neutralised the invincibility of the PNC which failed to win in any constituency even in the famous Sissala Constituency. The party is also poised to win the elections in all the 19 constituencies in the Volta Region. The NPP has not been able to win in all the constituencies of the Ashanti Region which is regarded as its stronghold. The NDC has made serious inroads into its backyard by winning at the moment in three constituencies in the region. The bulk of the results which are yet to come from the Western, Eastern, Volta, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions would determine who wins the presidential slot and which party gets more or less representation in Parliament.

If the NDC is able to win in about 60 per cent of the remaining constituencies, then it is likely that it would win the Presidency and get also a simple majority in Parliament. The NPP, PCP, PNC and the NCP have a herculean task to upstage the NDC since it is doubtful that any one of them especially the NPP can clear the remaining votes to either wrestle political power from the NDC or create a run-off situation. Since there are more results to be declared in the Volta and other regions, it would also be impossible that the NDC would not increase its lead by winning more to clinch the much-coveted presidential title and having as many honourable parliamentarians to formulate and pass good laws that would promote and enhance economic activities in the country and improve the quality of life of the people.

Elections hailed at Cape Coast

• Contd. from P. 1

placed on the development of the rural areas she said. Mr Theophilous Halm, of the GNPC said he expects Cape Coast to have its fair share of development and called on the people to put aside whatever differences they have and join forces to help develop the area. Mr Tawiah Paapa, a taxi driver, described the post election atmosphere in the municipality as very cordial and encouraging. He said members of the NDC should be prepared to forget about the past and work closely with Mrs Christine Churcher for the

common good of all. Messrs Kwasi Amoah alias Darcas, a store assistant, and Emmanuel Osei of the Ghana Postal Services Company called for the creation of more jobs and the need to stamp out corruption from the society. They drew the attention of the government to waste in the public system.

Readers to note

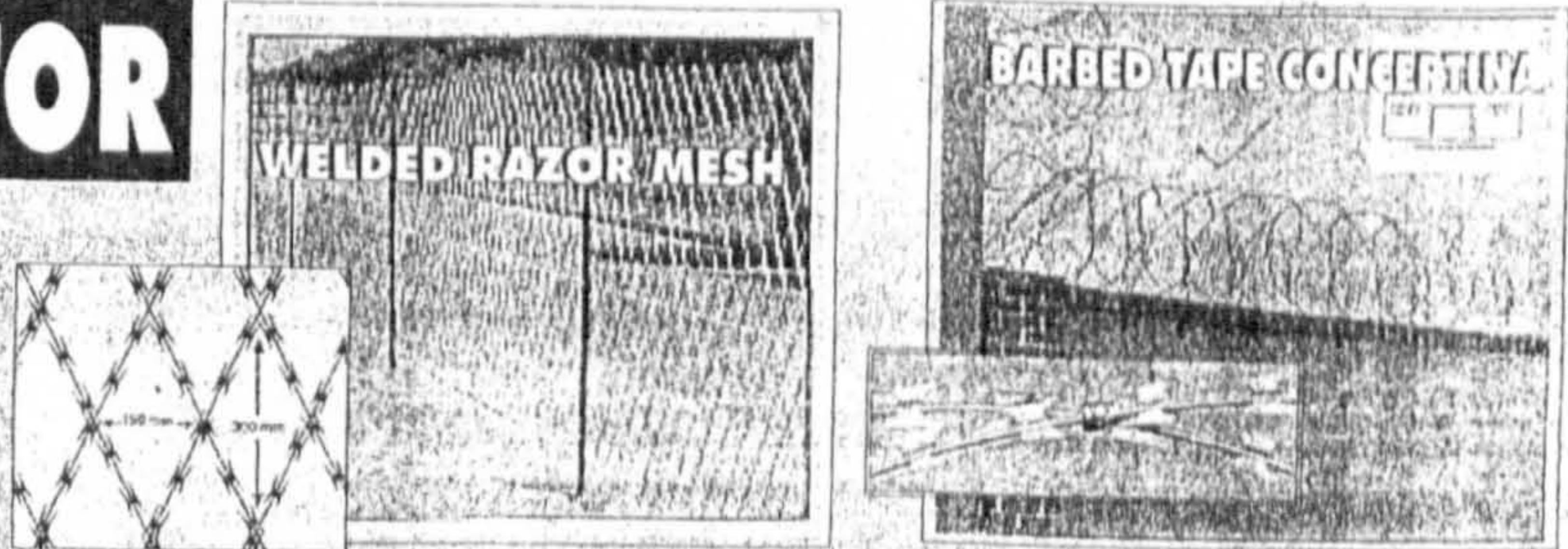
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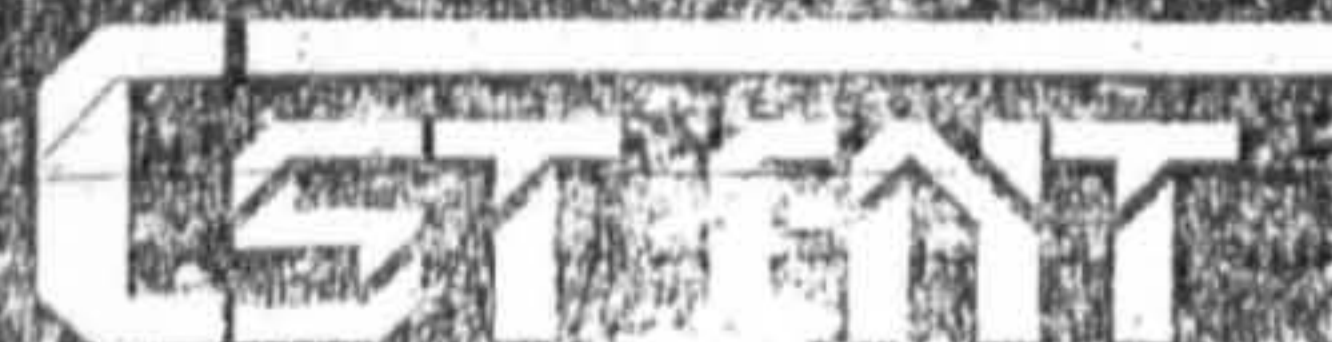
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Daily Graphic

EDITORIAL

POLITICS OF ISSUES

CONFLICT, it is said, is central to politics in view of the multiplicity of ideas and their widely divergent nature in society.

One of the good attributes of the multi-party system is that it affords the people, particularly that segment of the populace which qualifies to exercise the right to vote, the unfettered right to choose which of these competing ideas should reign in a specific society for a stated period.

Whilst it is worthy to point out that no society and its political system is perfect and that each has its own shortcomings, challenges and pitfalls, those nations that have achieved appreciable degrees of political stability and social progress, are invariably those which have dispassionately appraised issues and events taking due cognisance of the larger national interest.

They do this without necessarily compromising their point of view; they only adapt to suit the prevailing national interest and the long-term aspirations of the people.

Our nation is one of the fortunate few in the West Africa sub-region where such healthy competition of ideas and views about how governance should be conducted is being practised. One institution which has served as a vibrant forum for the exchange of ideas has been our august institution of Parliament.

As the forum of the representatives of the people and the vanguard of our democratic order, Parliament logically should serve as the platform for critical and well-informed debate on important issues and events affecting the nation.

Following from this, important prescriptions that would have far-reaching consequences for the nation and the lives of our people, are made by the Legislative Assembly for the executive to implement.

It is largely in recognition of the importance of these decisions on the lives of the people that the GRAPHIC believes that all issues and events before Parliament should be dispassionately debated without the expensive luxury of adopting over-zealous and entrenched partisan political positions on such matters.

Unfortunately, it appears that in most, if not all, issues of overtly political character that have come before Parliament, have been approached from partisan political angles with the majority and the minority adopting opposing positions from the start to finish with the perception of nothing good coming from the other side.

It is in the light of this that the GRAPHIC regards the call by the minority in Parliament yesterday for the resignation of the Finance Minister, Mr. Kwame Peprah as one more unfortunate exhibition of entrenched partisan judgement on crucial national issues.

Whilst no one can doubt the extent of economic crisis facing us as a nation, it would be beyond the bounds of truth and accuracy to lay the blame wholly or even largely at the doors of the government and therefore the Finance Minister per se.

It is not difficult for us to say that the fall in the prices of gold and cocoa, our leading exports, and the rapid rise in oil prices which the Deputy Minister of Finance recently, acknowledged before Parliament as factors largely responsible for the crisis, are issues that clearly fall beyond our control. These wide fluctuations have also destabilised the economies of many other developing nations including those in Asia and are therefore matters for joint action by the disadvantaged developing nations which are at the receiving end of the current unjust and unfair international economic order. The blame must therefore be appropriately placed.

The GRAPHIC believes that as is done elsewhere in times of emergencies or national crisis, the minority must join hands with the majority to explore viable options that could lead us out of the crisis rather than such hard-line stance or entrenched positions which lead us nowhere.

Let us recognise that every season has its time!

By Ahumah Ocansey

"Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." (Eccl. 8:11)

WE can conceive of the edifice of justice in Ghana as a quadrilateral structure, with one side being the Bench, the other the Bar, another the Attorney-General (Police), the last the Judicial Staff. Holding these sides together at the centre is the citizen, the ultimate consumer of all laws made: laws to protect his rights, limit his liberties, state his duties, and guarantee his safety in the commonwealth of the nation.

Such is the completeness of the structure that if one side suffers a damage the whole structure is affected, so that the preservation of the structure from fatal defects becomes a national and juridical imperative.

The public's disaffection with the administration of justice in Ghana stems from what appears to be incurable defects of both the judicial structure and the judicial process, and these in turn derive their affliction from years of neglect of this vital organ of good governance. The most part of this nation's history has been under military leadership, and this contributed significantly in weakening the culture of the rule of law in the country, and delayed needed reforms of the judicial structure, and the judicial process.

The onerous work that the courts must perform was sound-

ed as far back as 22 years ago by His Lordship the Chief Justice, Mr. Azu Crabbe. Speaking on TV broadcast to mark the centenary celebration of the Supreme Court of Ghana, in 1976, Mr Azu Crabbe said:

"The primary duty of the Courts is to administer justice without fear and favour. And in the performance of this task, the Judiciary must, of necessity, rely on the goodwill and co-operation of the other branches of government, namely the Executive, Legislature, and the generality of the people."

The import of the Chief Justice's remark is that to realise the objective of justice requires a supportive and synergistic relationship amongst the primary arms of the government and the

you smell the strongest, pungent odour of judicial decay. A case that should be summarily dealt with could take decades of years to be dealt with. Either, on one day, the docket is not available, or the counsel does not appear, or a process has not been served, or the judge is unwell, or a panel member is bereaved or sick, or the police are still investigating, or the litigants themselves are not in court. Even when everything is in order, the sheer number of cases compels the apportionment of time for hearing a case, to allow others to be heard, so an adjournment is taken, and on and on it goes.

The saddest part of it all is when a court hands down a judgement, and a party contemptuously flouts the court's

"Corruption" as used by the Chief Justice captures the quintessence of the cancer afflicting the judicial system. The word admits of a large interpretation: not merely monetary influence which allows some Judges to pervert justice. "Corruption" means anything whatsoever that delays the speedy determination of a case, and the restitution of justice to an aggrieved party.

It is relevant to say that investors gauge the wholesomeness of an investment environment by the degree to which the rule of law is prevalent in the country.

The way out, and the way forward, is for an immediate and multi-dimensional reformation of the judicial structure, judicial processes, and the administration of justice in the country. In sequels of articles to this introductory piece, the author will break up the components of the judicial structure and deal in detail with their peculiarities.

The benches have their unique problems: so have the Bar, the Registry, the Police and the Citizens.

Our vision of the outcome of such an exercise was long anticipated by His Lordship the Chief Justice, Mr Azu Crabbe, in the same address referred to. Saye he:

Goodwill is important, and it is with respect to this that an awesome responsibility is thrust on the entire legal profession of this country to ensure that the law commands not only the respect and reverence of the Nation, but also the firm confidence of the people in the ability and readiness of the law to facilitate the resolution of disputes and, generally, to preserve and promote the highest ideals of justice, for which people everywhere crave.

The public's disaffection with the administration of justice in Ghana stems from what appears to be incurable defects of both the judicial structure and the judicial process, and these in turn derive their affliction from years of neglect of this vital organ of good governance.

people. In other words, without this requisite input from all, the judiciary cannot, and will not, function.

Staring us right in our face are the obvious signs of indiscipline and lawlessness in the society. Traffic regulations are flouted with ease; lands are trespassed with brazen courage; persons are defrauded with artistic finesse, and ordinary people cheated out of their rights with impunity. In these abnormal actions the people look up to the entire judicial edifice to provide the haven from the chaos without. But what does one see, and feel, and hear, when one enters the edifice?

Should you unfortunately find yourself in court to fight out a suit, then and only then will

orders. Instead of the courts dealing peremptorily with contemnors, the courts feebly remonstrate with them as if it were criminal to enforce judicial orders. Summarily, litigation in Ghana is nightmarish. It dissipates money, wastes time, ruins relations, demolishes trust, spawns perjury, and fertilises corruption. It turns all the parties involved into one bolus of predators!

Apropos of the decadence within the entire judicial structure, his Lordship the Chief Justice, Mr Abban, remarked last year at the swearing in of 10 Circuit Court Judges:

"Our nation is fed up with corruption and graft. It would be ideal to pretend that the judiciary is free from these vices!"

'The Bawdie-Asankragwa Road'

DEAR Editor, We are directed by our client, Eagle star Enterprises Limited, a reputable Ghanaian road construction, civil engineering and building company, to formally react to the recent spate of advance and largely uninformed news media reports published and concerning rehabilitation works on the Bawdie-Asankragwa road.

Some of the reports appeared in the Daily Graphic of October 6, 1999 captioned "Amenfi, Fiase Road", Daily Graphic of October 21, 1999 captioned "protest against bad state of Asankragwa-Bawdie Road", Daily Graphic of Friday, October 23, 1999 captioned "Resume work on Bawdie-Asankragwa Road", Ghanaian Times of Saturday, October 23, 1999 headlined "Start work on Bawdie-Asankragwa road", GTV news item of October 22, 1999 on the demonstration by the people of Asankragwa and Enchi on the state of the Bawdie-Asankragwa-Enchi trunk road.

The said news report contained matters, which clearly referred and were understood to refer to our client's performance of the rehabilitation contract on the said road. The publication of the matters com-

plained of, were carried out in both the national print and electronic news media, without any attempt to seek our client's side of the story.

Again, quite clearly, no effort was made to verify and ascertain the facts concerning the rehabilitation contract awarded our client, from the Ghana Highway Authority and other appropriate public authorities.

The unfortunate and erroneous impression sought to be created by the offending news reports is that our client has been awarded 50 billion contract for rehabilitation of the entire stretch of road covering 57 kilometres from Bawdie to Asankragwa. Furthermore, that our client had wilfully defaulted in the performance of the contract to rehabilitate the 57 km Bawdie-Asankragwa road.

The factual situation is that in June 1996, our client was awarded the contract to rehabilitate only 20 km of the trunk road, i.e. stretching from Bawdie to Manso for a fraction of the alleged contract sum. By the terms of the contract, the project was to be completed within a period of 24 months. Owing to a host of factors, largely beyond the control of our client, the completion date could not be met.

Among the militating factors which have hin-

dered the expeditious completion of the contract are: The substantial increase in the scope of rehabilitatory works arising from the peculiar and difficult nature of the terrain; budgetary constraints faced by the government in 1997 which mandatory restricted the volume of work to be done on the project in 1998 to 1.5 billion; Delay in payment for work done resulting in cash flow problems; Inclement weather characterised by the unusually heavy rainfall pattern in the area, which considered inhibited the pace of work.

Our client appreciates the importance of the project, and has on numerous occasions pre-financed a large proportion of the project with a view to its speedy completion.

Notwithstanding the above enumerated militating factors, our client has presently completed some of the base and permanent works on the 20 km stretch of road. The road is almost ready for tarring. Bitumen would be applied as soon as the rains cease.

Not wishing to sacrifice quality and competent workmanship on the alter of convenience, our client has, by a letter to the Ghana Highway Authority dated September 1, 1999, requested an extension of the completion date of the project to May 2000, supported by a revised work

programme. This is to ensure that the project is successfully and superbly executed for the benefit of the local community and the entire nation.

It is worth mentioning that with respect to the rehabilitation of the remaining 37 km Bawdie-Asankragwa, (which contract is yet to be awarded) our client has commissioned and pre-financed an engineering design study and has submitted the relevant drawings to the Ghana Highway Authority for approval.

We wish to state that our client has a proven track record in road construction in the Western Region and elsewhere and a number of projects bare ample testimony to its competence. Our client shall continue to contribute its quota to the cause of local private entrepreuership and the development of this country.

In conclusion, we wish to advise that practitioners of the news media to be wary of bringing our client into public scandal, odium and contempt by the publication of either malicious, false or uninformed matters of, and concerning our clients business in the future.

Ken Brookman-Amissah, for: Brookman-Amissah & Associates, Accra. Editor's Note: In

the October 21, 1999 issue of the Graphic we reported that the chiefs and people of Asankragwa and Enchi had gone on a demonstration, protesting the deplorable state of the Bawdie-Asankragwa-Enchi trunk road.

Nouhere in our report was there any mention of a contractor. In our October 22, 1999 issue we reported that the Western Regional Minister had directed contractors who had temporarily suspended work on the maintenance and rehabilitation of roads in the region because of heavy rains to resume work.

The contractors working on the Bawdie-Asankragwa road were issued with a stern warning to continue work in laying the base material for eventual tarring of the road.

In our October 6 issue, we reported that although over €50 million had been voted for the tarring of 32 kilometres out of the 50 kilometres of road from Bawdie to Asankragwa, Eagle Star Contractors who had won the road contract over four years ago had not tarred a single kilometre at the time of reporting.

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1994. No. 13638. PRICE: ₵150.00

Assemblyman held for allegedly inciting students

From Kwasi Ampratwum-Mensah, Ejisu

THE Ejisu Police have arrested the Assemblymember for the Akyemre Electoral Area at Ejisu, for allegedly inciting students of the Ejisuman Senior Secondary School to get the headmaster's bungalow on fire. The rampaging students also broke the windcreens of some vehicles and destroyed other school property.

Mr Kwame Adom, 28, whose arrest was effected on the evening of Monday, October 3, and was detained at Ejisu, has been transferred to the Kumasi Central Police Station, while investigations continue.

Police sources at Ejisu told the *Graphic* yesterday that no student has so far been arrested.

A group of students of the school went on the rampage on Monday, destroying property, including furniture, woolen carpet, a colour TV set, electronics, among others at the bungalow of Mr J. B. Awuah, the headmaster, who is also the presiding member of the

• Contd. on Ps. 8/9

VOLTA RIVER AUTHORITY

WATER LEVEL AT THE AKOSOMBO DAM

Maximum Operating Level: 278ft (84.73m)

Minimum Operating Level: 248ft (75.59m)

Level as at yesterday October 4

249.05ft (75.91m)

SWITCH YOUR ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT OFF WHEN NOT IN USE AND SAVE THE AKOSOMBO DAM

PHOTO IDs FOR CAPITALS ONLY

By Graphic Reporter

THE Electoral Commission has stated that it will go ahead to provide photo identity cards to voters in the 10 regional capitals of the country if enough funds are not secured to provide such cards for all voters.

