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

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

**By**

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**April 2006**

# DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents,

Nana Effah Gyan and Mrs. Comfort Gyan

And to my dear children,

Lady, Kofi and Nana Yaa

# ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

The study finds newspaper coverage concentrates less on key political actors than on their political parties. Furthermore, in both newspapers and for the two study periods, "journalistic

newsgathering" exceeds "information subsidies" especially in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* and more so during the second period of the study. The study finds relations between Ghanaian political news sources and reporters fit into the separate source-reporter role option of Gieber and Johnson's (1961) three-role typology: neither characterised as negotiations/mutual exchanges nor manipulation but as a relationship of mutual mistrust and suspicion. Evidence of this is the minimal use of official news sources implying low incidence of information subsidies. The study thus indicates that relations between political sources and reporters do not constitute cardinal determinants of political news.

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

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

## Background Statement

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

The thesis, while operating within the broadened definitions provided by Graber (1981) and McNair (1999), limits itself to "verbal and written political rhetoric" about two Presidents of Ghana – Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor - and other political actors operating on their behalf, from their governments and/or political parties. It focuses on

communication about them and their activities as contained in news reports and editorials of two selected newspapers as well as from relevant documents. Somewhat like McNair (1999), the study examines "the nature of the interface between politicians and the media, the extent of their interaction, and the dialectic of their relationship" (p. xiii), and how all these get reflected in newspaper reports. It acknowledges the fact that political communication is shaped by various kinds of relations involving the state, media, economy, and socio-cultural and political factors (Benson, 2004; Schudson, 1994/2000).

## The Problem

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

The mass media in Ghana, previously under absolute state control, became liberated and vibrant at the dawn of the reintroduction of constitutionalism and with the repeal of the

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

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

politics under the two regimes in the Fourth Republic and to develop strategies for building a government-media relationship capable of enhancing political coverage in Ghana.

## Objectives

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

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

## Research Questions

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

### *Nature and Level of Reporting*

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

### *Incumbency Factor*

- Were incumbent governments and their officials given more coverage in newspapers than those in opposition (their main challengers)?

- Did incumbency translate into more or less positive newspaper reports?
- Overall, did political news reports favour the incumbent more than the opposition during any of the two study periods?

*Freedom of Expression*

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

*Government-Media Relationship*

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

- How did each of the two political administrations relate to the media?
- Which of the two regimes offered a more liberal media environment? In what ways was this liberal environment manifested? Did it influence the newspapers' choice of political themes?

- Which of the two regimes increased journalists' access to information about their activities? Did increased access determine the prominence given to the story in terms of placement, size and enhancements?

Rationale for the Study

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

The thesis recognises the uniqueness of Ghana's Fourth Republic in two respects. It is the only one in the entire forty-nine-year history of Ghana as an independent country in which a political party has retained political power lawfully and constitutionally through the ballot box for a second term of office. Secondly, it is the only Republic in which political power has changed hands from one political party to another through democratic means, a departure from the usual coups d'état (Ayee, 2001a; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001a&b). Whatever its flaws and difficulties, it is the only Republic that has so far spanned more than a decade (from 1993 to

2006) and has enabled a smooth changeover of government. It is studied as a period of stability in the country's rather turbulent and unstable political history during which military rule has superseded democratically elected civilian administration in longevity. As Karikari (2000) recounts, between 1966 (when military coups began) and 1992 (a period of 26 years) the military ruled for 20 years.

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

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

to skew findings of any such studies if the two consecutive Rawlings regimes are not separated.

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

The study shares the opinion of McNair (1999) that "what the media do is as much the product of external factors … as with such intra-media considerations as journalistic bias, proprietorial interference, or the routine practices of newsgathering" (p. xii). Similarly, it agrees with Street's (2001) assertion that "what is reported in papers and on television is not simply a product either of 'events in the world' or of the perceptions and prejudices of individual journalists. … equally important are the *conditions* and *constraints* under which

journalism is practised" (p.103). Since such external factors, conditions and constraints include the state and "the activities of the political communications industry" (McNair, 1999, p. xii); the study focused on coverage of President Rawlings and President Kufuor's activities and those of their accredited political actors. It hoped thereby to be able to compare not only newspaper coverage of the two constitutional governments in Ghana's Fourth Republic but also of their media relations performances in periods of democratic governance.

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

*Politics and Political Figures*

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

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

Scope of the Study

The study focused on Ghana under the first two constitutional years of President Rawlings (January 1993 - December 1994) and the first two years of President Kufuor (January 2001 - December 2002). Four factors provided the rationale for choosing these two periods for

study. Firstly, the decade 1993-2002 marked the first ten years of Ghana's return to constitutional rule and political stability after several decades of unconstitutional rule and political instability. Secondly, it is, arguably, the single most important period in the entire 49-year history of the Republic of Ghana because it marked the period when the country lived under two different constitutional governments in succession within the same Republic and without any military intervention.

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

Within the theoretical framework of the social organisation of news work and influences on the media and news production, the study combines content analysis with document analysis to study coverage of the two political regimes and the environments they created for journalistic work. It draws on press systems theories, using Siebert *et al.*'s (1963) *Four Theories of the Press* as the overarching theory, and various socio-political approaches to the production of news, notably as outlined by Schudson (2000) and others. It focuses

exclusively on political news defined as newspaper reports originating from or about/concerning the two Presidents, their Vice-Presidents and their accredited agents including Ministers of State, political party executive officers, and Members of Parliament. These are presented as hard news, press releases or images, including cartoons, on the front-page and comments/opinions in editorials of the two newspapers – the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. They were identified and analysed if they mentioned political actors in the headline, lead or within the first five paragraphs of the story as either the sources of news or as people about whom the story was written. Additionally, they were identified and analysed if they were placed on the front-page or in the editorial of the sampled edition of the newspaper, considered the most important because they carried prime news stories and views of newspapers.

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

Organisation of the Thesis

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

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

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

Chapter Four reviews studies on political communication conducted within press/media systems' theories and the sociology of news production that address influences on the media using content analysis, document analysis or other scientific methods. The reviews discuss methods and dimensions of variables used in those studies, findings and conclusions reached, and highlight their importance to the thesis.