It said, however, that should the commission be given enough funds to be able to provide every voter in the country with a photo identity card before the 1996 general elections, it will do so.

These are contained in a press statement signed by Dr K. Afari-Gyan, Chairman of the commission, on the withdrawal last week of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) from deliberations of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC).

The committee was set up by the commission to deliberate and advise on electoral issues.

The statement said it has come out clearly from the deliberations of the IPAC that the commission and all the political parties would prefer photo identity cards for all voters nationwide, adding, however, that "the problem is simply money".

It said as the NDC's press statement correctly pointed out, representatives of the political parties, including the NDC, signed an agreement at the IPAC meeting held on April 28, 1994, stating that in the absence of adequate funding to provide photo identity cards nationwide, photo identity cards be provided for voters in the country's 10 regional capitals.

It said this was clearly a compromise measure, for which funding has been secured.

The statement said the commission has, on several occasions made it patently clear to the representatives of the donors and the political parties who have been attending the IPAC meetings that the

IPAC is only an advisory body whose decisions are not binding on the commission.

"However, the commission wishes to stress that it takes the IPAC deliberations seriously; otherwise there clearly would be no point in having them", it stated.

It said the commission views the deliberations as a collective search for a transparent electoral system which is an important element in free and fair elections.

In this regard, it said the commission is well-placed to realise that an electoral system must not only be transparent in itself but must also be seen to be such by the relevant actors.

"For this reason, to the extent that any consensus which emerges from the dialogue with the political parties is reasonable, practicable

... If funds are not provided, says Electoral Commission

and lawful, the commission will give it the serious consideration it deserves. The commission also believes that its ongoing dialogue with the political parties is in line with participatory democracy," it stressed.

The statement said the monthly IPAC meetings will continue and therefore urged the NDC to be part of them.

It noted with appreciation the NDC's concern for its independence and integrity and assured Ghanaians that the commission will maintain its

independence and integrity against any pressures from any quarters whatsoever.

It stated categorically that such matters as the contents of the registration form, the duration of the registration pe-

riod, and what will constitute sufficient identification of a voter who loses his or her identity card are the sole prerogative of the commission to determine and it shall do so after consultation with the IPAC.



• President Rawlings on arrival at Kotoka Airport yesterday. Picture by Seth Ashianor

We'll ensure peace at all cost — Rawlings

By Joe Bradford Nyinah & Siisi Quainoo

THE Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings yesterday expressed concern about the development of megalomania among some of the warring factions in Liberia, a situation which he said has complicated the Liberian issue.

He said as the situation stands now it would not be easy to find solutions to the problem but expressed his determination to ensure that peace returns to that country.

President Rawlings was speaking at a joint press conference held in Conakry yesterday with his Guinean counterpart, President Lasana Conteh.

President Rawlings was hope-

ful that with the co-operation of President Conte and other leaders in the sub-region, the necessary restraints would be put on the belligerent parties to talk peace.

On the Akosombo Agreement, the President, who was on a one-day working visit to Guinea, indicated that it was meant only to re-inforce and compliment the Cotonou Accord and not to replace it.

He explained that the absence of details in the Cotonou Accord gave some parties the avenue to violate it. President Rawlings said though things would not be ideal, it is better to know where to adjust.

He said there is the need to have a political framework to restore the confidence of people like Charles Taylor in the peace moves.

On Nigeria's role in the ECOMOG, the President called for the necessary credit to be given to that country for her sacrifices and contribution to the peace process in Liberia.

He said little indiscipline on the part of some few Nigerian soldiers should not be misconstrued to mean the pursuit of any hidden agenda by the Nigerian government.

On the composition of the new government that came out after the Akosombo talks, the President dispelled numerous that it was a military junta and explained that none of the members had any military background.

He said some people opposed to

• (Contd. on Ps. 8/9)

Doctor banned from practising

By Siisi Quainoo & Francis K. Asamoah

DR Stephen Asante Boateng, formerly of Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital, Kumasi, who was convicted by a public tribunal for manslaughter in September, 1992 has been banned from practising in any part of the country.

Consequently, the Ghana Medical and Dental Council has removed his name from its register.

Dr Boateng was fined ₵1 million or in default 10 years imprisonment in hard labour after he had been found guilty of causing the death of one Emelia Appiah through illegal abortion.

Speaking to the *Graphic* in an interview in Accra yesterday, Dr S. Adu-Aryee, registrar of the council said following Dr Boateng's conviction by the Ashanti Regional Tribunal in Kumasi for manslaughter, the disciplinary committee of the council invited him to appear before it on August 3, this year.

Dr Adu-Aryee said Dr Boateng, however, failed to appear before the committee even though he was duly served with a letter.

The registrar explained that Section 43 of the council's decree empowers the disciplinary committee to hold an inquiry into any disciplinary case referred to it.

He said Dr Boateng was sanctioned in absentia in view of his refusal to appear before the disciplinary committee.

Dr Adu-Aryee, however, said the decree of the council stipulates that any member sanctioned by the disciplinary committee has 28 days to appeal against the sanction.

He said since August 3, when the disciplinary committee spelt out of the sanctions against Dr Boateng, he has not re-acted.

"That is why we caused the publication the sanctions in the dailies", he added.

It would be recalled that Dr Boateng and three others were convicted by the Ashanti Regional Tribunal for causing the death of Emelia Appiah, a 21 year-old apprentice seamstress of Dunkwa-on-Offin through abortion.

The three others are Emmanuel Gay Kumal Dogbe, District Forest Officer for Dunkwa-on-Offin; Isaac Boateng, driver of Dogbe and Ernestin Attuah, a midwife.

Contd. on Ps. 8/9

IN YOUR GRAPHIC TODAY

- Outed Rwandan govt talks to Brigadier Anyidoho — P. 2
- Princess Diana — West on P. 2
- T. A. Bediako talks about democracy — P. 3
- How does capitalism benefit the poor? — see P. 5
- Are Ghana's lecturers on strike? — P. 8/9
- Ghana Airways goes to United States October 15 — back page

NPP'S SEARCH FOR A LEADER

THE New Patriotic Party, no doubt, is considered the biggest opposition party that offers sustained challenge to the National Democratic Congress with the hope of political alternatives and the sustainability of multi-party democracy. This is why anything that happens within the party must be of public concern since it would impact on our search for sustainable democracy and leadership. Once again, the party has attracted attention nationwide because of the intense and competitive campaigns that the six candidates aspiring for the presidential slot of the party have gone through. As a constitutional requirement and a party which claims liberal democracy as its cornerstone, the internal operations of the NPP have to be as transparent as possible and the open campaigns by the candidates must truly reflect the ideals of democracy hence we are concerned that at certain times supporters of some of the candidates have launched tirades against other contestants. Democracy and healthy, open and competitive rivalry do not mean that opponents must be undermined or subverted nor do they require unguarded statements to be made about opponents. It is always positive if individual candidates and their supporters concentrate on their strengths and objectives to warrant approval from the electorate, rather than concentrating on the weaknesses of the opponents since those weaknesses would not strengthen the capacity of those who make the derisions. They must trust the capacity and competence of the electorate to make informed decisions. That is why at certain points in the campaigning, when it began to filter that undercover methods, including plain thuggery and intimidation, bribery and other less edifying methods were being adopted to coerce party structures to select delegates of certain orientation to attend the congress, it did not go down well with most liberal democrats, both supporters and opponents of the party. But Ghanaians must however be consoled by the assurances of the party hierarchy that everything possible has been made to ensure that the congress operates under time-honoured democratic principles including free and fair elections and the right of delegates to freely exercise their franchise. The party has often condemned the country's electoral processes, anytime it has felt that things have not been moving as required in an open democracy. It has a duty therefore to operate in a manner that it would not be accused of renegeing on the principles it professes to cherish and stand for. Democracy at the party level must not be any different from that of the national level in terms of principles, except in the complexities and scope. What is good is good and what is bad is bad and must be detested. As delegates assemble at Sunyani today to select a candidate for the party for the year 2000 elections, our only hope is that things will be done to strengthen the march towards sustainable democracy and that anything that takes away the inalienable right of the delegates to exercise their franchise, will be abhorred. We pray that God will shower His blessings on the delegates and ensure that peace prevails throughout the deliberations to add another vista to our steady march to concretise democratic culture and pluralism in political party organisation, to prove to all that democracy is at work in the country. We wish the NPP well.

APPENDIX 'E'

Lessons from the past

NOT long after the overthrow of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of blessed memory, a lot of criticism was thrown about by those who claimed they did not know what he stood for! He was evil! He was a charlatan!

His own disciples who had served him well, sometimes too well, were those loudest in criticism of his autocratic and dictatorial tendencies. They even claimed that they were all gaping sycophants who did not have the will to oppose him openly. Their cowardice nearly robbed his works of the quality of his vision.

Today, one could hear them criticising others who, even though they admired his foresight and daring in the interest of African emancipation, nevertheless, also came to terms with his shortcomings, because they recognised his frailty and fallibility. But he advanced the cause of African freedom and established the African personality, beyond the boundaries of African aspirations.

The hypocrites and opportunists swore on their mothers' graves that they did not agree with him, even though they carried out his orders and were proud even, to have been of service to him - often quoting him and in admiration, fawning on his most cherished ideas regarding the direction of the political will of the newly independent African states. Even world leaders, who emulated his example in fashioning their own political programmes, did not hide their shame when he was overthrown.

The traditional opposition in Ghana were in a special class when it came to their turn to castigate him. They swore never to follow in his footsteps and therefore, did not feel comfortable with any show of solidarity with latter-day converts who crowded their front doors, seeking admission to higher and more democratic traditions.

The Preventive Detention Act was scorned and made the butt of various human rights complaints, which only grew louder after his death. But what must be said for his enemies is that, their protests found easy accommodation with the ambitious politics of coexistence, even if their ambitions were ill-defined and lacked focus and urgent thrust.

Kwame Nkrumah's life constituted an immense contribution to mankind's progress. It is therefore no wonder that many factions of the same Nkrumah ideological legacy have, for a long time, not found common ground for unity. It is doubtful whether or not individual motives are totally devoid of selfishness. Only time will tell.

The beneficiaries of that hesitation, which resulted in disintegration, have been the NDC and the opposition parties. In ideological

terms those who left in disgust, represent the largest body of defection in the political history of Ghana.

Because the NDC has been more dynamic, especially having been entrusted with the continued governance of this country, by the popular endorsement of its manifesto, it has successfully integrated the larger number of Nkrumahists into its fold. Changes in human life are inevitable, especially when change has been seen as beneficial for the soul of the nation. But change can only be truly beneficial if the original intention underlying the change was legitimate, in terms of the aspirations of the majority of that ideological principle.

Burke, in his summary of the virtues of change had this to say - "If a great change is to be made in human affairs, the minds of men will be fitted to it; the general opinions and feelings will draw that way. Every fear and hope will forward it; and they who persist in opposing this mighty current will appear rather to resist the decrees of

current run up to the NPP's election of its flagbearer, as well as, prior to the forthcoming general elections in the year 2000, it is important to draw attention to the lessons which do not appear to have been learnt, touching the relationship between conflict and poverty. The rage of conflict cannot sustain economic growth and development.

The sad aspect of this danger is that, most of the people who are called upon by the intelligentsia to lend support and deal deadly, clandestine blows to perceived opponents, are illiterates. If they had opportunity to read between the lines, the warnings offered by UN boss Kofi Annan, may perhaps dissuade them from lending a hand in all these.

Those who may make the mistake of raising the spectre of the "Kume Preko" type of rabble-rousing, will not find it easy to explain to their constituents why exactly they are being called upon to sustain violent measures, instead of the creation of jobs; why

this rewarding scene and, are determined to make their acknowledgement, in practical terms, by returning the present government to power. The threat to their ability to do so, in freedom and perfect peace, cannot be toyed with and, those who have never had the good fortune and sobering experience of being at

tal desire to achieve a liberation of the mind for our progress. There are many ways of achieving peace and harmony.

Reasonableness is one of the cardinal prerequisites which have enabled other enlightened men and women to lead and provide inspiration for their teeming constituents.

R. B. W. HESSE
Writes On
Agenda Unlimited

the helm of affairs, must be stopped in their tracks. Shorn of divine example, it is easy for them to talk glibly and to plan mayhem and disorder as a way of life, when they lose elections deemed fair and free.

They may have got away with most blatant infractions of the rule of law, in the guise of genuine dissatisfaction with the status quo. But they are mistaken into thinking that, such clearly benign and tolerant endurance of their misdemeanours can continue to be sustained in the crucial matter of their

Loyalty is akin to fellowship or a meeting of minds and, as William Morris has said, "Forsooth brethren, fellowship is heaven and lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life and lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them".

Those who are shortsighted enough to applaud the present "confusion" within the governing party, as a result of the agitation of a faction or group within its midst, are not doing justice to their own future fortunes when they might face similar ill-fated challenges. Such agitation might not necessarily proceed from a principled resolve to seek harmonious existence within the party.

I believe that unfolding events will prove me right in cautioning a very careful analysis and the application of a reasoned approach to the family problems. We cannot afford to dissipate our efforts. One thing, though, that has been borne out of all these, is the fact that the leadership has been shown to have succeeded in holding the reigns of government, not with any outward irresponsibility but a firm, resolute determination, to seek a common ground for agreement on matters which are not that important as to require the intervention or encouragement of unsympathetic bystanders.

They might not have a clue as to what remedies are desirous. Any adhoc prescription will not see the light of day, or provide a lasting solution. The leadership knows better than the outsiders.

During the current run up to the NPP's election of its flagbearer, as well as, prior to the forthcoming general elections in the year 2000, it is important to draw attention to the lessons which do not appear to have been learnt, touching the relationship between conflict and poverty. The rage of conflict cannot sustain economic growth and development.

Providence itself, than the mere designs of men - They will not be so resolute and firm as perverse and obstinate."

Because the leadership of the PNDC and the NDC did not wish to precipitate new evils, they applied new remedies to the autocratic rule of the Nkrumah Regime. We cannot forget that the PNDC acknowledged its legitimacy, when it became evident that the majority of the people of this country wished to have multilateralism in the political arena.

Whereas the solution to the inherent problems posed by the opposition during the Nkrumah era, was perceived as the establishment of a One Party State, thereby precipitating the loss of freedom of individual thought and expression, the Rawlings leadership demonstrated pragmatism by accepting the popular will of the people for a democratic dispensation, for the progress of Ghana.

That singular act of admission, rendered the regime's successful attainment of universal appeal for the propagation of its onward march in the development of Ghana in peace and tranquillity. Those who were wiser, recognised that stubborn refusal to bow to the popular will had clear disadvantages. The alternative course, dictated by common-sense, prevailed to the eternal glory of the governing body.

Subtle attempts made by dissident and other opposition groups in Ghana to resurrect the spectre of conflict and precipitate strife by the irresponsible statements being peddled as propaganda material must stop. During the

they should not be encouraged to provide potable water, uninterrupted supply of electricity, daily subsistence, and shelters for their dependants.

Others rather find it easy to create senseless confusion in the country in order to satisfy the selfish ambitions of a few greedy men and women of doubtful honourable intentions. Care must be taken not to confuse enthusiasm for political adventurism, with dire consequences for our old and young women, as well as, children of vulnerable circumstances.

For me personally, the reasons which account for my faith in the present leadership of the governing party, stem from the compelling body of evidence, comprising political stability, peace and the mature handling of controversial issues involving the government, as representing responsible accountability to the electorate of this country.

The massive range of development, both physical, economic and spiritual; the democratic structures, the personal measure of liberty enjoyed by every Ghanaian, including even those who rain insult on the highest in the land; the booming private enterprise environment; the wide latitude of freedom of expression enjoyed by the media and the press corp; the glowing tribute paid to Ghana's President as the epitome of tolerant behaviour in international circles, have enhanced and rebounded to the pride of Ghana.

The electorate are very keen observers of

interference with the legitimate mandate given to the government by the people of this country to rule. The government has to govern effectively in the true traditions known even to the Busia/Danquah political heritage.

Security of the ship of the state cannot be jeopardised on the altar of sacrificial abdication of the trust of the people. The government has the responsibility to ensure that the lives and limbs of the citizenry, remain intact. The practice of the horrible intrigues which characterised the days of "matemeho" cannot be revisited during our quantum leap into the new millennium in dignity and enhanced development.

Those who nurtured the governing party, cannot successfully defend any ideas of resistance to the right of the leadership to shape the destiny and continuation of the fundamen-

Enforce use of crash helmets

DEAR Sir, Kindly allow me space to comment on the use of crash helmets by motor cycle users.

Eighty per cent of riders in our cities and towns to be precise, do not use helmet, which is a threat to their lives and the nation as a whole. Ten to 15 years ago, I did ride on motor cycle and hardly any policeman, even if not on duty allowed you to go freely without the use of helmets. Currently, our policemen look on unconcerned.

I can cite an instance where traffic lights were not functioning and four or more riders passed in front of the policemen on duty, without a warning to them for not wearing their helmets. Areas like Maamobi and Newtown, are places where the neglect of the wearing of helmet is rampant.

I am appealing to the authorities or whoever is concerned to start a very serious check on the use of helmet by riders.

Ameen Kojo Moujalled,
(Concerned Citizen)
Accra.

Daily Graphic

GEORGE P. ...
RESEARCH LIBRARY
AFRICAN AFFAIRS

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1996. No. 14110, PRICE: ₵300.00

Appeal for release of hostages

From Yaw Boadu-Ayebofoh, Monrovia

THE ECOWAS Special Delegation from Ghana has requested the unconditional release of all hostages held at the Barclay Training Centre (BTC), and a safe passage for Gen Roosevelt Johnson.

Furthermore, the delegation has requested the forces of Mr Charles Taylor and Alhaji Kromah to pull out of the BTC area and be replaced with a cordon of ECOMOG forces around the safety zone of the centre.

These were some of the major points discussed between a combined team of the ECOWAS Special Delegation, UN representatives and the American Ambassador, William Milan on one hand and a joint delegation of ULIMO-J, Liberian Peace Council, Armed Forces of Liberia, a woman lawyer, a doctor and a Moslem leader on the

▲ Contd on pps. 8/9

EC fixes December 10 for elections

From George Folley, Takoradi

THIS year's presidential and parliamentary elections have been provisionally fixed for December 10, Dr Kwadwo Afiari-Gyan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission has announced.

He explained that even though the date has been communicated to the various political parties, a Constitutional Instrument, which has already been drafted, would have to be passed by Parliament to give effect to the date.

Dr Afiari-Gyan was opening a two-day seminar on electoral reporting for journalists in the

□ Contd on pps. 8/9

DAY OF THE



•Dr Selby



• Jones Ofori Atta



• J. H. Mensah



• J. A. Kuffour



• Prof. Adu Boahen



• Dr Safo-Adu

ELEPHANT

• 6 Struggle for NPP's presidential flagbearer at congress

By A. B. A. Fuseini & Kweku Tsen

TWO thousand delegates of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), drawn from the 200 constituencies across the country, are set today at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana, Legon to elect the flagbearer to lead the party in this year's general elections.

In discharging this obligation, delegates would have to choose from a field of six determined candidates who have actively toured the country to canvass for support of the delegates and the party's rank and file.

Such, indeed, is the gravity of the task facing the 2000 delegates at today's special party congress.

From the initial loud cheering and praise singing in honour of the arriving presidential aspirants that would characterise

the atmosphere at the Great Hall, things would quieten down as the business of the day gets underway at 9 a.m.

Delegates assembled in the Great Hall will clear their throats to sing the party's anthem and other inspirational songs to electrify the atmosphere and fire their emotions.

The National Executive Committee of the party led by its Chairman Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey, is expected to deliver the open salvoes to a series of confidence inspiring speeches exhorting the party faithfuls including the presidential aspirants to close their ranks and present a united front for the bigger battle of assuming the reins of the nation.

The party's Council of Elders led by Messrs Kwesi Lamptey and R.R. Amponsah are also expected to offer elderly advice laced with wisdom to the leadership and members of the party to do away with divisive tendencies that have the potential of a powder keg to blow up and reduce the party into fragments and unite behind whoever would be elected as the party's flagbearer for the daunting task of winning this year's general elections.

These early comedy of events will give way to short speeches by the six presidential aspirants namely, Professor Adu Boahen, Mr. J.A Kuffour, Dr. Jones Ofori Atta, Dr. Dsane Selby, Dr. Safo-Adu

and Mr. J. H. Mensah, seeking to convince the delegates to give them the mandate to lead the party in its bid to wrestle political power from the NDC come December this year.

Undoubtedly, the issue of the day will be the election of the party's flagbearer.

This is expected to attract the foremost attention of party functionaries, delegates, supporters of the various presidential aspirants and rank and file of the party and would therefore be characterised by suspense and anxiety.

The Graphic can bet that by the time the voting is over and the counting of votes commences, one could hear clearly the sound of a pin if one

should drop because of the serene atmosphere that would have been created as a result of the rapt attention of everyone present.

With the commencement of announcement of the results by the Electoral Commission which would supervise the election, the Great Hall will spring back to life with spontaneous outbursts of cheers with the loudest and most sustained deservingly for the winner of the contest.

From there, it is expected to be jubilation and a carnival through the university campus into the city centre and perhaps deep into the night.

Whilst the presidential aspirants will by now have known

their fate and retired to take a deserved rest, the battle for the political kingdom would have only begun.

The NPP like the rest of the opposition, knows that in its quest for power it is up against a colossus — a determined and strong political opponent (NDC), and that it has to work extra hard in order to realise its cherished aspiration of presiding over the state of affairs of the nation.

This would have to go beyond the personality and capabilities of the presidential candidate chosen, the unification of the party and opposition on a common platform to real grassroots re-organisation and campaigns designed to win the support of the electorate.

Above all, the party would have to formulate a concrete and comprehensive manifesto that can serve as a convincing alternative capable of positively transforming the lives of the people and also consolidate the nation's peace and stability.

Decision on no. of delegates
circulate
consultation (highly offing)
Advice
Perception after their reality

Confusion of law
the political

The journey ahead will not be an easy one. The road we have travelled has not been easy either and yet we have travelled that ground sustained by the integrity of our relationship.

— J. J. RAWLINGS
(Nation-wide broadcast on the occasion of the 35th Independence Anniversary — March 5, 1992)

People's Daily Graphic

35TH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE



Parade by Schools, Youth, Voluntary and Mass Organisations at Independence Square Today At 8.30 a.m.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1992. NO. 12839, PRICE: C50 00

PARTISAN POLITICS TO RESUME MAY 18

By Yaw Boudt-Aveboah
PARTISAN political activity will resume in the country effective May 18, after the rules and regulations governing party activities has been published immediately following the referendum on the Fourth Republican Constitution on April 28.

Presidential and parliamentary elections will be held on November 3 and December 8 respectively whilst the Fourth Republic will be inaugurated on January 7, 1993.

These were announced by the Chairman of the PNDC, and Leader of the Revolution, Flt-Lt Jerry John Rawlings in a nation-wide radio and television broadcast yesterday on the eve of the country's 35th Independence anniversary in Accra.

Chairman Rawlings said it is the hope of the PNDC that the process to constitutional rule would be open and clean and the elections conducted in the same atmosphere that the district level elections were conducted.

"We owe it to ourselves to avoid some of the provocative and violent methods that have been used in the past and that have sadly begun to show signs of re-emerging from certain quarters," he stressed.

Chairman Rawlings said the Interim National Electoral Commission that has just been established is made up of men and women of integrity, patriotism and commitment.

"On them rests the responsibility of ensuring fairness in the conduct of all the electoral processes that will unfold as part of the new constitutional arrangement," he said.

He said the commission has responsibility for the register of voters, for the conduct of elections and referenda and for the review of boundaries of administrative and electoral areas.

"The Interim National Electoral Commission has complete independence in the exercise of its duties. It is responsible solely to the provisions of the law by which it was established, to the consciences of its members, and to the people of Ghana," he stressed.

The PNDC Chairman, therefore, stressed the necessity for all Ghanaians to support the commission in this important task since "as referees we will give them all the whistles they would need".

On the proposed referendum to adopt the Fourth Republican Constitution which has been described by some people as unnecessary, Chairman Rawlings said the referen-

(Contd. on P. 8/9)

HIGHLIGHTS

- * Ban on party politics lifted effective May 18, 1992.
- * Presidential elections for November 3, 1992.
- * Parliamentary elections for December 8, 1992.
- * Fourth Republic to be inaugurated on January 7, 1993.
- * Security Services asked to review cases of persons in custody.

Anniversary Greetings From World Leaders

THE Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt J. J. Rawlings, has received a number of messages from world leaders in connection with the 35th anniversary of Ghana's Independence.

In his message, President Dauda Jawara of The Gambia congratulated the PNDC on the occasion and wished the Government and people of Ghana well in the future.

The President of the Maldives, Moumoun Abdul Gavoom, in his message, said "It gives me great pleasure to convey sincere greetings and good wishes to your excellency, the Government and people of the Republic of Ghana on the happy occasion of your Independence Day."

Similar messages have been received from the Presidents of Mexico, the United Arab Emirates, the Sultan of Brunei, the Sultan of Oman, the President of Malta and the Amir of Kuwait.

Cases Of Persons In Custody To Be Reviewed

By Joe Bradford Njnah

THE PNDC has directed security agencies to review all cases of persons in custody on grounds of offences against national security.

This is to ensure that where appropriate, releases will be made by the end of March.

The Leader of the Revolution, Chairman Jerry John Rawlings, announced this in a radio and television broadcast yesterday.

He also announced that outstanding petitions for the review of cases involving the confiscation of assets and other penalties will be considered from 1986 and decisions taken on them on humanitarian grounds, but without sacrificing the principles of justice.

The Chairman indicated that "Freedom and Justice" has been at the heart of the nation's quest for a new social order since the beginning of the Revolution.

The very premises upon which the Revolution was launched embraces the issue of human rights for the

entire people of the nation. He, however, noted that the nation should ensure stability and order as a precondition to the pursuit of national goals.

He accepted that the machinery of investigation is not always as swift and free of error as all Ghanaians would wish which make many people perceive the law enforcement and other investigative agencies with suspicion and unease.

Chairman Rawlings said the government recognises the need for improvement in handling issues of individual freedom and national security and will continue in good conscience to

seek the most appropriate and humane means of resolving these serious problems.

Chairman Rawlings noted that it is the PNDC's goal to continue the systematic and orderly progress in all aspects of national life.

"We must prevent a return to the injustices of the past; we must also ensure a stable national atmosphere in which our current steps towards the new constitutional order can be realised", Chairman Rawlings emphasised.

He said the 35th Independence anniversary will mark another important landmark in Ghana's

struggle to true independence.

"It is my hope that all of us will use this period for some very sober reflection. The journey ahead will not be an easy one," he said.

Chairman Rawlings noted that the road Ghana has travelled has not been easy and yet the country has been sustained by the integrity of the nation's relationship.

He noted, however, that there are still some Ghanaians who may not accept the reality of the 31st December Revolution.

"Yet no one can ignore the historical necessity that launched the Revolution," he noted.

He said a decade of far-reaching and serious structural changes and the emergence of a new social and political culture cannot simply be wished away.

That decade, he said, forms the bedrock on which the nation stands and from where the future would be constructed.

On the independence anniversary, Chairman Rawlings noted that 35 years may not be such a long time for a nation but it must be a source of pride to Ghanaians that the nation has travelled together as a united country over

(Contd. on P. 8/9)

STC To Operate Cargo Haulage Service To Fumbisi Valley

By George Sydney Abugri

THE State Transport Corporation (STC) is planning a regular cargo haulage service for the people of Fumbisi in the Upper East Region and farmers in the vast

Fumbisi valley because the area has now become a location for vigorous and highly productive agricultural activity.

The Fumbisi Valley which has fertile soils and is a prominent producer of rice in addition to cereals, legumes and livestock was formerly known as "overseas" because of its inaccessibility to the rest of the country during the rainy season.

Mr Sam Anao, Principal Public Relations Officer of the STC, told the Graphic in an interview in Accra yesterday that road construction under the government's infrastructural development programme for the area has opened up the area to the south and made it possible for the corporation to operate a weekly bus service from Accra to Fumbisi, which is just the

beginning.

He said the weekly bus service to the former "overseas" territory is highly patronised by large scale farmers from the valley and entrepreneurs from the town who come to Accra to buy mostly items such as farm machinery and equipment, spare parts, water pumps, consignments of items of commercial trade and other bulky goods which they find difficult to transport up north.

The cargo service is being planned to facilitate the transportation of farm machinery equipment and spare parts to promote the intensive, large-scale crop production farmers are undertaking in the valley and to enable the farmers and traders transport cereals, grains and legumes to Accra.

The public relations officer

STC bus services to the north of the country, are being scheduled in such a way as to make the services available all days of the week to people bound for the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions.

Mr Anao said already there is now a regular bus service to Tamale in the Northern Region all days of the week except Sundays whilst bus services to Bolgatanga, Sandema, Fumbisi, Bawko and Paga have been scheduled in such a way that there is at least one bus service to the Upper East Region every day of the week.

He said in the case of the Upper West Region where there is a thrice weekly bus service to Wa, a new service planned for the border town of Hamile will be scheduled in such a way as to increase the number of STC bus trips to the Upper West Region weekly.



Chairman Rawlings

Consultative Assembly Completes First Phase of Work

By Debrah Fynn & Joe Okvere

THE first phase of the task of the Consultative Assembly ended at its 84th sitting in Accra yesterday with the final passage of the chapter on the Judiciary through the second consideration stage.

The second phase, which will be devoted mainly to the first, second and third reading stages of the composite document, begins in

earnest on Monday, March 9.

Fourteen more amendments to the chapter were adopted to bring the total number in this category to 25 while 89 were either rejected, withdrawn or referred to the Legal and Drafting Committee.

The second consideration of the chapter began on Wednesday, March 4

Those whose amendments were accepted are Mr Martin A. B. K. Amidu of the CDRs, who had seven to his credit, Mr S. N. A. Attoh of the Ga District Assembly, Mr D. K. Y. Vormawor of the TUC, Mr K. S. Asafu-Adjaye of the Ghana Institute of Bankers and Mr C. A. Avoka, a PNDC appointee.

He is a member of the

by Mr C. K. Asante of the Juabeso Bia District Assembly and two different groups of three members led by Mr T. K. Appiah of the Upper Denkyira District Assembly and Mr Kwabena Kyere of the Berekum District Assembly.

In his first amendment, Mr Amidu inserted the

(Contd. on P. 8/9)

Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1997 NO. 14581 PRICE: c500.00

G fields set to make nation proud
• Turn to P. 19



Hassle in Parliament over procedure

By C.S. Buabeng
THE Majority and Minority leaders in Parliament yesterday locked themselves in a hassle over procedure in the changes in the membership of various committees of the House for more than 30 minutes.
Such was the argument between Mr Joseph Henry Owusu-Acheampong and his minority counterpart, Mr Joseph Henry Mensah that at a stage Mr Mensah in a combative mood cautioned "Don't let me loose my temper".
Owusu-Acheampong replied aggressively "My colleagues know me so well that I'll not be threatened if he loses his temper".

Queen opens C'wealth summit

From Albert Sam & Joe Bradford Nynah, Edinburgh, Scotland
THE Queen of England and head of the Commonwealth made history yesterday, when she for the first time, opened the club's summit with a formal speech at a unique ceremony at which the clarion call was partnership.
Hitherto, Queen Elizabeth II, had been offily making appearance at the opening of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM).
Speaking at the 31st CHOGM in Edinburgh, she declared that the

Commonwealth is more than a partnership of governments.
The people of the countries that form the 54-member organisation, the Queen noted, provide the real soul of the Commonwealth.
"It is people who run the non-governmental organisations (NGOs), give a helping hand to the sick and unemployed who are the motor that drive the Commonwealth", the British Monarch declared.
She said the more the activities of the Commonwealth bring direct benefits to its people, the stronger the
• Continued on P. 3

CMAG: Nigeria must still serve suspension

From Albert Sam & Joe Bradford Nynah, Edinburgh
THE Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) has recommended the continuous suspension of Nigeria from the 54 member body.
A report of the committee issued in Edinburgh, Scotland, on Thursday for the consideration of the leaders of the group, also recommended that Nigeria be given up to October, next year, to improve upon human rights situation in the country or face tougher sanctions, including a possible expulsion.
Nigeria was suspended from the

Commonwealth in 1996 in New Zealand following the execution of nine minority right activists including Mr Ken Saro-Wiwa as well as for an alleged breach of the Harare Declaration on Democracy and Good Governance.
The report recommended also that if the country fails to show a positive move towards democracy, measures proposed in April by the group will be tightened.
These include visa restrictions, an arms embargo, the curtailment of political and official contacts and the ending of cultural links.
Though Britain and other several members have enforced the April recommendation, many others, particularly those from Africa, have refused to do so.
British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, described it as representing a tough and credible package whilst some political commentators said it "showed Commonwealth indecisiveness".
On Wednesday, the eve of the release of the report, Nigerian Foreign Minister, Tom Ikimi, wrote to the
• Continued on P. 3

It all began when the Majority Leader after presenting his business statement to the House was given the chance to make a statement.
The import of the statement was that since some committee chairmen have been given ministerial positions, changes have to be effected.
He indicated that Commodore Steve Obimpeh for example has replaced Mr Steve Akorli as the Finance Committee Chairman because Mr Akorli is now a Deputy Roads and Transport Minister.
He also indicated that since some sector ministries have changed their names he would propose a motion to the Standing Orders Committee to effect the needed changes. Mr
• Continued on P. 3

BARTELS CAUGHT PANTS DOWN

• He's been ordered to pay c698m



By Abigail Bonsu & Lloyd Evans
A MEMBER of Parliament is embroiled in a legal battle over a multi-million cedi loan granted by the Ghana Co-operative Bank for the importation of fish. The fish is said to have been diverted to and sold in a neighbouring country.
The MP, Mr Kwamina Bartels, NPP Member for Ablekuma North and Minority spokesman for Works and Housing has been ordered by an Accra High Court to pay c698,032,104 to the bank in respect of both the principal and an interest.
The order was made by Justice (Mrs) Agnes Dordzie following an action brought by the bank at the High Court against Mr Bartels and F & K Eximport Limited for the recovery of a loan granted them in 1993. Judgement was given on June 24 but details became public only this week.
According to details made available to the Graphic, the company F & K Eximport Ltd, was incorporated with Mr Bartels, using his Fante name of Kwamina Essilfie, and another person as directors.
The bank granted the loan for the importation of fish into Ghana. The bank granted the loan.
However, when the fish was imported, it was diverted to a neighbouring country and sold there. Even after selling the fish in the neighbouring country, no attempt was made to repay the loan granted by the bank.
On October 21 last year, the bank commenced action at the Accra High Court against both Mr Bartels and the company, claiming both the principal and accrued interest from them jointly and severally.
On June 24, Justice Dordzie gave judgement in favour of the bank and ordered payment of the principal amount of c435,796,800 together with interest of c257,235,304. She also awarded costs of c5,000,000, against the defendants.
Yesterday, it was learnt that the defendants had proposed to the bank to agree to waive all interest charges and allow them to pay only the c110 million by instalments.
The proposal is to make a down payment of c30 million on or before the end of November towards what they call the principal debt. The balance will be liquidated by
• Continued on P. 3

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NIB-KEEPING THE WHEELS OF INDUSTRY IN MOTION

Bartels caught pants down

• Contd. from P.1

payment of \$10 million in eight quarterly instalments beginning from February 1998.

According to their proposal, no interest should be chargeable on the reducing balance so long as the quarterly instalments are made.

Ms Nancy D Ampofo, barrister at law, at the legal firm of Addae, Twum & Co, is believed to be

acting for the defendants while Bosumtwi Sam & Associates act for the bank.

Contacted by the Graphic, Mr Bartels confirmed that his company took the loan for the importation of fish. He also admitted that the fish was not brought into the country but blamed a friend for diverting it and selling it in another country. He claimed

he was taking legal action against the colleague.

The Co-Op Bank would not discuss the issue. The legal department would not talk but Mr Asare-Buadu, head of the Marketing Department who agreed to talk to the Graphic would not confirm or deny the story. He would only confirm that Mr Bartels was a customer of the bank.

'Nigeria must serve'

• Contd. from P.1

Commonwealth Secretary-General requesting that the CMAG's report should first be sent to Nigeria for her comments before sending it to the heads of government.

"Presenting your report and our comments to the Commonwealth leaders would have provided the necessary balance needed for unbiased conclusions to be made," he argued.

Hassle in Parliament

• Contd. from P.1

Owusu-Acheampong landed by saying that it was unfortunate Mr Mensah has not been able to place Mr K.A. Kyeramaten (NPP Afigya Sekyere East) on any of the committees.

However, Mr Mensah considered Mr Owusu-Acheampong's action as "improper, irregular and dictatorial" because it is the Select Committee under the chairmanship of the Speaker which has the mandate to do so.

But the Speaker cut in to say that he thought there had been agreement between the leaders with his (Speaker's) support.

When the Majority Leader confirmed that there had been such agreement between him and his colleague also from Brong Ahafo, Mr Mensah vehemently objected to such a claim. He said the Select Committee had not met on the issue and denied several times that he had reached any agreement with his counterpart.

He contended that he is a gentleman enough not to deny such agreement if it had taken place between the two of them. He noted that he was surprised to hear for the first time that Commodore Obimpeh is the Finance Committee chairman.