Chapter Five describes and explains the methodology of the study. Methods used were content analyses of two newspapers selected for their relevance and salience, and analyses of some important documents relating to the media and government, and their legal/constitutional framework over the decade: 1993-2002.

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

The concluding chapter - Chapter Eight - summarises key findings of the study and provides a concluding statement that ends that chapter and the thesis.

# CHAPTER TWO
# MEDIA AND POLITICS IN GHANA

## Introduction

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

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

Colonial rule in Africa was often followed by one-party systems, which usually resulted in the creation of authoritarian governments and authoritarian press systems (Asante, 1996; Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). Even where constitutions at independence allowed for multiparty democracy, as was the case of Ghana, governments schemed to convert these to one-party states through various means including well-manipulated parliaments (Ansah, 1991a). The resultant political climate usually required journalists to align themselves with government as

propagandists rather than serve as watchdogs over government actions and of peoples' rights. In Ghana, the *Accra Evening News*, established by Nkrumah in September 1948 as the Convention Peoples' Party's mouthpiece functioned exactly in that manner. Dr Nkrumah had so much faith in the mass media playing such an important role that he said upon establishing the *Accra Evening News*: " ...Personally, I failed to see how any liberation movement could possibly succeed without an effective means of broadcasting its policy to the rank and file of the people" (Nkrumah, 1957, p. 76). He saw the *Accra Evening News* as "the vanguard of the movement and its chief propagandist, agitator, mobiliser and political educationist".

In view of the fact that Ghana and many other African countries have experienced more military and sometimes civilian dictatorships than civilian democratic rule since gaining political independence, the media have had to adapt to several political changes. This has resulted in what Hachten (1993) referred to as a "kept press" functioning as a "cheerleader supporting unpopular leaders and their policies" (p. 34). According to Asante (1996), the Ghanaian press in large part has been in the centre of the country's political changes and turmoil contending that it "has played a legitimacy role, largely in helping the various Ghanaian administrations perpetuate their rule – however unpopular..." (p. xix). The press in post-colonial Ghana, as elsewhere in Africa (Pitts, 2000), was expected to function as a tool for national development: a role that permeated most parts of Africa requiring it to galvanise the people to build a cohesive nation for rapid socio-economic development (Ansah, 1991a). Even as it suppressed the press, the PNDC through its Secretary for Information, Ms Joyce Aryee, in 1983, saw journalism as an instrument for conscientisation of Ghana's people particularly because of the country's high illiteracy rate (Asante, 1996).

Rather than promote the appropriate socio-political and economic climate needed to build an independent, critical and economically self-sustaining media system, many African governments have tended to control, restrict and cow the mass media. African media have, consequently, experienced stunted growth having largely failed to "grow and prosper" (Hachten, 1993, p. 34). According to Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari (1998, p. 3), "An important outcome of the suppression of press freedom is that, the private press particularly have not had the stable condition and atmosphere of peace to grow, mature and develop". The situation is worse in West Africa where frequent political turbulence has earned it the "notoriety of being the hotbed of ethnoclientelist wars and military dictatorship" (Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996, p. xi) with little tolerance of media freedom.

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

## History and Development of the Mass Media in Ghana

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

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

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

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

Between the first newspapers - the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette* and the *Accra Herald* – and those used in the struggle for independence such as the *Accra Evening News* of Dr Nkrumah's CPP, there were several others whose dominant theme, according to Mytton

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

Just as in Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues utilised the press in the struggle for independence, so also did other nationalist leaders elsewhere in Africa. They included Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal. They all saw in the newspaper an indispensable tool for influencing the course of events on the continent and for "displacing colonial institutions" (Ansah, 1991a, p. 89). To them, the newspaper was both a tool and a weapon for political education, political mobilisation, for unifying Africa's peoples and, above all, for the overthrow of colonialism and imperialism. After independence, according to Faringer (1991), the goal of national independence was no longer a factor and this significantly changed the importance of the press and affected its status.

> Despite the journalistic background of many political leaders, once they became heads of governments, their relation to the press changed drastically; after a few years, press control mechanism had been imposed in many cases. The most flagrant example of this development occurred in Ghana (Faringer, 1991, pp.126-27).

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

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

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

Newspapers were important instruments in the struggle for independence, after which they were expected to perform both a revolutionary and a propaganda role. Their revolutionary role lay in safeguarding and consolidating the sovereignty and independence of Ghana (and the rest of Africa) while their propaganda role lay in projecting a positive image of the government both at home and abroad (Ansah, 1991a). In view of this revolutionary-propaganda role Nkrumah perceived for the mass media, he, during his tenure as Prime Minister and later President of Ghana, embarked on their rapid development and expansion. The aim was to be able to broadcast his government's policies and programmes to the people as well as "to collect and disseminate information at home and project Ghana's image abroad" (Ansah, 1991a, p. 91). He established the Ghana News Agency (GNA) in 1957; the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) – the first institution for training journalists in Africa – in 1959; inaugurated a television service in July 1965 as a non-commercial public service station; and considerably expanded radio, which had been introduced in July 1935 under the colonial administration (Ansah, 1991a).

Nkrumah is credited with laying the communication infrastructure for one of the best media systems in Africa (Ansah, 1991a; Anokwa, 1997). However, these developments and expansion did not affect the print media as significantly as they affected radio and television although his acquisition in 1962 of the hitherto private, foreign-owned *Daily Graphic* from the London-based Mirror Group of newspapers was an attempt at expanding the print media base of Ghana (Ansah, 1991a; Asante, 1996). (He also created the *Guinea* (later *Ghana*) *Times* and the *Spark* and revived the *Evening News*). Additionally, these developments did not positively impact on the environment within which media practitioners performed their functions/roles as gatherers and disseminators of news and information. Significantly, they had a negative effect on private participation in the operations of the mass media as the private press was systematically targeted for elimination in line with Nkrumah's media policy patterned along the lines of socialist and neo-communist models (Ansah, 1991a). It was a policy that favoured strict state-ownership: a media system that was operated and controlled by the state to ensure that capitalist influences associated with private ownership neither crept nor seeped into the Ghanaian media (Ansah, 1991a). Dr Nkrumah categorically stated his objection to and disdain for private ownership of the mass media:

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

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

> By all indications, Nkrumah's reign was a period of healthy growth for the state-owned media although the era was also characterized by authoritarian methods of press control and complete rejection of private ownership and control of the media in Ghana (pp. 12-13).