However, Mr Owusu-Acheampong also stuck to his claim that there had been such agreement between them. He contended that Mr Mensah is denying the agreement because his group now has little over a third and he wants to impose that percentage on the representation at the committee level.

Mr Mensah then sought the Speaker's ruling on the provisions governing the placement of members on the various committees.

The Speaker agreed with the Majority Leader that the Select Committee places members on them at the beginning of Sessions.

However, he thought the leadership would confer and agree on the replacement in view of the ministerial appointments and the like.

He explained that change of membership could be effected with the consent of the member or at the request of two thirds of his party in Parliament. Consequently strictly speaking, the committee does not have much to do in the changes. Should the member be in the House on an independent ticket then it will be effected by a simple majority of the House.

Again the leader of the party concerned shall notify the chairman of the committee.

The Speaker put the matter to rest when he said in absence of consensus the full committee will meet on the issue.

In another development, the Majority Leader assured the minority group who have been yearning to see the Report on the Suame Demonstration in Kumasi that they will get copies by Tuesday.

The minority members have persistently demanded the report and it has not been forthcoming. And yesterday, the Speaker wanted to know whether there has been shortage of printing papers in the House.

The Majority Leader told the House that the committee members who are to study the report will get their copies by the close of the day whilst other members will get theirs by Tuesday.

The Speaker also indicated that a motion standing in the name of Nana Akufo-Addo on the demonstration is pending.

'Salvage falling standard of English'

From Paul Awortwi-Mensah, Tema

THE immediate past President of Tema Rotary Club, Dr Victor Yao Nyamador has called for a national crusade to salvage the falling standard of spoken and written English in the country's schools.

He said efforts must be made to check the alarming decline in reading by students and the speaking of "pidgin" English in schools.

Dr Nyamador said the situation has reached a crisis point and needs a quick and appropriate solution.

Dr Nyamador made the call when he presented 66 volumes of encyclopedia and a number of reading books valued at \$2 million to the Wisdom of Wisdom Preparatory and Junior Secondary School, Darkuman at Tema on behalf of the club.

He asked parents to supplement government's efforts in ensuring quality education for their children by providing them with their basic learning requirements.

He said children as the greatest resource for the nation's future development need to be helped to acquire knowledge and skills to enable them to play their expected roles in nation-building in the future.

The proprietor of the school, Mr Lawoe Peter Fiati, who received the books expressed appreciation to the donors and appealed to other benevolent organisations to donate other teaching aids to the school to ensure effective teaching and learning in the school.



Children's playground commissioned

The Minister of Environment Science and Technology, Mr. J.E. Afful yesterday commissioned a children's playground constructed by the Kids Around The World, a US-based non-governmental organisation at Dansoman in Accra.

He thanked the members of the organisation for their commendable work.

Mr. Afful was supported by the Deputy Minister of Employment and Social Welfare, Mrs Ama Benyiwa Doe to cut the tape to declare the playground opened.

• Children enjoying themselves at the playground.

Queen opens C'wealth summit

• Contd. from P.1

organisation would be.

The Queen said one of the reasons for the Commonwealth's unique position in the world is the disparity in size between its bigger and smaller members.

The monarch noted that despite all the diversity among its members, the Commonwealth can act globally, transcending national boundaries in the same way that they are transcended by the problems we have to address - political, economic, social or environmental.

"It is not a selfish organisation, and self-interest has no part to play in its policies.

The developed and developing world meet here on equal terms," Queen Elizabeth noted.

The Queen described the Commonwealth as one of the largest and most respected organisations of people of the world, saying she is fortunate to have witnessed its growth and expansion.

At the time of the Queen's coronation in 1953, the Commonwealth had only eight members.

She wished the current session being attended by 41 Heads of States and governments and described as the largest ever, an inclination to enjoy

their re-union as something of a celebration and fruitful deliberations.

"I pray that strength of purpose and clarity of vision guide you in your deliberations", the Queen emphasised.

Host Prime Minister Tony Blair who made his maiden appearance at a CHOGM said he is a passionate believer in the Commonwealth, re-emphasising a pre-election pledge.

"A Labour Government would make a new life to the Commonwealth and Britain's role within it".

He said members of the club have enormous bonds of commitments: values, history, culture and above all the English language.

"Here is the reality of the Commonwealth. It covers a quarter of the globe, 1.7 billion people live within it. One in four people under the age of 25 are in the Commonwealth countries. Its reach is astonishing", Premier Blair stated.

He noted that the Commonwealth's historical achievements are impressive, not least in the World War II where we joined arms to save the world from fascism.

Premier Blair said that the word,

"Commonwealth", has become so familiar that people do not pause long enough to think of its meaning.

He stressed the need for increased regional investment to enable Commonwealth countries to attract the much needed investment to ensure rapid socio-economic growth and progress.

To this end, he urged members to uphold the Mauritius Mandate by Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in harassing all qualities and attributes to meet the challenges of the new millennium.

The Indian Prime Minister who spoke on behalf of the Leaders of the Club cautioned that the problems of today if left unresolved would become the crisis of the future.

On his part, Chief Emeka Anyaoku formally welcomed Fiji after 10 years of absence.

Earlier in the day, President Rawlings who is participating in the summit met South African counterpart, Nelson Mandela and high-powered delegation of the Commonwealth Trades Union which included the Secretary-General of the Ghana TUC, Christian Appiah-Agyei.

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MANAGING DIRECTOR

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Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

APPENDIX 'E'

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1995. No. 14009, PRICE: ₵250.00

Pentecostal Council petitions President

By Graphic Reporter

THE Ghana Pentecostal Council has called on President Jerry John Rawlings to act decisively and swiftly to ensure that the peace that has prevailed at Tamale for so many years is not threatened or destroyed by religious fundamentalism.

A petition from the council to the President, signed by Rev Onyame Tsiase and copied to the press, expressed concern about possible repercussions of the disruption of a Christian crusade by one Imam Rashid and a Muslim mob at Tamale on December 2.

It further deplored the police inactivity in the incident which led to the escort of Evangelist Cowley and his team out of Tamale "like unwanted persons", before

the midnight of December 3, 1995.

The petition said as a normal practice, the police was not only informed by the Tamale branch of the council of its intention to hold the crusade, but also obtained a permit for a six-day programme.

The petition said however that Imam Rashid, a Muslim leader, organised a group of people on the night of December 2, for the purpose of inciting them to attack the crusade, to which some international evangelists had been invited.

It pointed out that the Tamale Police who have the duty to protect the rights of all citizens have not done anything yet to make Imam Rashid aware that he had violated the laws of Ghana

I NEED TO BE COMMENDED

'Transfers will not solve problems'

From Akwasi Ampratwum-Mensah, Kumasi

A DEPUTY Director of the Town and Country Planning has stated that the intended action of the government to embark on mass transfer of officers of the department, who have stayed at their present stations for more than 10 years, will not solve the problem of non-compliance of planning regulations in the country.

The Deputy Director, Mr M. M. Asigri, in charge of the Ashanti Region, maintained that the problem will persist if the law and regulations regarding the implementation of unauthorised development on government lands and areas zoned for special purposes are not strictly enforced by the City Engineers officials.

"The same characters will be moved around the country and some possibly retired, but that would not be the solution to the problem on the ground at the moment," he stressed.

Mr Asigri who said this in Kumasi yesterday in an interview with the *Graphic* in reaction to yesterday's front page story of the paper stressed that the government should set up a high-powered committee to investigate unauthorised structures being developed in various parts of the country.

The committee, he said, should comprise representatives from the National Development Planning Commission, the Land Commission, Professional Planners in private practice as to investigate complaints against officers of the Town and Country Planning and Survey Department as well as City Engineers.

Mr Asigri contended that there are certain unscrupulous personalities, who condone with traditional rulers to use places zoned for special purposes, as residential areas and for other purposes.

He said the mass transfer will only benefit those people outside the department who have little or no knowledge of drawing but produce illegal plans for unauthorised development.

Contd. on pp 8/9



• Dr Adjei Maafo

• And not to be condemned, says Adjei Maafo

By Kwabena Ofosehene

DR Isaac Kofi Adjei Maafo, Presidential Staffer on Cocoa Schedule said yesterday that he needs to be commended and not condemned for what he has done for the cocoa industry and the country.

He told the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) panel probing him for illegal acquisition of wealth that due to the cost-effective measures including the redeployment exercise undertaken by him and his team of reformers, the industry has been revamped.

The industry he said, will earn a surplus of ₵20 billion on its turn-over of ₵121 billion for this year.

Dr. Adjei Maafo said last year, the industry earned extra ₵15.5 billion on its turn-over of ₵117 billion and attributed the successes to the reforms.

He expressed regret that instead of being praised for saving the industry, he is being persecuted by those affected by the redeployment exercise stressing, "I must be commended and not condemned for what I have done for the country".

Led in evidence by counsel, Mr. Joe Lamptey, Dr Adjei Maafo flatly denied that he had flown his wife, children and

in-laws to London to wed his wife, Mrs. Paulina Adjei Maafo.

He said the last trip he took to London with his wife, was in August, 1994 and they were accompanied only by their eldest son, Kofi Adjei Maafo Jr.

Dr Adjei Maafo said he wedded his wife here in Ghana and challenged anyone who want to know to find out from the Registrar-General's Office.

He also denied that Mr C. B. Ntim, Managing Director of the Produce Buying Company (PBC) also flew to London with his family to attend the wedding.

Dr. Adjei Maafo said the last time his father-in-law travelled outside the country, was in 1972 when he was sent to London on a course whilst working as a senior technician with the University of Science and Technology (UST).

He said his mother-in-law has never travelled outside the country and neither have his children other than the eldest son.

Dr Adjei Maafo denied that he had travelled to London to check on his "fat" foreign bank account and said the only foreign bank account he maintains is in Australia.

He admitted that he has a nephew, Kofi Bosompem at the Ho branch of the Bank for Housing and Construction

(BHC) but rejected allegations that he has been transacting transfers into his foreign accounts for him.

Dr. Adjei Maafo said he owns only one car and not a fleet of vehicles as alleged by a section of the press.

He conceded, however, that when necessary, he requests COCOBOD for vehicles to convey items to his home town but added that he does this as an employee of the sector without abusing the system.

Dr. Adjei Maafo denied that he owns a mansion at Madina, a suburb of Accra and said the said house belongs to his uncle, Mr. Pinkrah of Cape Coast.

He said the house at Akim Awisa, his home town was constructed by him and his senior brother, Dr. Kwaakye Maafo of

• Contd. on pp 8/9

3 Shot at Tefle Festival

POLICE shot dead three persons at Tefle near Sogakope in the Volta Region last Friday in an attempt to stop one of the faction in a chieftaincy dispute from celebrating the annual Tefle Afenorto Festival for the second time.

Agbo Boni and Amegborlo Kisseh, both farmers were killed on the spot while Atitsogbui Bediako, 56-year-old farmer died at the Tema General Hospital yesterday.

Four others, Grace Gadzo, 52, shot in the tummy, Janet Aflakpi Domeh, 23, shot in the left thigh, Godson Bonney, 29, and Jonah Laryoh, 21, both shot in the right thigh are on admission at the hospital.

A police spokesman said the victims are mainly supporters of Torgbi Kportufe Dugbadza, V, one of the two paramount chiefs whose enstoolment was declared null and void by the National House of Chiefs (NHC) on December 16, 1993.

The town led by their Paramount Chief, Torgbi Nakakpo Dugbadza, VIII, who the NHC ruled in favour of, celebrated the festival last Friday, December 8, 1995.

Torgbi Kportufe Dugbadza V, and his elders have petitioned against the NHC on the grounds that the decision to nullify his enstoolment was taken by an ad hoc committee instead of its judicial committee.

The victims told the *GNA* that following a warning by the police that they should not celebrate the festival with fire

arms they all left their guns at home.

On a procession to the banks of the Volta River to perform some rites, a detachment of the policemen stopped them near the Tefle Police Station and ordered them to discontinue the journey.

The people, however, refused the order, insisting that it was their custom to pour libation at the river side and this resulted in the confrontation between them and the police followed by the firing of warning shots by the police.

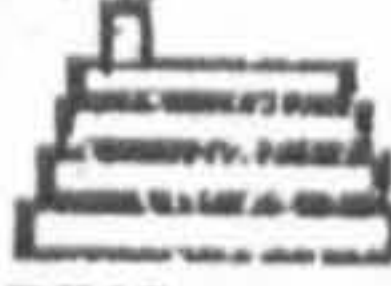
Three days before the festival, police searched the town for ammunition and arrested four persons.

Meanwhile, a detachment of policemen are in the town to maintain peace and order. — GNA

New appointments

NII Adjei-Boye Sekan, has been appointed to the staff of the President's office.

A statement signed by Mr Kojo Yankah, Deputy Minister of Information, said Nii Sekan, who is also Member of Parliament for Ledzokuku Constituency in the Greater Accra Region replaces Mr Sam Garbah who is to be re-assigned.

10 LET → 

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'I need to be commended'

• *Contd. from p. 1*

Kumasi at ₵2.3 million. He disclosed that they, however, undertook renovation and construction of the guest wing to the house at ₵16.5 million.

Dr. Adjei Maafo said his brother contributed ₵5 million whilst he provided ₵9.5 million and another ₵2 million from an overdraft from the BHC, Mobil House, Accra, all of which he has declared to the commission.

He denied any knowledge of having put one Victoria Addo in the family way.

He said "as far as I am concerned, nobody by that name has come forward to say I have impregnated her. If anybody comes to say that and I am convinced, as a responsible father, I will take the child and look after him".

Nana Kofi Coomson, Editor-in-Chief of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, had earlier told the commission

Ho Poly appeals for hostel

From A. E. Amoah, Ho

DR George M. Afeti, Principal of Ho Polytechnic in the Volta Region, has appealed to the Social Security and National Insurance Trust, (SSNIT) and other private estate developers to provide the polytechnic with a hostel to cater for the accommodation needs of the students.

Speaking at the Third Matriculation Ceremony for 45 freshmen and women of the institute last Friday, Dr. Afeti stated that the scarcity of accommodation whether on or outside campus, is one of the major problems facing students at the Ho Polytechnic.

He explained that there are only 300 bed spaces available for a student population of about 1500, most of them coming from outside the catchment area.

The freshmen and women have various Higher National Diploma programmes, including computer science and statistics; hotel catering and institutional management; fashion design and modelling.

Other programmes are Marketing, Secretaryship and Management and Engineering courses.

This academic year's admission represents an increase of 80 percent over last year's.

Out of the total intake, 26 percent are females, 42.8 percent are qualified Senior Secondary School graduates while the rest possess G.C.E. 'A' Level or its equivalent.

He cautioned against acts of religious bigotry, intolerance, provocation and other social vices such as wilful destruction of government property, sexual molestation, use of drugs or disorderly behaviour due to abuse of alcoholic beverages.

that he still stands by what he wrote on the cocoa industry.

He said he has good reasons to believe his sources of information which he described as "dependable".

Nana Coomson said he has every reason to believe that Mr. Ntim once maintained a bank account at the Barclays Bank, Sloane Square in London.

He said it is possible that Mr. Ntim might have had his account moved to another branch due to the frequent mergers of branches of banks in London.

Nana Coomson said latest investigations indicate that Mr. Ntim's account has been moved to WoodGreen with code number 209821.

Transfers

• *Contd. from p. 1*

opment. The deputy director insisted that the department is not an implementing authority, saying that implementation of the planning regulations and laws such as preventing people from developing on unauthorised sites and demolishing unauthorised structures, is the responsibility of the city engineers in the case of the metropolitan assemblies, and building inspectors at the district level.

He emphasised that if the government wants "these roles and regulations to be followed to the letter, then it should give the department the teeth to bite by getting the officers fully involved in the physical development of every settlement in the country".

'Put premium on vocational training'

From A. E. Amoah, Ho

MR Modestus Ahiable, Volta Regional Minister, has asked private schools in the region to put premium on vocational training to prepare their students for employment in the informal sector.

In a speech read on his behalf at the Ninth Speech and Prize-Giving Day of Dora Memorial School Complex at Ho last Saturday, the Minister explained that the provision of JSS workshops with adequate facilities is necessary for the people to acquire requisite vocational skills and to reduce pressure on public schools.

The minister urged both parents and teachers of private schools to cooperate to help provide the necessary facilities and conducive academic atmosphere for the students.

Dora Memorial School Complex, a private first cycle institution at Ho, which started with 11 pupils in 1987, now has about 380 pupils.

Mrs Vida Dzobo, the proprietor of the school, informed parents and guardians that a hostel is being constructed to provide boarding facilities for pupils from other areas.

According to her, the school for the first time, presented 11 candidates for the 1995 BECE.

The ceremony was marked by poetry recitals, fashion show and cultural display by the pupils of the school.

Prizes were also awarded to outstanding pupils from primary one to JSS three.

Akyem Kotoku celebrates Afahye

THE chiefs and people of Akyem Kotoku Traditional Area will celebrate their annual Odwira Afahye from Wednesday, December 27 to January 1, next year.

The festival which is being sponsored by Kumasi Brewery Limited, will reach its climax on Monday, January 1 with a grand durbar at the Oda Old Town Public Park.

Okofrobuor Agyeman Attafua IV, Omanhene of Akyem Kotoku,

invites the general public, especially Akyem Kotoku citizens, both at home and abroad to grace the occasion.

• Meanwhile, Mr Martin Eson-Benjamin, Managing Director of Kumasi Brewery Limited on behalf of the company, the sponsors, has donated assorted drinks valued at ₵4 million to the Omanhene, Okofrobuor Agyeman Attafua at a ceremony at Oda as part of the sponsorship.



• Agriculture Minister, Ibrahim Adam (right), seeing off Mr Diouf (middle), when the latter left yesterday.

Min. of Agric to update irrigation information

By Janet Quainoo

THE Ministry of Agriculture is to update information on irrigation potentials of the country.

Consequently, a nation-wide survey on potential areas and river

basins will be conducted next year, starting in the Accra Plains with the aim of helping to accelerate national food production.

Mr Ibrahim Adam, Minister of Agriculture, who made this known in Accra yesterday, explained that the survey has become necessary in view of the fact that irrigation ought to be given more attention in addressing the problem of security of agricultural production in Ghana.

Mr Adam, who was speaking during a courtesy call on him by the Director-General of Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), Dr Jacques Diouf, said the expertise of the FAO will be tapped for the exercise.

Dr Diouf is in the country for a three-day working visit.

He pointed out that

given the high profile that agriculture enjoys in recent times, 1996 will be better in terms of investment in agriculture.

On the recent investment promotion tour undertaken by the President to the Far East, Mr Adam said private investors in Malaysia agreed to invest in irrigation projects to produce crops with export potentials, particularly rice.

He said the Chinese Government has assured Ghana of assistance in whatever form to improve her agricultural potentials.