Similarly Ansah (1991a), reviewing the press situation under Nkrumah's rule, reported that even though the state-owned press saw some development, the privately owned press shrank:

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

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

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

It is noteworthy that the revolutionary role of the Ghanaian press (carved for it during the struggle for independence) was also to be its nemesis as it distinguished itself early as a force to reckon with (Ansah, 1991a). Subsequent expansion in the media landscape to include radio and television transmission meant an even more powerful force with the potential to

confront and even destabilise political regimes. As a result, each political administration has tried to either directly or indirectly bring the mass media under subjugation or control through legal, quasi-legal, and sometimes, illegal means including censorship, regulation, and various control mechanisms such as intervention and interference instituted both internally and externally (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997; Ampaw, 2004). The Ghanaian media have, consequently, been subjected to degrees of freedom and strict controls depending on which regime is in power. Asante (1996) captured this vividly:

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

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

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

> To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organiser, a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator – a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity (Nkrumah, 1963a, p. 5).

The role of the mass media has transformed from the freedom fighter of the early newspapers to the watchdog role assigned by Ghana's 1992 Constitution (Article 162 (5)). Ghana of the 1990s, described as "the period of transition from the Rawlings years of dictatorship to a democratic republic" (Ampaw, 2004, p. 18), witnessed even greater media involvement in politics. In Ampaw's (2004) view:

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

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

Ghana runs a multiparty constitutional democracy operating a hybrid system that combines the British Westminster representative type of government with the US executive presidential model. It has a democratically elected government headed by a President and has, since

1992, had four such governments. It has, for the first time in the country's history, also had a smooth changeover from one political party to another operating within the same Constitution and the same Republic (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001 a & b; Ayee, 2001; Nugent, 2001). In recent African history, it is the third country south of the Sahara to have changed government through general elections, that is, through the ballot box rather than the barrel of the gun. The crucial role played by the media in Ghana's transition and transformation was facilitated by media pluralism and liberalisation of the airwaves (Ayee, 2001; Karikari, 1994/1998/2000; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994/1999/2001b).

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

The Ghanaian mass media have had a chequered history principally because of government ownership monopoly, control, regulation, intervention and interference in their operations as well as their use and abuse by successive political administrations. During much of Ghana's

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

Nkrumah's PDA, enacted on July 18 1958 was meant to keep the press in line. Under the Act, a person could be detained for acts or activities considered prejudicial to: a) the defence of Ghana; b) the relations of Ghana with other countries; or c) the security of the state. It was amended in 1963 and redrafted in 1964 to enable Nkrumah detain his opponents for up to 10 years without trial (Asante, 1996). In August 1960, Nkrumah's government introduced the Criminal Code (Amendment) Bill "with some even more outrageous additions" later (Ampaw, 2004, p. 16) to halt the persistent belittling of his work by people who did not appreciate it. The Amendment suppressed dissent and empowered the government to impose press censorship and restrictions on the publication and importation of materials considered "contrary to public interest". According to the *Daily Graphic* of August 24 1960, the law required "newspapers and other publications which had been indulging in the systematic publication of matters calculated to prejudice public order or safety to be submitted to scrutiny before publication" (p. 5).

The Criminal Code (Amendment) Law was used to compel the *Ashanti Pioneer* to submit its contents to the Ministry of Information for censorship before publication in September 1961 (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997) for consistently opposing Nkrumah's government especially with regard to its stance on, and interference in, Congo's internal political crisis. The *Ashanti Pioneer* appeared to be the most critical and vocal private newspaper at the time to oppose Nkrumah's dictatorship and, as a result, suffered the most from his clamp down on the private press. Nkrumah appointed a government official to the newspaper's editorial board in 1962 and detained its editor (A. D. Appea) and city editor (Kwame Kesse-Adu) without trial for seven months and four-and-a-half years, respectively (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Eventually, Nkrumah succeeded in bringing the newspaper in line. According to Apter (1972, p. 342): "The only opposition newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*, was censored, gradually curbed and became a government supporter".

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

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

Asante (1996) believed that Nkrumah's domination of the Ghanaian press earnestly began in 1962 when he acquired the *Daily Graphic* from the London-based Mirror Group.

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

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

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

brought changes to the top hierarchy of the state media (Udofia, 1982; Pellow & Chazan, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997).

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

The Peoples' National Party (PNP) government of Dr Hilla Limann (1979-1981), which followed the brief AFRC regime, established an independent press council in accordance with Ghana's 1979 Constitution, which provided for the establishment of a Press Commission with objectives similar to those of the current National Media Commission (NMC) established under the 1992 Constitution (Ansah, 1991b). They sought to afford the mass media independence and protection to enable them perform their functions of informing and educating the public, and also to enable them perform the watchdog role over people's rights and freedoms. The 12-member Press Commission was, as captured by Ansah (1991b), "to insulate the press from direct political interference so that journalists in the public sector

can discharge their duty of objectively informing the people and acting as watchdogs on governmental activities without fear of reprisals from the government" (p.8). In order to enhance democratic governance, the Press Commission, like the NMC, was charged with ensuring that the state-owned media afforded equal opportunities and facilities for the representation of opposing and/or divergent views.

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

Rawlings' PNDC, which overthrew Limann's PNP, also made changes to the management of the state-owned media soon after it assumed office (Boafo, 1985). The editors of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Mirror* (both of Graphic Corporation) were dismissed and immediately replaced. Many senior editors and management personnel including Elizabeth Ohene, who in 1979 turned down Rawlings' offer of appointment as editor of the *Daily Graphic*, were either sent on retirement or on indefinite leave. The PNDC also dismissed three officials working at

the Press Secretariat of the Osu Castle (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). In 1985, it re-organised Ghana's mass media institutions ostensibly to motivate quality in the media's productive capacities. However, the re-organisation enabled the regime place persons loyal to it in key positions and to firmly control and direct the mass media especially with the subsequent introduction of the newspaper licensing law (PNDC Law 211) in March 1989. Ampaw (2004, p. 20) described PNDCL 211 as "the product of a besieged mentality determined to hold onto power to the very end and to close all possible avenues of social protest and dissent".

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

mouthpiece of government, propagating messages from people in authority, the latter assumed the role of opposition outside parliament.

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

## Government-Media Relations

In spite of their importance to the flow of news and information and to building and sustaining democracy, the mass media have often come under attack and numerous constraints from several quarters, which have militated against their operations. As Hargreaves (2003) pointed out:

> We have more news and more influential journalism, across an unprecedented range of media, than at any time since the birth of the free press in the eighteenth century; yet journalism is also under widespread attack, from politicians, philosophers, the general public, and even from journalists themselves (p. 2).

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

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

According to Twumasi (1974 & 1980), the Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance of 1897 (Cap 12) "enjoined a newspaper editor to send returns of the total circulation as well as the title of the newspaper, its offices, printers and publishers to the Colonial Secretary. In addition, the printer was expected to print his name and address on the first and last pages of the newspaper". Similarly, section 330 of the Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance of 1934 specified that:

> Any person who published any seditious words or writing or was found in possession of any newspaper, book or document or any part thereof or extract therefrom that contained seditious words or writing and who did not show to the satisfaction of the court that at the time he was found in such possession he did not know the nature of its content was guilty of an offense (reproduced in Twumasi, 1980; Ekwelie, 1978).

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

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

Dr Nkrumah's socialist stance dichotomised society into the bourgeois (including intellectuals) and the exploited (the masses) (Ocquaye 1994; Yankah, 1997). It translated into strict media censorship and control, and the use of national newspapers, radio and television as propaganda tools to inform the people about his government's policies, programmes, and achievements (Ansah, 1991a). Propelled by this socialist-neo-communist orientation,

Nkrumah ensured that he had stamped out all private newspapers and criticism of his administration through direct censorship, harassment, banning, imprisonment, and/or deportation of (foreign) journalists and the enactment of repressive laws (Boafo, 1988; Ansah, 1991a & b; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Nkrumah's era has been described as a period of "press emasculation and intellectual alienation", an "era of political oppression" (Yankah, 1997, p. 15). The PDA allowed Dr Nkrumah to jail or detain anybody without trial for up to five years while the Newspaper Licensing Act of 1963 (Act 189) made it impossible for anyone outside Nkrumah's party or government to operate a newspaper (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997).

The NLC government, like Nkrumah, used the media to propagate its political and ideological objectives – the idea of a free enterprise (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997) and as its "publicity and propaganda instrument" forcing editors to toe the line while "any deviation exacted swift governmental retribution: dismissal or detention" (Asante, 1996, p. 45). General J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the Council, is quoted as saying, "one who pays the piper will have to call the tune" (Asante, 1996, p. 41). The NLC's attempts at libertarianism, however, showed in several gestures made towards relaxing government-media relations (Anokwa & Aborampah, 1986). Within seven months after coming into power, the junta on September 1 1966 revoked the ban on several foreign correspondents and individuals, and also lifted censorship on news reports sent overseas from Ghana imposed by Nkrumah. It institutionalised regular weekly meetings with editors of national media organisations as a boost to government-media relations although such meetings were said to be used to instruct the media on what to do (Asante, 1996). Most significantly, it repealed the PDA and released many who had been jailed as a result of that law. Writing about the new era of press freedom into which the Ghanaian media had been ushered, Hachten (1971) said, the media

atmosphere had been "enhanced by the repeal of the Preventive Detention Act of 1958, under which the ousted dictator had jailed without trial more than 1,800 people at various times – some for more than seven years" (p. 174). Anokwa and Aborampah (1986) believed that "the functioning of the mass media during the NLC era was characterised by libertarian principles" (p. 148).

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

Under Dr. Busia's government, the mass media enjoyed relative freedom thanks to the regime's general tolerance of the media in spite of occasional disguised threats and crackdowns. These included the dismissal of Cameron Duodu as editor of the *Daily Graphic* for opposing Busia's "dialogue" approach to apartheid South Africa. On the whole, however, Busia's political liberalism permeated his attitude towards the mass media and a free press. "K.A. Busia's short-lived regime from October 1969 to January 1972, appeared to consolidate the spirit of rapprochement between Government and intellectuals, partly

because of the democratic principles his Government espoused, but also because there was a preponderance of the elite and academics in Busia's Government" (Yankah, 1997, p. 16). Udofia (1982) believed Dr Busia's regime "was perhaps the freest in the history of the Ghanaian press since independence" (p. 390) as it largely avoided interference and control of mass media operations: a situation akin to a libertarian press and in contrast to authoritarian press practices.

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

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

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

The PNDC began its suppression of the media in a multifaceted manner after it had effected changes to the top hierarchy of the state-owned media. It banned, confiscated, nationalised or forced out of business many private newspapers and coerced journalists to toe the official line in diverse ways (Boafo, 1985; Anokwa & Aborampa, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa,

1997). For instance, UNIPRESS (publishers of the *Palaver*, the *Herald Tribune*, and the *Chronicle*) was nationalised while other newspapers including the *Free Press* and *The Monitor* folded up because the atmosphere was not conducive to private newspaper publication especially for those who wanted to offer alternative views (Asante, 1996). Another popular PNDC technique was the organisation of thugs to attack, vandalise and destroy equipment of uncompromising journalists. In July 1982, a group of angry protesters attacked the offices of several independent newspapers in Accra, including the *Echo* and *The Believer*. Barely a year later in June 1983, another group of protesters attacked the *Free Press* and the *Citadel Daily* accusing them of using their newspapers to subvert the PNDC government through critical reporting of events in the country (Boafo, 1985). In all cases, the attackers destroyed property including office and printing equipment and material, and threatened lives. In the case of the *Free Press* and the *Citadel Daily*, they took over the printing press of their publishers, Tommark Advertising, intending to use the printing facilities to print the "people's news" to champion the cause of the revolution.