Mr Adam also mentioned the chronic problem of food preservation in Ghana, particularly with roots and tubers and stressed that more attention will be paid by

the minister

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ASEE HO RULES THE NATION

Rawlings's last supper held at Castle yesterday: 'I've been betrayed', he tells Castle staff. Only Godwin Avemorgbor, Ato Dadzie, present at sad Castle party. Ministers, Mrs. Rawlings, Mills etc absent. Emelia Oppong, Comper Emilia Dwumoh. Details next edition.

THE

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FINAL ONSLAUGHT

Who should win?

The odds favour Kufuor, but can juju & cash work?

By Kofi Coomson with Bureau Reports

UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, it would be easy to predict, but next Thursday's run-off election has too many variables that the most sophisticated polling organisation cannot predict.

How far can juju work to overturn the wishes of voters of all creed, religion or sex on a national scale? Granted that it probably worked in the Volta region as Clend Sowa and Esther Nyamalar alleged. Remember that Professor and Kofi Awoonor the quintessential voodoo cultist indulged in that too and lost to another major practitioner in 1996, Modestos Ahiable.

How deep is the influence of chiefs in mobilising opinion. Is it not in Northern and Volta region alone that chiefs have almost unquestioning loyalties?

WHAT ABOUT CASH?

What about the candidates' spirituality? Mills and Jerry Rawlings have had ready and willing Bishops desperate to roll out their pulpits to them for the luxury of television coverage/publicity.

Yesterday, Accra Mail editor Al Hajj Haruna Atta bemoaned this phenomenon in a phone in to a Radio Universe (an Accra based FM station). None chal. Mills wants it to be known that he is a born-again Christian, what with all the vigils with all those Bishops, some with doubtful integrity crediting God with things they make up themselves after heavy meals.

The Administrative Head of the Ghana Pentecostal Council (GPC) Rev. Antoa

within the week was picked up soliciting funds and consensus among NDC 'friendly' Bishops to prepare something for an Atta-Mills TV appearance.

Curiously, Christian Faith is completely dominated by Bishops who have been loudly preaching against the very issues that Atta Mills/Rawlings represent. The outspoken Rev. Paul Apraku was set upon and beaten to near death by men believed to be soldiers for consistently speaking out against the NDC.

Another critic, Pastor 'Jesus Abrantie' was taken to Chronicle publisher's house in the night over threats to his life. He was traumatised.

With Mills neck deep in juju, encouraging, instead of dissuading fetish priests interventions, it is now a toss up electoral battle with a spiritual dimension.

In Accra, NDC aspirant David Lamptey doled out cash in liberal quantities and bought ballot papers from supporters in quantities. He lost heavily in Kinkawe, Osu Ashithey, Amatra around the Osu market area where the indigenous Gas live and where he was most generous with the cash. He has been



J. A. Kufuor - NPP Leader

cursing those who took his money and failed to vote for him.

No one has even developed a cough. In New Takoradi, Dr. Mochia was said to have roofed the wooden shacks of the large fishing community and added Atta-Mills playing cards. The fisherman were not swayed and voted him down. They were upset that they were being encouraged to gamble and smoke wee by the NDC candidate.

Courage, Deku, Liz Ohene's war cry We're ready

THE NEW Patriotic Party (NPP), Wednesday, this week, held a press conference at Ho in the Volta Region addressed by Major Courage Quashiga, who also tendered evidence of copies of some intercepted documents from the NDC camp to rig the Presidential run-off on December 28.

Present were major Agbeko-Sedziafa, Volta Region Chairman of the CPP, Lawyer Emmanuel Ohene, Ms. Elizabeth Ohene (BBC), Dr. Ohene, A.K. Deku and the Volta Regional Executives of the NPP. Here are excerpts of his address:

Ladies and gentlemen of the press we wish to bring to your notice this morning, a very unnecessary and dangerous tension being created in this country, particularly in the

MILL'S APOCALYPSE NOW!

Days before the election, CHRONICLE predicted with precision the outcome of the elections and gave 10 reasons why Mills best chance was going to be a run-off (Headline of the story was MILLS LOOMING APOCALYPSE)

WHY MILLS SHOULD LOSE

Cont'd on back page

Prisoners tasked to vote for NDC ...for their freedom

FOUR ACTIVISTS of the erstwhile PNDC who are on death row at the Nsawam Medium Prisons for murder have had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment and have been tasked to tell other inmates at the prison to ask their relatives who visit them to vote massively for the NDC in return for a general amnesty for all the prisoners by President Rawlings before he hands over power to his vice, Prof. Atta Mills.

A Ministry of the Interior source who disclosed this to the Ghanaian Chronicle, said S.K. Fred Sokpor, Bright Baba Hanu, ASP Agyeman and Corporal Yaya, all members of the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) have threatened the prisoners that if they fail to convince their relatives to vote for the NDC, those who will qualify for amnesty next year will not be pardoned by the Minister of the Interior, Nii Okaiya Adamafo.

Chronicle gathered that about a month before the general elections, four soldiers, said to be from the Castle visited the Nsawam Prisons and held a meeting with the four prisoners.

After the meeting, Bright Baba Hanu was appointed the campaign manager of the NDC

at the Nsawam Prisons.

He later called a meeting at Block 4, Cell 10, and informed his colleagues about how to conduct their campaigns.

Chronicle learnt that they were assured that they would be released immediately the NDC wins the elections.

They then embarked on a block-to-block campaign, persuading the prisoners to tell their relatives that their freedom hinges on an NDC victory so they should send the message to town that a victory for the NDC is a recipe for their freedom.

Chronicle gathered that when results of the December 7 elections showed the NPP winning, inmates of the prisons were warned of its consequences.

But when it became apparent that there was going to be a run-off between the two leading contenders, Mr. J.A. Kufuor of the NPP and Prof Atta Mills of the NDC, Bright Hanu intensified his campaign, pleading with the prisoners to convince their relatives to vote massively for the NDC.

When the Chronicle called the Prisons Headquarters to ascertain the truth of the

report, the paper was directed to the Nsawam Prisons, but an official of the Public Relations Department told the Chronicle that some political activists benefited from the President's amnesty last year and cited Major Ampofo as one of them.

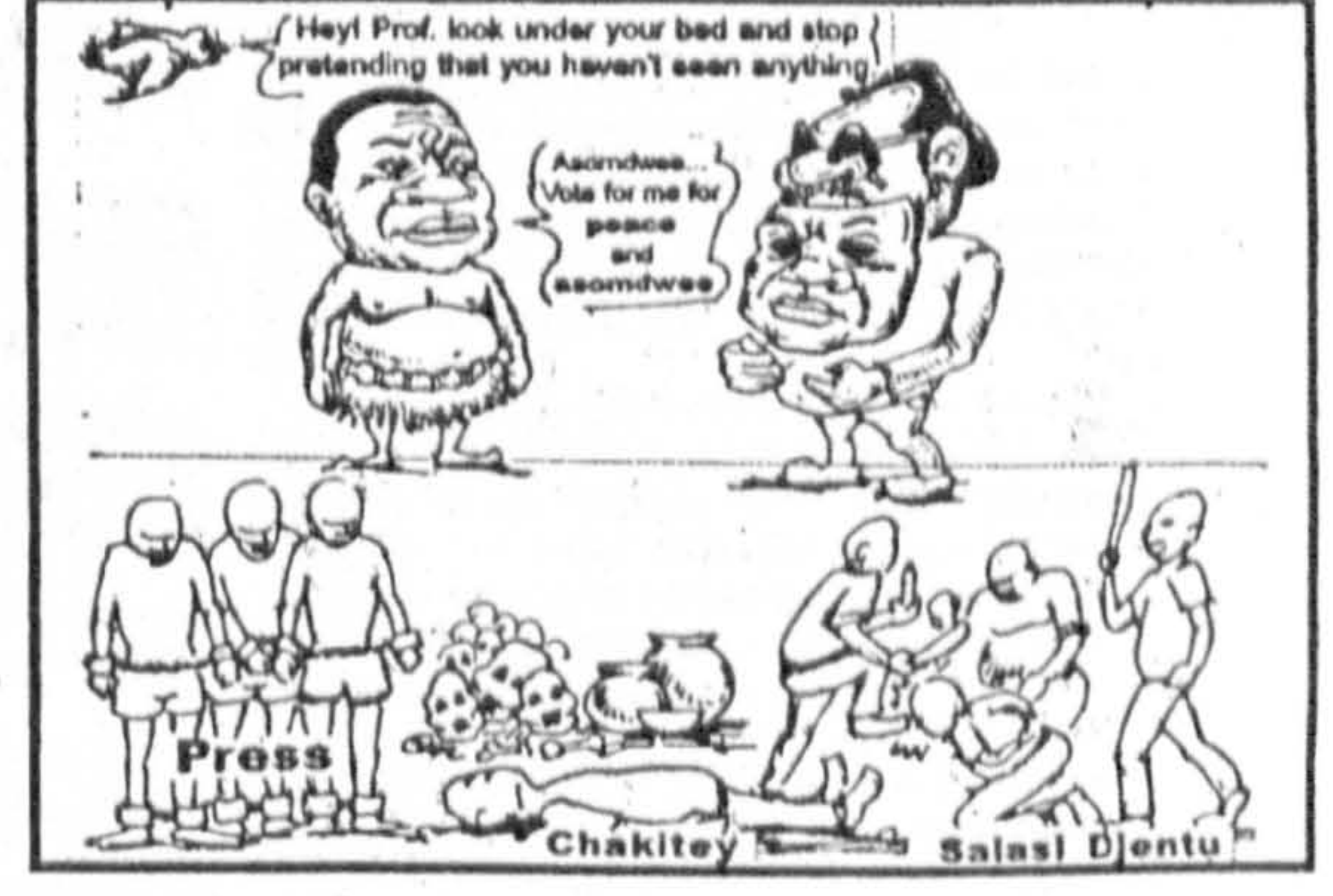
He confirmed that some prisoners on death row had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment and others released on health grounds.

Meanwhile, at Kasoa in the Central Region, a directive has been issued to the Ewe Community at Amanfro, a village near Buduburam, to cast their votes as early as 9.00am and leave for the Volta Region for another voting exercise. A bus will be placed at their disposal to cart them to the Volta Region.

And in Kumasi, an NDC activist has been arrested for possessing a ballot box stuffed with thumbprinted Voter ID cards.

Chronicle learnt that a lady whose name was given as Wuno Zakari was said to be heading for Tamale in the Northern

Cont'd on back page



Reform chiefs urge supporters to vote Kufuor

THE NATIONAL Council of the National Reform Party (NRP) has called on all their grassroots organs and special campaign teams to campaign actively for Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor's victory in the ensuing presidential run-off.

In a press statement signed and issued by Mr. Goozie Tanoh, the party's presidential candidate in the December 7 election, in Accra Thursday, this week,

the party explained that it offered its support to Kufuor on grounds of principle.

"Our aim in supporting Mr. Kufuor is to break the Rawlings' grip on power. President and Mrs. Rawlings, their friends and "business partners" control the state machine through patronage and intimidation. They use state power irresponsibly and with ever-increasing brutality to amass and protect wealth and privileges for themselves at the expense of ordinary Ghanaians. Their

Cont'd on back page

Therefore, as it is written: "Let him who boasts boast in the Lord".

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22 - THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2000

AMA threat to close GT stirs controversy It's a sabotage - NPP

Alfred Ogbamey & Isaac Homoku

WIDELY publicized threat by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) to close down offices of Ghana Telecom over a default in the payment of rent has sparked concerns over the rationale behind the hurriedly packaged press statement issued Friday.

The decision to release a press statement was from above, but the man who spoke on behalf of AMA, Mr. Elliot Adom, says he gathered that the decision was informed by a desire to sabotage the December 28 presidential election through a disruption in communication that would be essential for the December 28, 2000 election. He will force the Electoral Commission (EC) to use Army helicopters and VSAT communication systems which are open to manipulations.

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) Spokesman on the Volta Region and MP for Sekondi, Paapa Owusu told the Chronicle yesterday in an interview that the NPP believes the AMA threat is a ploy to disrupt and frustrate the electoral system, since the AMA is on GT's network for its activities.

The AMA PRO told the Chronicle in a phone interview that the decision to issue the threat was purely a ploy to sabotage the December 28 polls.

In a press statement, the AMA said it would "close down operation of the Ghana Telecom in the Volta Region if it fails to settle outstanding bills of 319,406,250 cedis to the Assembly."

The AMA said "the closure will be done within two weeks if GT fails to settle its tax obligations."

The AMA quoted its 1995 bye-law, Section 182 which empowers it to support its plan.

The AMA told the Chronicle that the closure might be ordered by the NDC, using the AMA as a ploy to sabotage the December 28 polls.

Democratic Congress (NDC) Propaganda Secretary, described the information that the party might be behind the AMA threat as mischievous.

Courage, Deku, Liz Ohene's war cry

Cont'd. from front page

Volta Region out of the desperation of the NDC to win the Presidential run-off by any foul means, and to call on all peace-loving Ghanaians to condemn it outright.

In the 1992 and '96 elections, the NPP in particular, which was branded an Ashanti party, was virtually chased out of the Volta Region because of the vicious propaganda mounted by the NDC against the party. We could not campaign in the region let alone policing the voting process effectively in those two elections.

The NDC had a field day to rig those elections massively.

The positive change of attitude of the region towards the NPP enabled us to campaign in some areas without any resistance and made it possible for us to police the voting process a little better this year.

Even though NDC activists led by their Members of Parliament (MPs) and District Chief Executives (DCEs) did everything in their power to frustrate us, most of our Polling Agents stood their grounds, to produce the kind of results this year which have disgracefully exposed the NDC rigging machinery.

In 1996, the NDC had 632,369 votes in the Presidential ballot representing 94.4% of total votes cast, and this year, when nearly 100,000 extra registered voters were added, they had 505,614; a shortfall of almost 130,000 votes (86.2%).

The NPP on the other hand, increased the 1996 votes of 32,334, representing 4.8% by almost 17,000 of 49,768 representing 8.4% of total votes cast.

It is interesting to note that Ketu South which usually causes heart attack recorded 41,381 votes this year for the NDC as against the 57,467 of 1996.

North Tongu dropped from 62,593 to 47,917 and Ho Central from 52,970 to 40,165. This pattern ran through all the constituencies in the region.

Having suffered humiliating defeat in 6 regions, the so-called "World Bank" they were relying on to offset their debts did not favour them either. No doubt they wept bitterly at their party headquarters in Accra. The TV3 crew who unknowingly ran into the "Tears" were mercilessly beaten up. How dare you see the tears of NDC?

This shameful exposure of the NDC in the Volta Region has infuriated them so much that they have resolved to use every foul means to save face in the run-off.

We have heard of emergency meetings held in the Regional Minister's residence,

- the meeting of chiefs in the region;
- 600,000 already thumbprinted ballot papers;
- arrangements to move Togolese voters 5 days ahead of the elections into Ghana, for which mattresses are being brought from Accra to some homes along the border towns;

• the attempts to frame up Major Courage Quashigah for allegedly hiding arms and ammunition in one Mr. Kudawu's house at Denu.

- the intention to buy the Presiding Officers;
- the training of thugs to subdue the region;
- the instruction to beat up and if possible kill Kufuor's agents normally sent from Accra to assist the local agents.

In fact, pieces of information are flowing in by the minutes, strangely brought by their own insiders

Cont'd. from front page

For whatever reason yet to be explained, the average NDC supporter or sympathiser or even adviser gets annoyed at the faintest or remotest mention. A party that people are failing to identify with is a listing vessel.

Mr. Kweku Sintimi Misa, freelance broadcaster and entertainer launched into a two-hour assault at The Ghanaian Chronicle on the mere suspicion that the paper was going to include his name among personalities who had worked on the Mills campaign ads.

Mr. Sintim Misa, Managing Director of Sapphire Ltd (popularly known as KSM in Accra) had been

whose identity we have vowed to protect. (show exhibits)

All these we are not worried about since we have also developed strategies to deal with them.

But, to make pronouncements like "... the run-off is a war between Ashantis and Ewes.

*The Volta Region will be detached from Ghana to join Togo if NPP wins.

*Projects in the region, particularly the Keta Sea Defence project will be halted if NPP wins.

*Ewes are being beaten and driven out of Accra and Kumasi and many others, are only preparing the grounds for a tribal conflict in which the Ewe tribe scattered all over the country will be the unfortunate victims.

The NDC must be so wicked as to lay the foundations for the destruction of the region which has given them so much and has taken very little from them.

Voltaians, particularly the Ewes must now see who their real enemies are.

We in the opposition alliance for this run-off will do the best we can to prevent the NDC from recording any false figures that may result in setting up the Volta Region against other regions and the Ewes against other tribes.

We are, therefore, calling on the region itself to reject the NDC and vote massively for Mr. J.A. Kufuor to foil their diabolical plots to destroy the region.

Even though the region has not given any seats to the NPP yet, Mr. Kufuor has declared that he will never give up the Volta Region because according to him, "...there are a lot of good people and good things in that region ..."

Indeed, the Volta Region should simply vote this time for the winning party, the NPP, SO THAT "miafe wo nano woa me."

We further call on our chiefs and opinion leaders who are fully aware of the dangerous developments in the region, to resist any attempt by NDC to lure them into a situation where they will sacrifice their subjects.

They should exercise their leadership abilities now to save the region, because should anything happen to this region and particularly the Ewes they will be the first to be held responsible.

Finally, we appeal to President Rawlings to do everything in his power to leave Ghana in one peace not in pieces.

The President has done his best to this point and must ponder over the words of Abraham Lincoln, saying to the American people: "I do the very best I can, the very best I know how and I mean to continue doing so till the end. If the end brings me out right, all that is said against will come to nothing. But if the end brings me out wrong, 10 angels pleading that I was right will make no difference."

The most courageous thing for President Rawlings to do at the end of his tenure of office is to vigorously preside over a peaceful, free and fair elections, and a peaceful handover.

If he can achieve this, the end may bring him out right and Ghanaians will forever remember him for it.

Long live our dear Nation and may God bless all of us to do just what is right in the December 28 run-off.

at a couple of meetings at Kuku hill, Harry Sawyer's property which doubles as NDC's campaign headquarters at Osu, Accra, where Mr. Spio Garbrah had told the assembly that their job is to make sure that Mills gets to The Castle.

One of the invitees Mr. David Ampofo, another well known journalists, broadcaster and advertising consultant reportedly fled the meeting and refused to attend subsequent meetings when invited.

Mr. Ampofo had been erroneously linked with the Atta Mills TV adverts and when Chronicle called to confirm, he emphasised that he had heard it from too many quarters but he was not responsible for them. Ms. Oboshi Sai/ TT's Media Touch confirmed to The Chronicle that they had produced the NPP's brilliant promotional ads and were proud of the production.

2. Mills victory should suggest economic disaster. Chronicle investigations has revealed that his inaction in 1997 prevented the Government from benefitting from shares in the Asutsuare sugar factory when F.C Schaffer, an American sugar factory bid for the rehabilitation of the factory. The US company had mobilised funds for the project and needed the say so Atta Mills. Characteristically, he did nothing. The factory is now a shell.