All newspapers perceived to be critical of the PNDC government suffered in one way or the other from that regime (Boafo, 1985/1988; Anokwa & Aborampa, 1986; Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Notable among them were the *Catholic Standard*, *The Ghanaian Voice*, the *Free Press* and the *Echo*. In January 1985, the government ordered the immediate suspension of *The Ghanaian Voice* (a privately owned newspaper) but lifted the order a couple of months later (in early March). Similarly, the *Catholic Standard* was banned in December 1985 for its critical news stories and comments on the PNDC's human rights record. While *The Ghanaian Voice* was suspended, according to the PNDC government, for "distorting news" and "fabricating stories which are completely without foundation", the *Catholic Standard* was banned for its "unpatriotic reporting".

> The 1970s and 1980s may be considered the doldrums of the press in Ghana. State control and monopoly and their attendant "culture of silence", were the principal features of two decades of military dictatorship briefly interrupted by the liberal government of the People's National Party (PNP) under President Hilla Limann (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998, p. 3).

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

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

Media ownership in Ghana distinguishes between two main types: the state-owned media including the *Daily Graphic* and the privately owned media such as *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. While the country has had a long tradition of state ownership (and control) of the media (mainly the press) dating to pre-independence times, private ownership was sporadic until after the repeal of PNDC Law 211 (the newspaper licensing law) in1992. For the most part of Ghana's recent history until 1992, private media – both print and electronic – were

almost absent from the Ghanaian media landscape. Only a few private newspapers notably the *Pioneer* and the *Catholic Standard* were in circulation before the introduction of the newspaper licensing law in 1989 under the PNDC government (Asante, 1996; Anokwa, 1997). Private broadcasting in the entire history of Ghana began only in 1995 after a physical confrontation and a legal battle between Rawlings' NDC government and the owners of a "dissident" radio station, *Radio Eye* (*Media Monitor*, April-June 1996, p. 9). This was in spite of the fact that Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992, which provided for private print and electronic media, had already come into effect on January 7 1993. Radio and television broadcasting had been, and were still, since their introduction to Ghana in 1935 and 1965, respectively, a state monopoly (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998).

While the state media – both print and electronic such as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) – have been operated by people hired by the state, paid for and sustained at state expense (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998), the status of the private media, with regard to funding, has been difficult to establish. Apart from a few newspapers with perceived political support, it is extremely difficult to obtain any information relating to sources of funding or anything regarding publication details of private newspapers including even innocuous information regarding print copies (not circulation figures). The status of newspapers such as the *Daily Guide* (owned by the First Deputy Speaker of Ghana's current Parliament, Honourable Freddie Blay, and edited by his wife, Gina Blay), the *Statesman* (until recently owned by Ghana's Foreign Minister, Nana Akuffo-Addo), *The Palaver*, *Democrat*, *Lens*, and *Network Herald*, which all have obvious NDC connections and support, is fairly established. Although many Ghanaian private media have known owners, it is inconceivable that they are being sustained by such owners or solely by their print copies (in the case of the print media) and advertising revenue or simply by space and airtime alone.

Admittedly, media funding is an important contextualising factor that indicates potential sources of control and direction with possible effects on media content since "the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interests of those who pay the bills" (Altschull, 1997, p. 259). However, it is the kind of information that is presently impossible to obtain in Ghana's private media, which could aptly be described as operating under "ghost ownership and funding". While it is possible to ascertain and even describe the structure, ownership and funding of the state media such as the *Daily Graphic*, it is impossible to provide a definitive account in the case of the private media including *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Although the present study did not explore the all-important triad of media ownership, funding and control beyond distinguishing between the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle* as examples of state and private media ownership types, it recognised the importance of their systematic study. The study, therefore, recommends that the subject be taken up by future scholarly research into the Ghanaian media. Such research could anchor contributions of advertising revenue (and copy sales) into content profiles comparing, perhaps, a month's edition of media content under the PNDC and/or the NDC and a month under the NPP in addition to interviews on government policies on adverting in the private media.

### *The "Culture of Silence"*

During the PNDC's unconstitutional rule (1982-1992), the media lived under a regime characterised by a "culture of silence" with the promulgation of PNDC Law 211, which made journalistic work hazardous. "Culture of silence" was "anti-democratic and anti-freedom of expression communication" (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1999-2001, p.31), that curtailed the "cultivation and nurturing of free expression" (p. 33). It compared to "the stormy days of the Nkrumah era, when scholars were subdued into silence and fear" (Yankah, 1997, p. 15). The concept recalled Nkrumah's (1963b, p 77) belief that the type of free expression "which

established democracies have taken generations to evolve" was beyond the reach of a young independent country (an emergent democracy) like Ghana. Yeboah-Afari (1987) gave a three-pronged explanation to the concept: 1) Culture of silence exists when members of the public are not talking or not contributing their views to national debates on social and political issues. 2) It exists when dissenting views are denied publication in the mainstream media thus ignoring the views of those who are talking but whose views are not in line with current government thinking. 3) It exists when such views are either misrepresented or distorted in media publications.

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

> People's willingness to speak out on an issue is heavily influenced by their perception of the prevailing climate of opinion. Those who perceive their opinion is a minority opinion will remain silent, and so become part of the growing "spiral of silence." In

> this way, a large number of people – even a majority – could erroneously perceive themselves to be a minority and in danger of social isolation (pp. 14-15).

Noelle-Neumann (1974) blamed this situation on the powerful impact of the mass media in shaping public opinion. In the case of Ghana, however, "culture of silence" was the result of the powerfully overbearing presence of the political machinery, which disempowered the public and the media through fear of political intolerance. The media were too moribund to play any significant role given the rather intimidating and frightening environment within which they had to operate. In Nazi Germany, the inability to speak out was for fear of being ostracised, isolated or alienated from society, but under PNDC rule, it was for fear of being abducted and tortured, framed up in a coup plot, jailed without trial, murdered and/or declared missing as revelations from the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) indicate (NRC Report, 2004). Additionally, most journalists depended on government for employment and would therefore not risk its displeasure. "With the major source of employment for journalists being the government-controlled media establishments, conformity, praise-singing and self-censorship constituted the only ticket to a job or career advancement in journalism" (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1999-2001, p. 33).