3. Mills cannot have the support of the majority in Parliament which should make his job too difficult. He has also lost favour with the independent media which sees him now as a hypocrite who looks the other way when crimes are being committed with the false alibis.

4. The economy is in shambles. The debt profile is massive and he cannot survive the tremors that should follow should the truth be known from January when he begins to increase fuel prices, electricity, water and still freeze wages.

5. The donor community have lost faith and confidence in him as representing the NDC. Infact they have started looking to the NPP.

6. Mills deceit and abominable adulterous escapades has destroyed him so badly. The issue of his son remains the topic of controversy and discussions nationwide.

Reform to vote Kufuor

Cont'd. from front page

activities underpin the growing poverty, division and violence in our communities. The NDC as a party is merely a fig leaf that they use to legitimise the activities of the Rawlings machine," the Council noted.

The statement pointed out that a victory for Prof. Mills is a direct victory for the Rawlings' machine. It said the Mills' presidential campaign over the last few months has demonstrated all the arrogant vote buying, deceit, ethnic and religious manipulation, intimidation and actual brutality that have become the hallmarks of Rawlings' rule.

The party statement said, "Mills constantly surrounds himself with "faces" that symbolise all the rot and abuse of the last eight years. Mills represents "continuity". A Mills' presidency means a renewed assault on democratic institutions such as political parties, CHRAJ and the media. It means greater poverty, division and violence in our communities."

According to the party a Kufuor victory will weaken Rawlings and friends, pointing out that it denies them direct access to state power as they will no longer be able to loot the national coffers for their private gain and political patronage.

"They will no longer be able to directly misuse police or soldiers to bully their opponents. Under a Kufuor presidency, there will be more space for democratic politics and civil society activism and this will allow Ghanaians to freely address the important questions of national direction that lie before us," the NRP stressed.

The NRP added that that is enough reason for them to support Mr. Kufuor, noting that as members of the JAC "we hope that Mr. Kufuor will pursue the broad social and political platform that he and other party leaders presented to Parliament last year during the "Ya Bre!" march

Quaynor-Mette, the ruling National leaders asked to vote NDC

Cont'd. from front page

When she was approached by some suspicious men at the Kroofunm-Tamale station and asked to open what was in her wrapped box. When she did, she discovered that the box is a ballot box. She was taken to the New Tafo Police Station for interrogation.

The Chronicle called the New Tafo Police Station and the police confirmed the story and said the case has been transferred to the police Headquarters in Kumasi for further investigation.

However, the police said when Zakari was brought to the station, she was holding seventeen (17) voter ID cards bearing different names.

According to the police, even though they heard that Wuno Zakari has been arrested for possessing a ballot box, when she was arrested, a search conducted revealed the Voter ID cards.

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Editor's Trial Tomorrow

EBO QUANSAH, Editor of the GHANAIAN CHRONICLE and two of his reporters, Messrs Sani Siddiq and Ken Ampong, facing a charge of contempt, will open their defence before an Accra Regional Tribunal chaired by Mr Justice Isaac Douse tomorrow morning.
 At the last sitting of the case, Counsel for the Chronicle three,
Cont'd on back page

RAWLINGS' SURPRISE SUCCESSOR

Inheritance Plan Shelved ... Guzzie Tanoh Emerges As Presidential Favourite

Ebo Quansah Reporting
 GHANAIS CAN heave a sigh of relief. The inheritance clouds threatened to engulf the constitutional Head of State in the second term of President John Rawlings ends in the year 2000, have cleared. Usually CHRONICLE sources at

the heart of Government indicate that the Head of State has had a second thought following a series of bad publicity involving the First Lady when the plan to make Nana Konadu Rawlings Constitutional Head of Ghana was leaked to the press.
 Plan B, that involved putting a mechanism in place for President Rawlings to succeed himself at the end of his constitutionally approved
Cont'd on back page



President Rawlings



Guzzie Tanoh - sitting pretty

NPP On Clinton's Visit

THE NEW Patriotic Party (NPP) has urged President Clinton, due to visit Ghana next week, to follow the example of the World Bank President and emphasise the need for probity and accountability in government during his talks with President Rawlings.
 "The power of the United States to sanction Ghana for malfeasance is greater than that of the World Bank and the NPP expects that this will be made manifest in discussions about corruption in government," according to a press release signed by the General Secretary, Mr. Joseph Agyenim Boateng.
 The party noted with regret the public perception of the judiciary to be an extension of the Executive to the point where few now trust the country's judicial system.
 "It is important that the United States, whose judicial system is matched only by a few in protecting its independence, makes a strong case for judicial independence, impartiality and probity in Ghana," the release said.
 On the visit itself, the NPP said it could only have the right meaning and significance if President Clinton would bring appropriate influences to bear with his presence in Ghana and in the other countries he is scheduled to visit, to help African governments on to the path of justice and true democracy, which are the vital pre-requisites for national development.
 The release urged President Clinton to meet with the parties in
Cont'd on back page

Democracy Is Not Myopic - Apraku



Mr. Kofi Apraku - Minority Spokesman of Finance

LESS THAN TWO months after the First Lady, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings incurred the wrath of a section of the public for her indiscreet remarks at Bonwire that they should not expect development projects when they voted against the NDC, yet another NDC functionary has repeated virtually the same remarks prompting political observers to wonder whether it is the NDC government's policy to tie development to voting record of constituencies.
 Speaking at Akomadan and Afrancho recently, the District Chief Executive for Offinso, Mr. Brefo, chastised the people for not voting for the NDC but expect the government to undertake development projects in the area.
Cont'd on back page

NA WHO CAUSE AM?

SO WHO CAUSED THIS ENERGY MESS? WHO ELSE IF NOT FIT. LT. SO-AND-SO?

16 YEARS AND BILLIONS OF WORLD BANK LOANS YET HE COULDN'T BUILD EVEN A SINGLE HYDRO-POWER DAM. ACHRAMPONG SPENT JUST 7 YEARS BUT BUILT THE KPONG DAM!... EMPTY NOISE MAKERS!

... Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God - (1Cor- 15:50)

TALKING SPORTS



Karl Tufuoh

NO PLEASE, MR. MINISTER

THE MINISTRY of Youth and Sports (MOYS) has proposed the setting up of a selection committee to help the coach of the national team, the Black Stars, select players for his squad.

This suggestion is reported to have been made by E.T. Mensah, the Minister, in his desire to help in making the senior national team more "representative" of the players who "deserve" to be in the squad. Much as the Minister was trying to help, I strongly disagree with his suggestion, which has the support of Moses Mabenga, the Chairman of the Parliamentary sub-Committee on Sports.

Much as we all have an idea who should constitute the membership of the Black Stars, we also have our differences. Some would opt for say Kwame Ayew while others would strongly disagree. For example, I was of the view that the former Goldfields defender, Afo Doodoo, should have been in the squad for Burkina Faso, but when I made it known, many of my friends SHUT ME UP arguing that he did not deserve a place.

This brought it home to me that since we are all individuals we have different perceptions of views and ideas.

When the Minister proposed his idea, I wonder who he had in mind to constitute the membership of the committee. Did he intend to have people who think like him and would therefore, select the sort of players he (E.T. Mensah) would have chosen? Or did he have in mind that people of differing views from as wide a perception as Kofi Opare-Addo or Kwabena Yeboah on one side to Nana Sam Brew Butler or Ernest Thompson as another.

Much as E.T. Mensah's suggestion were well intentioned, I have to say that I strongly disagree with this idea. Whether we like it or not it is the coach or team manager, do not mind the semantics here, whose head is on the chopping block and he alone must, therefore, be in a position to select the players who he feels can fill the role he expects of them. It is a fact that some people, though very good, will not fit into a particular style of play; let me explain myself. Rivaldo, the Brazilian forward, who plays for Barcelona, is not a first choice player in Mario Zagallo's Brazil team.

In fact, it was only recently that he (Rivaldo) got recalled to the squad after 15 months on the sidelines. This was because Zagallo felt and feels still that Rivaldo will not fit in his team's style or system of play. Particularly with Ronaldo and Romario as his main strikers.

Coming home and taking a look at what Israel prefers, the 3-5-2 formation, it was obvious to all that some players would fit into this system whilst others would not. If, therefore, the committee would select a whole host of players, for Israel and none of them fitted into the style of play you can imagine how well the team will fare.

There is also the argument that at the Black Stars level, any coach with his sort, should be able to get together a team that would make sure that all the best players are available.

E.T. Mensah knows that if the GFA is to employ a foreign coach, with a proven track record like Johann Cryuff or Franz Beckenbauer, that reason (the coach) would not brook any interference whatsoever whether from a selection committee or not. Sincerely

can you imagine Franz Beckenbauer having a committee to help him select players for his squad? Certainly not. Even if he were, and this is highly unlikely, he would want the committee members to be chosen by himself.

We all know that selecting players for any team, be international or at club level will always be an emotional affair which makes it subjective, why therefore, have it as members will also pick their favourites? It that not the same accusation, normally put on coaches of the Black Stars?

Aside of this if this committee is formed would it not infringe upon the independence of the coach and his technical team?

If the committee is formed I can foresee a series of clashes between the selection committee on one side and the coach, if he is an independent minded person, on the other side over selection policies and eventually the squad of players.

In this case let's look at the soccer powers in the world. Do they have such a committee? The answer is NO. No selection committee exist in England, France, Brazil, Argentina, The Netherlands or Italy. The plight of Roberto Baggio is a case in point. He was dropped by Arrigo Saachi, the then Italian national team coach in 1995. He was the most gifted player in the Italian team yet Saachi saw it fit not to pick him for the European Championship held in England in 1996.

Even with a change of coach, Caesar Maldini (the father of Paolo, the national team captain), Baggio has been recalled only twice and is currently out of the Italian squad. Yet, the former AC Milan and Juventus star as well as "divine ponytail" is playing some of the best soccer of his career. One would ask why? Simply because Maldini believes Baggio is a luxury any team cannot afford yet no one has asked for selection committee.

The fact is the media have been crying for Baggio's inclusion but so far Maldini has not budged. Does that not remind you of the Frank Amankwa situation? For me the formation of the selection committee will only lead to further chaos and confusion. E.T., leave things as they stand, that is the way the rest of the world do it. Rather, if Israel's contract runs out, that no in June, you should advertise for applicants to come forward if you do not intend to retain the Dutchman.

Then when one is chosen you should give him a contract with the objectives stated and only if he fails must you then ditch him.

I rest my case.

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The Chronicle

MONDAY, MARCH 16 - TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1998

Rawlings' Successor

Cont'd from front page

two terms of office has also been abandoned. Instead, President Rawlings is reported to have given the green light for a successor outside the Rawlings' family.

Supporters of Vice-President John Evans Atta Mills, though will be disappointed. The successor will not be the Veep. **Chronicle** has learned that the new darling of President Rawlings is Mr. Guzzie Tanoh, 41, the dashing Fanti businessman and politician who is the favourite of National Democratic Congress cadres.

The surprise choice, **Chronicle** can reveal, was forced on the President by cadres of his ruling party who have enjoyed a very good patronage from Mr. Tanoh.

Following the new thinking, Castle sources say, there have been overt and covert efforts from the seat of power to rescue the business interests of Mr. Tanoh, who faced various financial difficulties when the First Lady's obsession with power got to a crescendo recently.

President Rawlings is said to be keeping the new option to his chest. But insiders say Madam has already picked the signal and is gradually distancing herself from mainstream

NDC activities.

The 'Madam for President' was mooted as a cover for those in Government from the Provisional National Defence Council days when a number of atrocities were committed against their fellow Ghanaians. **Chronicle** can reveal that a special task force under the chairmanship of Nana Ato Dadzie, Presidential Staffer with brief to sample public opinion on the possibility or otherwise of the wife of the President succeeding him. The task force did initial ground work but insiders say before they could really enter the field, the press got wind of the programme and virtually derailed the train.

About a month and half ago, Mr. Justice Dan F. Annan courted bad publicity by suggesting in a television chat show that if the President should leave office, his successor, from party point of view, ought necessarily to be an insider, someone who has been with the President from his revolutionary days.

Meanwhile, the **Chronicle** has learned that the inner caucus of the NDC have been holding series of meetings on how to respond to Ebo Quansah Column of last week which said the President had flopped as leader of this nation.

Democracy Is Not Myopic

Cont'd from front page

But in a joint statement, the MPs for Offinso North and Offinso South, Dr. Kofi Konadu Apraku, and Mr. F.K. Buor, expressed disappointment with the utterances of the DCE saying it is that kind of bad leadership that had undermined the development of the district.

"It is important that the DCE understands that a major tenet of democracy that we are committed to establishing in Ghana is freedom of choice, and the prerogative of the electorate to vote as they please without being chastised, abused or intimidated by anybody. This explains the public outcry against similar utterances of the First Lady. It is sad our DCE learned nothing from that episode," they said.

According to the MPs it is important

that the DCE and others like him know that government's development efforts are financed by Ghanaians through taxes paid. Since all Ghanaians, regardless of how they voted pay their taxes, they are entitled to enjoy the benefits of their money, which is development projects.

"The DCE and his likes in the NDC must know that it is public funds, not NDC funds that are being used for national development, the massive corruption and mismanagement notwithstanding."

Apraku and Buor assured the DCE that they were prepared to work with him in the true interest of their people but warned that if he wanted to be confrontational, divisive and politically parochial in his activities, they were most ready to take him on.

Editor's Trial Tomorrow

Cont'd from front page

Mr Emmanuel Ohene, demanded a certified true copy of the judge's record of proceedings to enable him respond to the prosecution's case. Senior State Attorney, Mr Anthony Gyambiby has asked for a prison sentence for all three.

The Accra Regional Tribunal is situated at the beach, just behind the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum at the Old Polo Grounds, where the first President of Ghana declared this country free of British colonial rule.

NPP On Clinton's Visit

Cont'd from front page

opposition to the NDC to enable him get a balanced view of Ghanaian affairs. It said even though President Clinton receives information through its Embassy in Accra, the NPP is of the view that nothing could be a substitute for even a few minutes of personal encounter with people whose views have few opportunities to be heard.

The NPP assured President Clinton that he is an honoured guest in Ghana and the United States which he so ably represents has demonstrated in many ways that it is a friend of Ghana.

The Ghanaian Chronicle

APPENDIX E

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

Proverbs 19:21 "There are many devices in a man's hearts; nevertheless the Counsel of The Lord, Vol.2 No.11 Monday, 9th - 15th Nov. 1992 UK £0.50 Germany DM2.00 €100.00 that shall stand.

J.J Romps home in Round One and sets off

THE GREAT

16 - page election special

Bureau Reports from Kofi Coomson Central & Western Regions, Kofi Opare Addo and Roland Adotiel Addo in Accra, Ekow Frelku in Kumasi and Kassim Abdallah in Tamale and Stephen Larbi in Mampong

DEPRESSION

How did Erskine score zero in station he voted?

A FEELING of depression hung like a pall of smoke over the country as news of the staggering victory of the NDC's presidential candidate reached homes and offices in key towns and cities in the country.

The victory of Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings confounded analysts and made nonsense of popular perceptions and opinion surveys even NDC supporters into inexplicable silence.

Instead of the expected spontaneous outbursts of national jubilation, beer bars remained empty and streets deserted. Cities and towns like Sekondi, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Accra and Tema and Oda were deflated of their usual life.

Bank workers and doctors closed early and immediately went home. Atlantic Hotel, a Takoradi popular joint, was completely empty.

At Cape Coast, a small group of young men made a beeline for the Pedu house of the aged mother of the NPP candidate (Ms. Christine Churcher) and smashed at her windows and doors at dawn of November 4 and taunted her. IN the afternoon at Papratum, near the Anaso market organised group of 25 men went round singing and dancing with caricatures of Christine Churcher making rude allusions to her.

With the sinking feeling came countless allegations of rigging and malpractices. At Cape Coast, of the five allegations that were made, yours truly personally investigated three and found them to be baseless. Police Inspector Ahinsan who

investigated reports of thumb printed ballot papers (for NDC) at the police station near Victoria Park said it was only a specimen and the culprit had been released.

Another party rep. who alleged that he was restrained from witnessing the counting was said to have failed to produce acceptable identification. Yours truly went to the INEC office at Cape Coast and spoke to Mr Carl Rhule the INEC deputy chief at Cape Coast. He however, confirmed that they had tampered with the Cape Coast figures, for some "corrections."

At Shama, the wife of Dr Tackie Otoo the man tipped to win the constituency confirmed that as far as she saw, there was nothing she could say to explain her husband's defeat. She was disappointed at the news that the parliamentary elections might be boycotted.

But it was not all smooth and fair in other areas as numbers kept changing from polling stations to the counting centres.

In Ablekuma South Constituency of the Greater Accra region signed documents available to us from 84 polling stations shared 18,221 for NPP and NDC 20,324. The published result reduced it significantly to 12,491, for NPP and NDC - 12827.

There were bizarre massaging of figures as well. The Fantakwa Constituency turned out figures that were completely at variance with what NPP strong man Dr Jones Ofri Alta had collated.

The most startling were the crunching figures pouring out from Volta Region, particularly North Tongu constituency which is a cluster of small hamlets/villages (none qualifying for a status of town) - turned out over 40,106 for Rawlings and 2100 for the four other candidate

Established populous twin city like Sekondi Takoradi saw only 45,000 total votes cast!

What would probably rate as the limit was the nightmarish experience of the PHP candidate General Erskine who scored zero in the particular polling station he personally voted.

In a telephone interview to confirm this, a clearly shaken General gave a brief account and just said "I wont say anything."

The story of Mr Caiquo Elvedu (PHP) candidate for Ahanta West in the Western Region was echoed and re-echoed in parts of the Central Regions that CHRONICLE visited. Voting was done in the CDR office in Sese with a thumb printed poster of JJ and Akamanso in full view to 'educate' the illiterate folks.

Telephone calls from Europe from Ghanaian residents suggested a general feeling of despondence as well.

What the elections proved also was the real popularity of President Jerry Rawlings - a reality which was grossly underestimated by everybody. And Ghanaians mentally brace themselves to hunker down for eight (not four) more years of continuity a la Jerry Rawlings.

From SWEDRU NPP's parliamentary candidate Kwamena Bartels filed this complaint.

The INEC officials at all the 12 Polling Stations in the Nkum Electoral area REFUSED to issue a certificate recording the results at their various Polling Stations for signature by the Polling Agents of all the Political Parties. The Agents were told that these will be filled by the Presiding Officers in Swedru and a copy sent to them later. We therefore, do not have copies of the results declared at the Polling Stations in Nkum.

I got to know later, that the

INEC District Officer, together with Mr. Kojo Yankah, the NDC candidate for Agona East, Mr Jehu-Appiah, the District Secretary, Mr E.G. Tandoh the Attorney-General all met at the Swedru-Town Hall to 'supervise' the filling of the results declaration forms by the INEC District Officer. The figures on these forms may not necessarily be those declared at the Poling Stations in front of the various Parties' Polling Agents.

It is however a fact that none of the Agona West NPP Polling Agents in Nkum signed any of the results declared at the

Cont'd on pg. 16



APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

The Chronicle

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT
VOL. 4 NO. 163 THURSDAY, JUNE 15 - SUNDAY, JUNE 18, 1995 UK£ 0.75p GERMANY DM2.00 c300

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P. V. OBENG'S GILDED \$0.5m AIRPORT HOUSE

Norwegian businessman's bribe for getting him a state enterprise on the cheap

MR. PAUL VICTOR OBENG, 48, THE GOVERNMENT'S SILKIEST MOTOR-MOUTH is in the epicentre of a major house-for-state-resources corruption scandal as agitated debate rages within press and intelligence circles about wholesale grabbing of financial and material assets by self-proclaimed "men of integrity". Following "The Independent"'s exposure of the Inferior Minister's £600 million mansion in Accra, the spotlight shifted dramatically to who is the richest and bent man in the (P)NDC government. The compass appears to be swinging in the direction of the Presidential Adviser on Governmental Affairs.

Surprisingly, Mr. P.V. Obeng, has also been cited as one of the brains behind an alleged dastardly plot to eliminate newspaper editors some of whom have already been tipped off by some security agents.

The lid on PV's well-kept secrets and honeydoo with the press threatened to blow over when the news spread last month. He left Accra for Paris a couple of days ago with 10-year passport number 003854 issued on 3rd October 1989 for the Donors conference.

The first whiff of the PV scandals followed CHRONICLE investigations which established that he has acquired a string of properties from Accra to Adansi including the most conspicuous one overlooking the Achimota to Tetteh Quarshie rotary (roundabout) - a 500 million cedi property of sheer architectural and aesthetic delight set in the most-sought after part of Accra, Airport West.

The single-storeyed house has a spacious two-room guest house complete with concrete "summer hut" and store rooms for drinks, kebabs and all appurtenances for the adviser's Elizabethan comfort.

The fittings and tinted glass windows and doors, which benefit from delicate, exquisite craftsmanship will set you back some 25 million cedis.

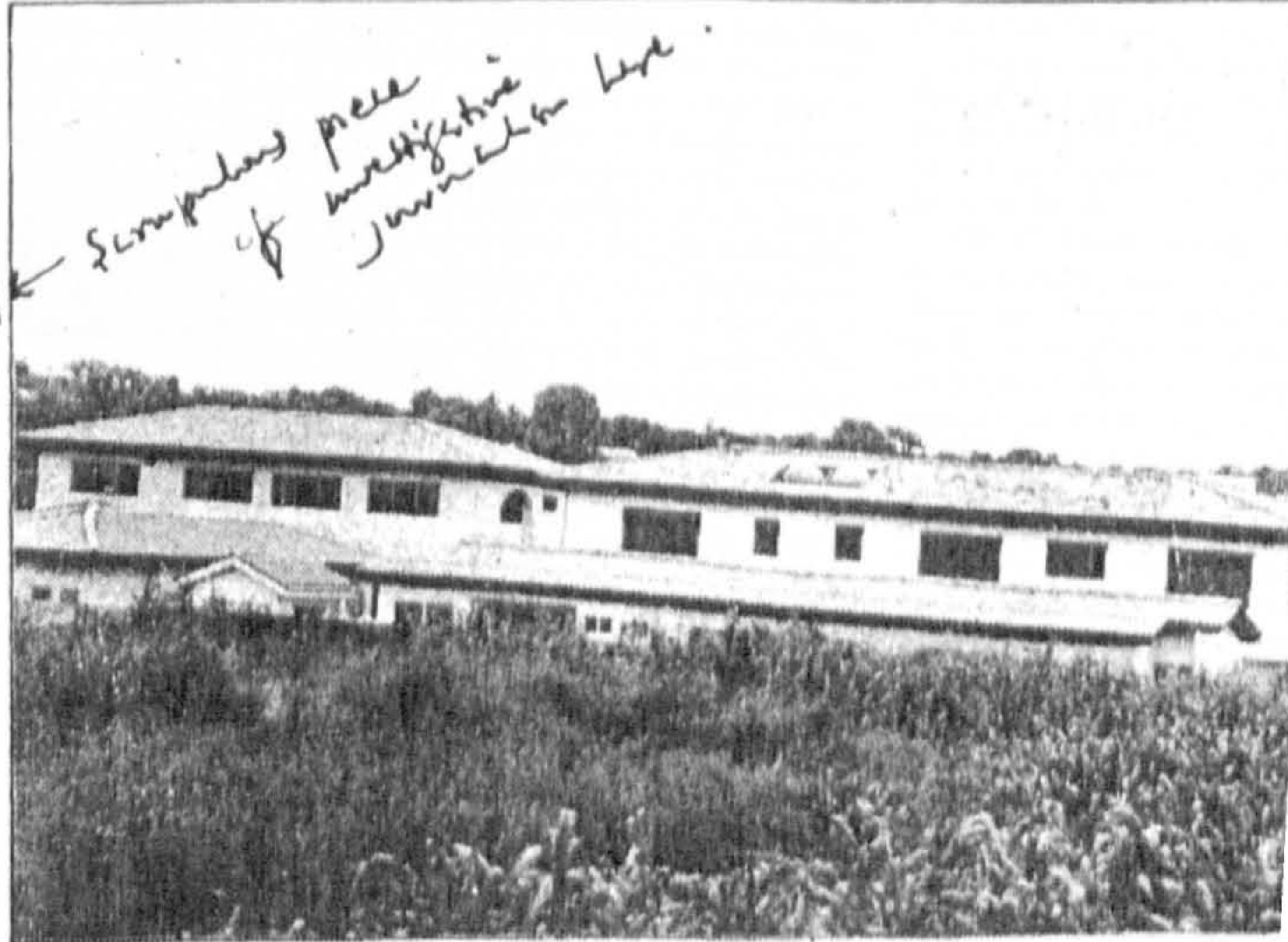
PV actually finished the house last year, though he continues to add value to it with a few extras here and there like last month when, according to neighbours, he commissioned a design-concrete slab manufacturer to install concrete parquets on his forecourt. CHRONICLE has independently confirmed this.

The land, CHRONICLE sources say, was given to him by Alheji Abbas Kilber (now booted out of The Lands Commission), official supplier of government land to corrupt PNDC men and influence peddlers.

Land at that part of Accra is going for \$80 million per plot. And PV used his position to acquire

Cont'd. on back page

Pix below: P. V. Obeng's Airport West gilded house



NEXT MONDAY'S BUSINESS CHRONICLE:

1. HOW CAN! WE TURN THE ARMY INTO A BILLION DOLLAR INDUSTRY? - Read how CHINA is doing it.
2. The Inside 'shocking story of the flight of the VAT.
3. Executive Wardrobe
4. How to start and stay in business.
5. Details of Forthcoming CIDA/ UNIDO sponsored Investment forum in June etc. etc.

The B.C.: If your advert is not in, you are not communicating.

"Nothing is hidden that will not be known" - (Luke 12:2)

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The Chronicle

THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE, THURSDAY, JUNE 15 - SUNDAY, JUNE 18, 1995

P. V. Obeng's Gilded House

Cont'd. from Page 1

the property for a fraction of the value.

Trucks belonging to COCOBOD, specifically Produce Buying Agency were used to haul timber from Kumasi for the work in 1983, according to a worker at the sawmill who wants to remain anonymous.

NORWEGIAN BRIBE

The most disturbing aspect of the caper is that PV actually had a greater part of the house built for him by a Norwegian businessman whom he helped acquire one of the state-owned enterprises that were divested, Bibiani Complex, for a bargain price.

There are no indications that the President knows about this, though it is believed that he will deal with this latest scandal from the ranks of his "men of integrity".

Officials at the Divestiture Implementation Committee behaved rather suspiciously when CHRONICLE sought for documentation and information regarding the manner of disposal of the complex on Tuesday.

"P.V has his fingers in every pie", was the consensus of opinion on the engineer with the extraordinary powers of oratory which he uses to mask his darker, more treacherous side.

The Presidential Adviser indeed is a gifted speaker and a sly, cunning, calculating one at that. He can rip off the hind legs of a village school table and sell it as a priceless work of art.

PV has built a powerful network of friends and surrogates including chief executives of banks and corporations that he leans on. He has built three, sometimes four layers of protection that will remove him from any compromising situation, according to a source close to his office.

To his credit, in Tema, he has capitalised on his freewheeling easy-going disposition and consolidated friendships even among the largely anti-NDC crowd in the community where he lives.

He still lives in his own house acquired legitimately when he was a management engineer at Mankoadze Fisheries, a company that has gone belly-up for the last few years and been sent to the Non-Performing Assets Recovery Trust. The Mankoadze story is a whole new story on its own.

Sources close to the Ministry of Agriculture

say that P.V. and Obed Asamoah have commandeered special breed of pigs sent from Holland to the state-owned Nungua farms, to their huge private farm: PV has a huge commercial farm on the outskirts of Accra and Obed's is near Bala Likpe. Dr. Asamoah unlike all the (P)NDC Ministers who declared their assets in 1992 and claimed to have less than a million cedis in assets and cash was more generous and forthcoming with his listings.

PV's Airport West residence did not reflect in his asset declaration.

An engineering graduate from the University of Science and Technology where he served on the Students Representative Council with the First Lady Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, PV has been closely involved with the President since the late 70s.

He was arrested thrice in 1981 by Colonel Odjidja, the Director of Military Intelligence from Adangbe who is now in exile. During one of the interdictions for suspicion of plotting to overthrow Limann with the Lt. Lt., he was detained at Mamprobi Police Station. A search came up with two Sub Machine Guns, 4 Carl walter pistols, and files containing correspondence between Cuba and Libya. He was never tried by then President Limann after being supplied all these intelligence information by A. Odjidja. Limann just ignored them according to a source familiar with the story.

PV was also very active in the organised demonstrations, particularly against Dr. Busia. On one occasion he led students to ambush the then Prime Minister when he came to visit the school. Some of the placards that greeted the PM included signs like "Imperialists stooge", "Boring PM". Dr. Busia told the students later that people like PV are the people who cling to power forever once they grab it, but they should learn to coordinate and be responsible. There appears to be prophetic ring to the PM's remarks.

At least two Ghanaian public officials were shot by firing squad by President Rawlings' regime for "using their position to acquire property". The most famous one was the then Foreign Minister Roger Felli who was accused by members of the government who are still in command today, to have taken a loan from a bank - c50,000 (fifty thousand cedis) to build a house.

By CHRONICLE REPORTER

G.I.C. BOSS ASSUAGES INVESTORS' FEARS

MR. KWESI AHWOI, Executive Director of the Ghana Investment Promotion centre has appealed to businessmen in particular not to entertain any fear about their investments in Ghana.

He said utterances by politicians on political platforms must also not be taken seriously by the business community, because the government's intentions are to promote local businesses in order to attract foreign joint partners.

At a press briefing in Accra to highlight the centre's efforts at attracting investors into the country, Mr. Ahwoi admitted that some mistakes have been

Labour leaders discuss strategies

THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE Forum consisting of the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) Judicial Service Workers Union of Ghana, (JUSAG), Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA) and the Civil Servants Association (CSA) have still not resolved their issue with the government on increases in salaries.

So far negotiations between them and the government have not been accepted by both sides. At the time of going to press they were locked in negotiations with the government team which may drag on.

committed in the past on the business community but assured the nation that "lessons have been learnt from them"

The fact that government is divesting itself of public enterprises is an ample evidence to the fact that government does not intend running any business let alone taking over anybody's.

Mr. Ahwoi said the 1992 constitution gives ample protection to private ownership of property and this has been incorporated in the investment code of 1994 to safeguard the property of investors, both locally and foreign. By Andrews Biney.

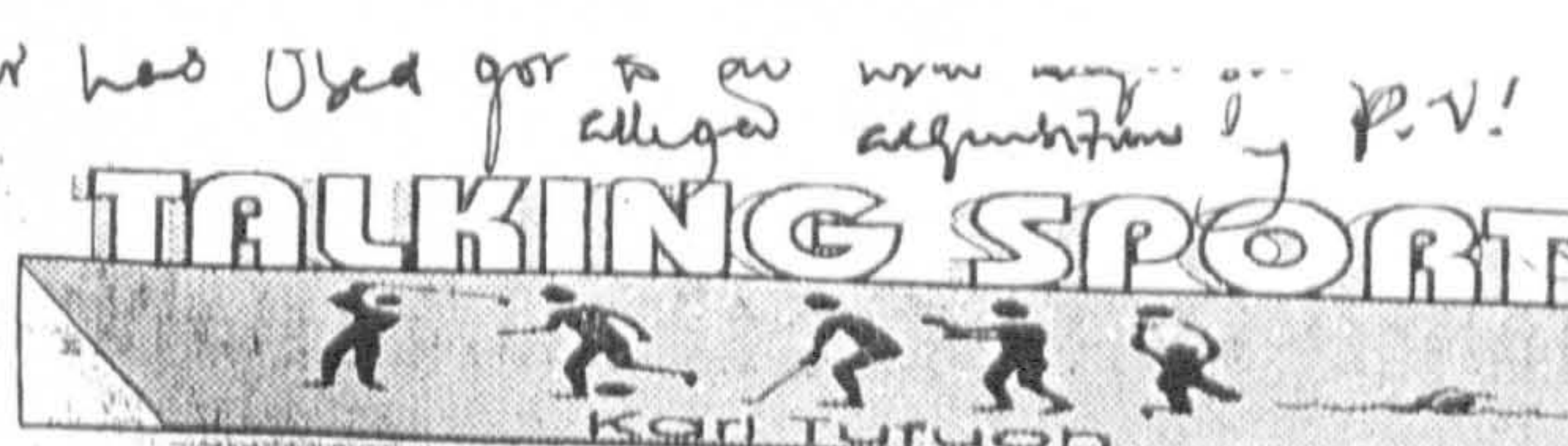
While the leadership of the forum are sticking to their 45 percent increases in salary demands, the government is sticking to its 30 percent.

The forum had in their last press conference in Accra threatened to advise themselves on their next course of action.

On May 30, the leadership of the forum signed a statement which circulated to its membership on the impasse between them and the government.

CHRONICLE has learnt that subvented organizations are contemplating joining the forum to be able to strengthen their negotiating power.

By Andrews Biney.



LESSON FROM BAMAKO

OBUASI GOLDFIELDS in their first adventure into Africa have emulated the achievement of a same Kofi Hearts of Oak and Great Olympians by reaching the quarter-final of the African Clubs Championship. However, if the show they put up against Stade Malien in the second leg is to be repeated, then I can tell them emphatically that they would not go beyond this stage.

GOAL-SCORING

Simply put, over the two legs of this eighth round, Goldfields gave us all a superb exhibition of how to score goals and, therefore, how not to win matches. Only GOD knows what must be going through the heads of coaches, Oswaldo Sampaio and Herbert Addo. Clearly, the problem with the Obuasi-based club is not having a direct striker whose sole aim is to get goals. Kwabena Boateng, Nana Frempong and Tony Tiekou do not fit the role. Boateng is at his best when he feeds of a target man. However, the chances he missed in Bamako (not forgetting the two glorious chances he squandered in Obuasi) clearly shows that he has a lot to learn about the art of goal-scoring. As for Tiekou, the least said about him the better. He seems not to know when he is offside. As a second half substitute, he was caught offside on more occasions than Opoku Akrayie was caught in his entire career!! Whenever the likes of Hagan, Owusu and company had the ball, they had to always hold it back because invariably when they pushed the ball forward to him (Tiekou), he was always caught offside.

Nana Frempong is a striker who would score a goal in every six matches rather than one who you could bank your hopes on to deliver the goods when the odds are heavily stacked against you. Unfortunately, he is short in stature and this handicap means he is unlikely to win aerial battles.

Is it any wonder that rumours abound that the club is after the signature of arguably the hottest striker in the country at the moment, Sam Johnson. With the approach work and clever skills of Owusu, Hagan and Lee, Johnson would probably end up each season as the top goal-scorer in Ghana. This is because his aggressive streak and goal-scoring knack would thrive on the sweet through balls played in the middle by the midfielders.

WIDE PLAYERS

Another flaw with Goldfields' set-up is that they lack natural wide players in their side. Despite Atta Kofi's workrate, he is certainly not a wide player to hit the bye-line and get in crosses. Sammy Adjerties to make up for this deficiency but he clearly can't do it on his own. Putting Hagan there (as was done in Obuasi) is a waste of talent as his skills can be put to devastating use when put just behind the front two. On the right side too it seems as if Boateng or whoever is put there does not hit the "dead ball" line often enough. Kasola da Costa also does not seem to relish the overlapping role, thus making the team "lop-sided" in the middle (if there is such a way). It is imperative that the management try to bolster the team before their next date in the first week of September. The priority must be for two wide men (both left and right) as well as an out-and-out goal scorer in the mould of Gary Lineker.

Talking about the midfielder brings me to a pressing issue that my good pal Kofi Opare-Addo noticed a few days ago. It seems as if Hagan has developed the habit of hanging on the ball for too long a time. There were times in this match (ie. 2nd leg) when other players had put themselves in positions to receive a pass, but dear Hagan would choose to go it alone and invariably lose the ball. It must be drummed into him that soccer is not all about dribbling but rather about scoring goals. He should take a leaf from Adjerties Lee who seems to be the

perfect all round midfielder we have in the at the moment. His contribution in the was only surpassed by that of Sammy A. probably wouldn't be long before he w... the doors of the Black Stars for... to be a regular me... when the Germa... of...

WEAKER FOOT

Another problem that the Ghanaian... would have to work on, is the... shoot with their weaker, unnatural foot... explain. There were two occasions in the match when the ball fell to the left feet of Hagan and all they could do was to "prod" Mamadou Kane, the Malian goalkeeper.

On another occasion, Hagan was "put but he had to check and bring the ball to his right foot. When he had finished with that a ready to deliver the shot, the penalty crowded with 5 white-shirted Malians, wishing to bore readers, the only players I of as equally adept with both feet are Sam and Prince Amoako. It is, therefore, imper Sampaio and Addo spend the two and months between now and the quarter-final boys go through a series of daily exercise all they do is to learn to shoot power accurately with their weaker feet. It is a way that the boys would be able to perfect fact, come to think of it, this is a disease Ghanaian soccer players. A cure has to Whenever I watch Dutch, Italian, English football, it seems to me that the players with their weaker foot have no worries whatsoever. You see shots flying in from yards out yet with so much venom, you players are naturally left or right-footed on which one it is.

DEFENCE

For my money, Goldfields have got this stage due to the superb performance defence. In four matches played so far only conceded one goal and this is a superb for the defenders. I would be the first to it is not one hundred per cent perfect and can be improved upon, but at least in this has no peers. No matter the combination to have an understanding of each other - the defence that can help the club make reaching the final at the first time of Costa, Duah, Adjei, Dodo, Baidoo, Cret and Arhinful really form a formidable defence. any wonder that with the exception of Africa are all full internationals?