Therefore, while western journalism contends with corporatism and its attendant commoditisation or commodification of news (Hargreaves, 2003), Ghanaian media fight a different kind of control, mainly political. The media empires of the Murdochs of the West appear to be matched by the political empires of the dictators and the not-so-liberal political leaders of the developing world resulting in journalists constantly battling for liberation. As Rivers (1970) recounted in relation to the press under Nkrumah, "Nkrumah himself made a dissenting press forbidden in theory, criminal in law, and non-existent in practice" (p. 176). Until the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law in 2001 under the Kufuor administration, freedom

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

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

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

President Rawlings' media relations is comparable to that of America's President Ronald Reagan who early in his presidency had been labelled "the great communicator" as a result of his lack of communication. As Hanson (1983) and Peterzell (1982) report, the label was more

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

## Media and Freedom of Expression in the 1992 Constitution

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

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

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

Press freedom is often recognised as the most fundamental of all fundamental rights of people. First among Saward's (1994, p. 16) "logically necessary conditions of democracy" and basic freedoms is "the right to freedom of speech and expression". Beetham (1994, p. 39)

also identifies open access to the media "from all sections of opinion and social groups", and how this effectively promotes "a balanced forum for informed political debate" as one of thirty indices of democracy. However, Hagan (1993), citing Chapter 12 of the Constitution, indicates it has been erroneously assumed that whereas the rights to good health, food, and shelter are tangible and have a sense of immediacy and urgency attached to them, those of free expression, free speech and association were intangible and could, therefore, be held in abeyance. These latter rights have been perceived to engender strife, tension, dissent, and dissonance, which militate against development, growth and progress.

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

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

The 1992 Constitution, therefore, specifically guarantees freedom and independence of the media (Article 162 (1)) and eschews censorship (Article 162 (2), impediments (Article 162 (3)) and control, interference or harassment (Article 162 (4)). Chapter 12 of the Constitution,

while providing for the freedom and independence of the media, also advocates media responsibility. It sets up a National Media Commission whose task, among others, is to insulate the state-owned media from governmental control and to "ensure the highest journalistic standards". It provides a definite role for the mass media as watchdogs of society and government to ensure the protection of people's rights (Article 162 (5)).

**Summary**

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

It is within this Fourth Republican dispensation that the present study was conducted to assess effects of different government-media relationships on newspaper coverage of two

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

# CHAPTER THREE

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

## Introduction

This chapter examines theories relating to the processes of news-making and various influences exerted on the media deemed necessary for a study essentially about newspaper reporting of politics. The chapter draws on and examines theoretical models of the sociology of news production within which the present study is grounded. It specifically explores the relevance of Schudson's (2000) three-typology theoretical approach[1] to studying news production together with other approaches that discuss organisational, socio-political and personal influences on news selection and production. The chapter approaches the discussion from the perspective of Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1963) four-theory categorisations as an overarching theoretical background. It examines media influences resulting from press/media system types operating in given contexts using those typologies and the developmental concept advocated by Hachten (1981) and McQuail (1987/1994).

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

[1] Schudson (2005) has since revised these approaches to four by separating "the political" from "the economic". In the most recent review of his essay already three-times revised, he moved beyond acknowledging the dominance of "the economic" over "the political" by actually treating them as separate theoretical influences on news production.

rests. The conundrum, however, is the eclecticism that characterises such an approach since a selection of portions of various models is required to explore and explain issues involved.

**News-making**

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

The model indicates that the selection of events making news follows certain laid-down criteria discussed to include factors and procedures dictated by journalistic and organisational routines. According to Schlesinger (1978, p. 47): "The routines of production have definite consequences in structuring news". News-making processes yield to newsroom cultures and practices involving "newsroom division of labour, corporate hierarchy and professional cultural milieu" (Cottle, 2003, p. 14) that base the selection criteria and ways of presenting news events on news values. These include the importance and interest the event has; its relevance and proximity to the audience; its timeliness and place in the overall philosophy and professional routines of the particular news organisation and the latter's perception of

intended audiences. According to el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001), the selection of news events "is done in accordance with news factors such as timeliness, professional values and organizational interests, media outlets, ability to give an account that satisfies news media criteria of rational acceptability, and other elements common to both sources and journalists as news makers" (p. 94).

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

News-making is seen as a reality-constructing activity that is governed by elites mainly political and governmental (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Schudson, 2000). Government officials provide a reliable and continuous supply of events and flow of information, which constitute the raw material for the production of news (Gandy, 1982; Schudson, 2000). As primary definers of important events making news (Hall *et al.*, 1978), official sources are granted routine access to the news media, a privilege usually bestowed through routinising news production processes (Tuchman, 1978) that emphasise reliance on official sources to achieve objectivity. Studies on news production indicate: "the bureaucratic and organisational expediency of 'routine'", among others, accounts for the "generally

ideological nature of news and its orientation towards social and political elites and the endorsement of the capitalist social system" (Cottle, 2003, p. 15). According to Cottle, various studies contend:

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

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

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

## Normative Theories: *Four Theories of the Press*

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

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

### *Authoritarianism*

Historically, authoritarianism operated in a world "under authoritarian rule by monarchs with absolute power" and, as a theory, subordinated the mass media to the state and the interests of government. It functioned as "a press supporting and advancing the policies of the

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

### *Libertarianism*

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

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

news communication; and 5) an established tradition of independent journalism (Hachten, 1981). According to Severin and Tankard (1992, p. 288):

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

***Social Responsibility***

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

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

> The theory has this major premise: Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under [our] government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society. To the extent that the press recognizes its responsibilities and makes them the basis of operational policies, the libertarian system will satisfy the needs of society. To the extent that the press does not assume its responsibilities, some other agency must see that the essential functions of mass communication are carried out.

There was, therefore, the need for a watchdog on press performance or laws limiting the operations and ownership of the mass media to avoid monopoly and possible encroachment on freedom of expression of the less privileged in society. These concerns gave rise to the Hutchins Commission, which in 1947 published the report – *A Free and Responsible Press* – highlighting the importance of the press in modern society and the need to impose an obligation of social responsibility on it.

### *Soviet Communism*

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

## Criticism of the *Four Theories of the Press*

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

Similarly, the social responsibility theory has been challenged. Altschull (1984) contends that all press systems endorse the principle of social responsibility and indicate their commitment to the needs and interests of society and to the provision of access to all. And, with the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the dismantling of its rigid media structure (Gulyás, 2003; McNair, 1991), soviet-communism has failed to exist as a theory for discussing influences on the media. Altschull (1984) challenges the relevance of the four-theory typologies in today's world during which the hostilities of the cold war (which produced those theories) have been attenuated by dramatic global changes. Severin and Tankard (1992) capture some of these changes as follows:

> Since *Four Theories of the Press* was written there have been many changes in the socialist countries. In the People's Republic of China private ownership of newspapers was allowed on a limited scale during the 1980s. More criticism has been tolerated, especially if it is criticism of individuals or local policies that undermine the goals of the nation's "four modernizations" program (p. 290).

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

Altschull (1984) questions attempts to pigeonhole individual press systems since there are commonalities in press practices across various systems noting that press practices always differ from theory. He challenges particularly the notion that there exists an independent press contending that the mass media in every socio-political system are agents of those who wield economic, political and social power. Among others, Altschull (1984) believes that because the mass media are agents of those who wield power, they are not independent actors (although they could exercise independent power) and that news media content is a reflection of the interests of media financiers. Other researchers have noted such media conformism resulting from support the media receive from their patrons especially corporate business (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Lazarsfeld and Merton (1960) had earlier pointed out that the media reciprocate external support through advertising and media content especially through what they refuse to say or publish and essential questions they fail to raise about society.

Ostini and Fung (2002) believe that although journalism is contextualised and constrained by press structure and state policies, it is also a relatively autonomous cultural production involving journalists negotiating between professionalism and state control. Consequently, journalistic variations cannot be clearly revealed by simply using state policy/press model considerations alone. There is the need for an understanding of the background of given journalistic practices and state policies of a particular country to fully appreciate the right categorisation of a press system. Supporting this view, McQuail (2000) suggests the impracticality of formulating consistent and coherent press theories based on the original four press theory categorisations. In his view, the failure to achieve any such classification is due not only to "the ideological content of all such theory and the bias (whether open or unwitting) of all commentators" but also to "the complexity and incoherence of media systems and thus the impossibility of matching a theory with a type of society" (p. 155). For instance, the new media environment of media and channel diversity and changing media technologies is beyond the scope of explanatory formulations of press system typologies using the four theories approach (McQuail, 2000; William & Delli Carpini, 2000; Katz, 1992). Ostini and Fung (2002), therefore, proposed a new model that incorporates autonomy of individual journalism practices into political and social structural factors: the communitarian model, or the developmental concept.

***Developmental Media Concept***

Known variously as the developmental concept of the press, development press model (Hachten, 1981), the developmental media theory (McQuail, 1994/2000), or communitarianism (Ostini & Fung, 2002; Dixon, 1997), the developmental media concept is still trying to define itself in spite of its unique characteristics. It is an attempt at evolving an appropriate system to classify the media situation of developing countries owing to the

unsuitability and inapplicability of the four earlier theories and other western models. Hachten's (1981) description of the development press model is one in which all instruments of mass communication/media "aid in the great tasks of nation building". They are used in "building a political consciousness" and in "assisting in economic development" without accommodating dissent or criticism in a system where individual rights and freedoms are "somewhat irrelevant" (p. 73). The media under the developmental concept are expected to adopt a didactic role and become instruments for ideological education and cultural promotion with restrictions on freedom according to economic priority and the developmental needs of society (Hachten, 1981; McQuail, 1987/1994/2000).

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

- Government control of instruments of mass communication for nation building through building a political consciousness, fighting illiteracy and poverty, assisting in socio-economic development and national integration to achieve developmental goals.
- Information as a state property and not a marketable item requires government to provide and distribute it as a social service to further national goals, thus, recalling the top-down approach of the flow of power and information in traditional authoritarianism.

- Implied, though not often explicitly articulated, is that due to the many problems of nation building – poverty, disease, illiteracy and ethnicity – individual freedom of expression is a luxury that must be relegated to make way for requirements of food, shelter, clothing rather than abstract freedoms of expression and other civil liberties.
- Implied also is control of the flow of news from the outside implying restricted freedom of movement by foreign correspondents.

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

Mytton (1983) gave a glimpse of the developing world situation through three Tanzanian journalists he overheard discussing how they would "deal with a story which was beginning to come through" about the failure of a village settlement scheme (a pilot of the Ujamaa project) in Tanzania "involving the loss of large sums of money" (p. 144). The first would not report it and urged his colleagues not to for fear of discouraging both the government and the people especially since the policy of Ujamaa had only recently been launched. "To report the failure of an earlier attempt at village settlement would not help in persuading peasants

that moving to new village settlements was a good idea" ... He argued that the duty of journalists to report important events should always be tempered with concern for the effects likely to be produced by certain kinds of information" (p. 144).

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

Obviously, a single theory appears inadequate to capture these three divergent approaches to news reporting, which are the realities of developing countries. Even in countries with long traditions of press freedom, journalism could develop in completely different directions, depending on the political, legal and historical settings, which together constitute and determine the journalistic operational environment (Köcher, 1986). Attempts at other

classifications of press theory and performance have either used earlier typologies such as Merrill's (1974) concepts of "equal contenders", "co-operating servant", and "forced slave", or sought to give them new names such as Lowenstein's (1966) "social-centralist" and "social-libertarian" concepts.

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

**Theories of Influences on the Media**

That the mass media are influenced by political, economic and socio-cultural elements in society including many institutional and organisational pressures from various sources of power both internally and externally has been widely noted (Shoemaker, 1991; Severin & Tankard, 1992; McNair, 1999; Street, 2001). According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), some of these influential forces exist within mass media organisations themselves where the

chain of gatekeeping affects the final item published. Others are found outside the organisation but their relationships with the reporter/journalist are so significant as to affect what is reported as news and how it is reported. These outside forces include sources of news, audiences, media owners, investors, and suppliers of newsprint or other news production materials. Others are clients, or competitors and political and legal authorities, all of whom could exert pressures on newsgathering, processing and distribution (Gerbner, 1969). Some of these may have dual power owing to the positions they occupy and the authority and influence they wield as well as the possibility of serving as sources of news.