The Goldfields armada rolls on advice are not heeded, it may come to an abrupt halt. The fact is that the Obuasi-based flag bearer of the nation this year are playing in the Clubs Championship must be put in their way to prevent achieving their objectives. What glory would be for Ghana soccer in particular sports in general if Goldfields, Kotoko were to win in the Club Championship, Cup-Winners cups respectively as well Meteors qualifying for the Olympic Games Black Starlets emerging from Equador

The future looks bright, but caution watchword lest we are overtaken by ev... P.S. I met this amazing lady by name Abubakari in Bamako. Apparently Goldfields supporter and she travelled from Accra to Bamako by road (a journey of days) just to watch the second leg match wonder that Sam Jonah, the Chief of Goldfields Corporation decided to give back to Accra in the Goldfields jet? We some amazing supporters.

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APPENDIX 'E'
MON. NOV. 18 - TUES. NOV. 19, 1996

The Chronicle

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GENERAL ENQUIRY
OFFICE ON
AFFAIRS

Akyianu's Troubles Deepen

Dead driver's Family Head challenges Akyianu's version of events: "His story is concocted"

A Near Bankrupt UK Company's Bonanza

SHOCK REPORT: THE \$40m HO HOSPITAL SCANDAL

Special Report: By Kofi Coomson

- * Castle called Steve Obimpeh a day after signing the contract and tore it up.
- * From \$33m the contract sum jumped to \$40m.

AT AROUND 1600 Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) on January 13, 1995, Commodore Steve Obimpeh, then Minister for Health, finally signed along the dotted lines and awarded a \$30 million contract for the construction of a modern Regional hospital in Ho, the Volta regional capital.

The contract winner was John Laing Construction which had beaten off stiff competition from companies as far apart as Brazil and middle Europe.

Laing is an English company of repute known for their delightful range of well-appointed residential properties in Great Britain. They had also built similar hospitals - 15 of them in Malaysia - which had become models for replication.

That day executives of Laing uncorked champagne bottles and feted themselves in celebration of a long and arduous campaign.

But that joy was shortlived. The following day, the minister received a clear and direct letter emanating from the seat of power. The Castle was not

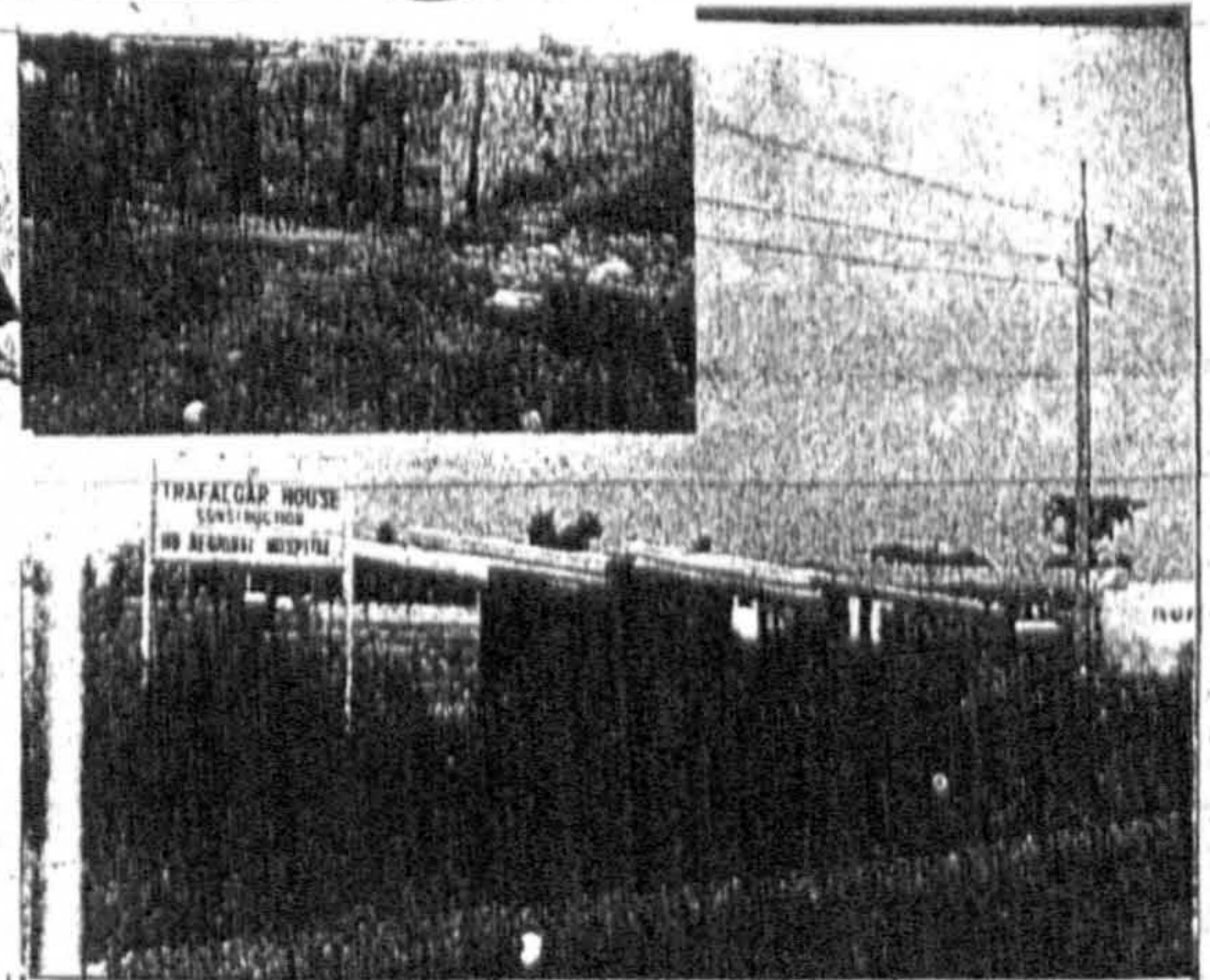
pleased with the contract. After over a year of vetting, interviews, the gruelling tender process itself and several correspondence between The Health Ministry and Laing, somebody at the Castle had decided that the contract should be voided.

All fingers pointed in the direction of the President and the name of 31st December Women's Movement came up.

This was barely days after the ministry had written to Laing expressing official satisfaction with the final project. The full cabinet had also examined the contract and after intense debate unanimously given it the all-

Cont'd on back page

"Volta Region is our World Bank" - Kwamena Ahwoi



The site of the construction (below) last week and (above) two months ago when local blockmakers commandeered the site for their private jobs.

Trafalgar House: A burst artery and a profile of financial disaster

TRAFALGAR House is now known as KVAERNER after being bailed at the eleventh hour from imminent collapse seven months ago.

Kvaerner, a Norwegian engineering and shipbuilding group put up 904 million pounds for the loss making company after receiving the green light from the European Commission and more importantly, Hong-Kong Land, a Far Eastern company which owned the largest stake (25.8%) in Trafalgar House.

Readers may remember Cementation International then represented in Ghana by Reverend Kweku Boateng was yet another previous name of Trafalgar House.

Poring over archival records and other data including Dun and Bradstreet

infobank and data bases of The Financial Times, Yours Truly discovered that within the last five years alone, Trafalgar House had lost 700 million pounds. Hong-Kong Land was, therefore, desperately trying to get out after realising an overall net deficit of 100 million pounds against its original investment in the British company.

It was not only the construction wing of Trafalgar House which was going down the tube. The company's cruise (luxury sea travel) business which owns the famous Cunard business lost 164 million pounds last year alone after a public relations disaster over one of their vessels, The QE11.

Another real loss of 110 million pounds and a potential loss of a further

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The Chronicle

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18- TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1996

SHOCK REPORT: THE \$40m HO HOSPITAL SCANDAL

Cont'd from front page

The *Chronicle* learnt, would not have any of that. The legal document was torn up.

Enter Trafalgar House, part of a huge British conglomerate with extensive Ghanaian presence and connections in the corridors of power. They are also believed to be generous "donors" with cosy relations with the 31st December Women's Movement.

At the moment they are building 2,928 tiny two-bedroom houses for school masters all over the country - a project requiring absolutely no foreign expertise.

Foiled by the high profile of Trafalgar House and without proper due diligence investigations, the contract was given to Trafalgar. Unknown to Rawlines, this British conglomerate was in the throes of bankruptcy. Last year alone, they posted a colossal loss of 320 million pounds, more than 11 times the size of the Ghana contract sum.

With the experience of COCOBOD in the S. Figgis affair (COCO BOD lost money by selling beans to a bankrupt English company S. Figgis) Ghana would have lost again if Trafalgar's growing financial crisis had burst. They were desperate for cash. The company threw in a couple of residential properties into the original design for the hospital to justify an 18-billion-cedi increase in the cost of the hospital bringing the final figure to \$50 million. This was typical of Trafalgar House - massive increases in agreed contract costs.

THE \$300m CONTRACT

A month after they picked up the contract in Ghana, they won an \$800 million contract to build an integrated steel plant in Thailand. The original offer price was \$650 million in the initial documents. This was raised to \$720 million just before the preliminary agreement was signed. A month later they charged another \$80 million on top of it.

The Thais could not take it like suckers. A German company - which had been waiting in the wings - pounced. Mannesman Demag not only knocked off a hundred million dollars, they offered a far superior product specs. Whereas Trafalgar International was offering a hot metal capacity of 2.7m tonnes, Mannesman bettered it with 3.5m tonnes! They got the job! And reduced the cost.

Extensive investigations spanning Accra, Ho and London established that the dislocations in the contract process had generated suspicions of fraud and sleight of hand at very high levels, and caused serious fallout, even within Westminster, the seat of British government.

In an interview with the construction company's top officials, chiefs in England, they played down aspects of the controversial contract, and even hid about the financial state of Trafalgar House. Mr. Hanson, however, acknowledged that they had been bought over, mercifully by a Norwegian company, Kvaerner, and said the loan agreement had been signed only in August this year. COCOBOD's London offices also confirmed the loan deal and even issued a press statement on it.

INTEREST RATE

Yet another disturbing import of this development *Chronicle* learnt, was the loss of a very favourable interest rate.

At the British government's trade funding guarantee agreement actually agreed to fund the project at an interest rate of 10 per cent. There was a deadline. If by January 1997 the project had not been exchanged, the rate

would have to go up. The pressure of the international financial marketplace was so dynamic that the rate could not be guaranteed and held and would have to be 7.3 percent. That represented a potential bill of another \$2 billion which the Ghanaian taxpayer had to pay. Another financial institution, Samuel Montagu, an investment banking unit, said to be an affiliate of Midland Bank, Samuel Montagu, had agreed to provide the remainder of the funds. That increase did not matter to the Ghanaian power players.

By week's end, no explanation had emanated from the President or his office as to the reasons for such tacky arrangement three weeks after *The Chronicle* wrote to him seeking an explanation. Mrs. Valene Sackey explained in a telephone call that the sector Ministry would have to respond but it appears the letter had been misplaced. "The President himself will be coming back soon, please wait for another week". The week came and went. No response, creating incipient suspicions of improprieties. In fact Obimpeh had been deeply mortified about earlier Castle insinuations that he had collected one percent in kickbacks.

Some of the Ministers and politicians have been vigorously canvassing foreign companies for cash. No evidence of that has been found against Obimpeh who has since been replaced by the glamorous Mrs. Eunice Brookman-Amisshah.

But more than two years later, the people of Ho are still suffering, innocent victims of the machinations and suspicious financial machinations in Accra. Three visits by *The Chronicle* Intelligence Team still found no evidence of work done. A couple of months ago, local block makers commandeered the site for their own work. Even the foundation has not been dug.

Construction work on the Sunyani hospital which was initiated much later as part of the development of regional hospitals has already started. International Hospitals Group got the contract. The Cape Coast hospital is also advanced. Only Ho, in the Volta Region which the Minister Kwamena Ahwoi and The President consider as our "Political World Bank" (They will vote for the NDC no matter what the import is) is behind schedule and the folks have to travel long distances to Hohoe and sometimes to Accra for treatment at great cost.

The Ghanaian *Chronicle* is still monitoring developments on the Ho hospital project round the clock.

Trafalgar House: A Profile of Disaster

Cont'd from front page

57 million pounds was posted by its engineering division, forcing a frantic sale of some of their assets significantly the Ritz Hotel in London and Ideal Homes.

In an unpurged display of consummate free-loading, the top executives paid themselves huge bonuses at the time that their company was losing hundreds of millions of pounds. The *Financial Times* in February 23, this year, quoted company chairman Mr. Simon Keswick as saying that the bonuses for the top managers were "incentives" to them to perform.

Keswick blamed the group's results, the sharp fall in shares and inability to pay dividends, on both ordinary and preference shares on "poor cost and management operational controls and weak financial discipline". It was the WORST results by any British company in that league in 1995, the very period they were picking up the order and mobilising fees from Ghana. It was a bonanza from

TALKING SPORTS



NEXT ON THE LINE: MOROCCO

THE FIRST ROUND of the World Cup qualifying matches as far as Africa is concerned, have been played with very interesting results. The shock of the round, if there was any, has to be the defeat of Zambia in Congo. Of course, there were other surprising results such as Kenya's 1-1 draw with Guinea, in Conakry, and South Africa's slim 1-0 victory over a Zairean team which missed their initial flight and arrived in Johannesburg only three hours before kick-off without many of their foreign-based professionals.

In Group 5, Morocco, as expected, walked over Sierra Leone as the West African country had only a week to prepare for the match. The four-nil drubbing may prove very crucial in the long run as by the time the Black Stars play the Sierra Leoneans, they would have had time to psyche themselves up. The 1-1 drawn match with Gabon may prove very crucial.

This can prove positive or negative depending on what Morocco achieves in Libreville on April 6, 1997. Let's be honest and objective that there is the likelihood of Ghana and Morocco winning all their home matches. The onus is, therefore, on these two countries to achieve positive results in Freetown and Libreville, all things being equal (remember that all things are not equal). It stands to reason, therefore, that should Morocco win in Libreville, (and please don't argue or say that they cannot), then they would be in a very good position.

That would probably mean that there would be immense pressure on the Stars to achieve a result in Casablanca or Rabat, whichever city hosts the June 6/7 1997 World Cup tie. If on the other hand, the Moroccans are defeated in Libreville, then Ghana would clearly be in the driving seat since it would mean we had achieved a respectable result in Libreville.

All these assumptions will be true if as I stated earlier, both Ghana and Morocco win all their home matches and, of course, win in Freetown as well. Having said that this campaign has started in a better way than four years ago when the Stars lost in Bujumbura, Burundi. The negative thing, however, was the way the team frittered chance after chance. There was cohesion in the Ghanaians' style of play and if they had taken half the chances they would have left the Gabonese capital 5-2 winners and would have probably ended the interest in this group as to who would qualify for France.

Sam Addy still has work on his hands to mould the team into the tight fighting unit he wants to see but his biggest headache is to improve the shooting accuracy of the boys. In this light, a lot of attention would have to be put on Yaw Preko. Preko can and always will create goals, but the Anderlecht forward does not seem to get goals for the national teams.

Check out his superb left footed cross for Abedi Pele to equalise and all the surging runs he did. Having said that the same Preko, at the end of October, was the top scorer in the Belgian league with six goals. It is, therefore, imperative that Arday is able to cajole the scoring performance of Preko, at

club level, to the national level. If only Preko could do that, he would seriously begin to rival the prowess of Tony Yeboah.

The performance of Arthur Moses (Sam Arday's man-of-the-match) shows that as far as the striking role is concerned, the coach is spoilt for choice. This is a very healthy situation indeed so that no-one can think of himself as untouchable and, therefore, bluff. Any one of these four, Yeboah, Moses, Preko and Felix Aboagye, can do the job. And don't forget the waiting in the wings are the likes of Augustine Arhinful and possibly Prince Polley.

Another area in which Arday is spoilt for choice is in the central defensive position. Whether he opts to play with two or three, the coach has available the likes of Afo Doodoo, Sam Johnson, Foster Bastion, Osei Kufuor and Joe Addo (if he can put his mind to it and play as only he can). Of the aforementioned players, the most gifted with natural ability is Addo, but the problem is he always seems to blow hot and cold.

During the Nations Cup in January/February, he was very "hot" but during the Atlanta Olympics in July/August he was very "cold". If Addo can achieve some level of consistency he would certainly figure in Arday's plan. At his best (Addo) there is none to touch him and the onus is on him to achieve the level of consistency he did in South Africa. If there is any area in which there is a dearth of players of class then it is the wing-back positions or as it used to be called full back.

Arday has at his call only three players of whom I can say are tried and proven. They are Frank Amankwa, Isaac Asare and the new sensation Patrick Allotey. It, therefore, behoves Arday to find another or mould one from somewhere. I know the likes of Stephen Baidoo and Jacob Nettey have played there before but in my estimation they are not as comfortable on the ball as modern wing backs are to be. They also do not attack very well down the flanks. In any case they are better in the centre of the defence than as lateral defenders.

Arday must also look out for another left-footed player who can slip into the role of the left sided wing back. For too long we have had right footed players playing in an area where a left footed one would do. This is not to say the likes of Enoch Asumadu, Ofei Ansah, Kwasi Appiah, Kwame Sampson and Isaac Asare have not been up to the task, but rather it seems sound logic that a left-footed player plays on the left hand side of the field whilst a right-footed plays on the right.

The emergence of Patrick Allotey as a player to behold in the future is a positive thing for Arday and Oti Akenten. What amazes me about him is his ability to hit the byline and sent over a decent number of crosses. Being left-footed he does not have to stop, check himself and put the ball on the other foot before crossing. However, he needs to work on his rate of recovery as he sometimes gets stranded up front when he goes on his "sorties".

The midfield has the right balance whenever Stanley Aboraa is around. Because he (Aboraa) is basically a ball-winner or destroyer, it tends to release Pele into a more advance position where he (Pele) is at his destructive best, as far as the opposition is concerned. I have spoken to Pele on this issue before, and he really favours someone of the ball-winning ability of Aboraa alongside him. Ablade Kumah, on the other hand, is also as creative as Pele.

He has to be told not to worry about his "defensive duties" whenever Aboraa is playing. He contributes more to the game when he is creating and scheming. A criticism of him is that he at times tends to overdo the fancy stuff. However, his skill is such that any team cannot do without him. And don't forget there are others, in midfield, like Yaw Acheampong, Tanko Ibrahim, Mohammed Gargo, Mallam Yahaya, Emmanuel Duah, Charles Akunnor and Shamo Quayay waiting in the wings to do a job when called upon.

The road to France will be rough and tough and no-one knows this more than Arday. As things stand at the moment we cannot say emphatically whether the draw in Libreville was a positive development or not but suffice it to say that the Black Stars have made a positive start unlike four years ago. The next match will be more enthralling than the Gabon match.

For on January 12, 1997 the visitors to Kumasi will be none other than Morocco. What a mouth watering prospect. This time since most European leagues will be on their winter break, the Euro-based players could even be in the country two weeks before the match. We will be well prepared and the onus will be on the players to deliver the goods.