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

Gitlin (1980) discussed major factors that shaped political news coverage and drew attention to three fundamental theories of sources of media influence: 1) influences from journalists or media workers; 2) influences due to particular news media organisational structures; and 3) influences exerted by extra-media factors. Gitlin (1980) defined this latter category of influences to include "institutions or social conditions outside the news organization";

"technological factors"; "national culture"; "economics"; "the audience"; "the most powerful news sources"; and/or "the ideologies of the dominant social powers" (pp. 249-251). Oliver and Myers (1999) identified the determinants of news coverage as: 1) journalistic predispositions; 2) news values; and 3) news routines, all of which they described as key "systematic factors" that "determine the likelihood that an event will receive news coverage" (pp. 45-46). Schudson (2000), for his part, categorised influences on news production into: 1) political economy of the society; 2) the social organisation of news work; and 3) cultural influences and constraints.

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

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

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

1) Influences from individual media workers (their characteristics, backgrounds, attitudes and roles);
2) Influences of media organisational routines involving the organisation itself, audiences and suppliers or sources of media raw material (day-to-day practices,

deadlines, requirements of space, objectivity, fairness and other news values, and reliance on official sources of information);

3) Influences exerted by organisational goals;

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

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

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

In addition to gatekeeping, the present study considered Schudson's (2000) three-typology distinction of approaches to studying the social construction or "manufacture of news" (p.

175) - political economy; social organisation of news work; and cultural approaches. Though in this version of his essay thrice revisited, revised and updated, Schudson believed these three approaches might work better than the gatekeeping concept for understanding news production, he was sceptical about their absolute utility. Discussing their strengths and weaknesses, he warned that "even taken together", all three "have so far fallen short of providing adequate comparative and historical perspectives on news production" (p. 177).

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

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

## Approaches to the Sociology of News Production

Media sociology is a term used in reference to studies that examine influences on media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 5). According to Cottle (2003, p. 13), the sociological study of news production has been informed by "the ideas of Émile Durkheim with respect to processes of professional socialisation and the establishment of group norms, and Max Weber with respect to the nature of modern bureaucracies and views of social action". Schudson (2000/2005) traces the sociology of news production to Max Weber, Robert Park and Helen MacGill Hughes. However, like many others including Shoemaker and Reese

(1996), he traces the formal study of how news organisations produce news to gatekeeper studies of the 1950s. In Schudson's account, Kurt Lewin coined the term "gatekeeper" that was later applied to journalism by several social scientists including White (1950) and Gieber (1964). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) report that modern studies into media content began with White's suggestion that journalists act as gatekeepers of media messages and with Breed's (1955) description of how journalists become socialised into their jobs (p. 5).

## Earlier Approaches

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

### *Gatekeeping*

The gatekeeping concept is discussed as an explanation to the selection of news within the framework of news production. It is used metaphorically in mass communication and media studies to describe selection processes involved in media work "especially decisions whether or not to admit a particular news report through the 'gates' of a news medium into the news channels" (McQuail, 2000, p. 276). White (1950) is credited with the first and most

important use of the concept in media studies (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). White took advantage of a comparison Kurt Lewin made between his work and news flow to experiment with the concept in mass communication focusing on the "work of journalists, reporters, and editors as they operate the gates of the capitalist press" (Gandy, 1982, p. 9).

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

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

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

(1964) observed, "the community shall hear as a fact only those events which the newsman, as the representative of his culture, believes to be true" (p. 171). As Severin and Tankard (1992) explained:

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

### *Criticism of Gatekeeping*

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

Although the concept is still useful and relevant providing a "handy metaphor for the relation of news organizations to news products", Schudson believes it is still inadequate basically because it "leaves 'information' or 'news' sociologically untouched" (2000, p. 177). For instance, it does not indicate who becomes a gatekeeper and how the person gets to be so designated; who writes the news story that gets to the gatekeeper and in what manner,

under what constraints or with what expectations. The concept has also been criticised for being "not well controlled", and for not dealing with "a broad theory of how mass communication works (Stone *et al.*, 1999, p. 25).

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

Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1972) broadened the gatekeeping concept to embrace all aspects of information control beside news selection. They suggested a redefinition of the concept to take account of the totality of message transmission from a sender to a receiver. According to Shoemaker (1991), this meant looking at "not just selection but also withholding, transmission, shaping, display, repetition, and timing of information" (p. 1). In other words, "the gatekeeping process involves every aspect of message selection, handling, and control, whether the message is communicated through mass media or interpersonal channels". Contending that gatekeeping of an activity or event took place in more than one

organisation Shoemaker (1991) noted that the process was multi-stage and involved multiple acts of selection that transcended individual levels to encompass established organisational routines and selection criteria. She envisioned gatekeeping as an activity that spanned the entire process of news production and involved group rather than individual decision-making. She also saw it as a function of communication in general and not just news production thus departing significantly from White's (1950) original idea and moving in tandem with several others including Stone *et al.* (1999) and Donohue *et al.* (1972).

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

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

14), highlighted the "ideological consequences of the organisational character of news production".

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

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

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

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

According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), issues regarding the criteria used in selecting or rejecting news are usually either neglected or treated only in general terms by models other than gatekeeping. In order to treat such issues specifically, therefore, gatekeeping still offers

the best opportunity. The study borrows from the definition of gatekeeping advanced by Stone *et al.* (1999, p. 174) that "a gatekeeper is a person who can open or close the information "gates"; a person with enough influence or authority to affect information flow in a way that might reflect **personal bias**". This person, from the perspective of the present study, is as much the politician who serves as the source of news as the journalist/editor who decides what, and how much of the politician's activities to consider news and how to report it. Beside individual psychological and organisational structural factors, the study examines other contextual factors that might affect news choices/decisions at both the source and media organisations looking at Schudson's (2000) three approaches to the sociology of news.

**Political Economy Approach**

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

The approach is typically Anglo-American and leans more towards the economic than the political thereby vesting too much power in market forces.

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

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

The Ghanaian media are neither state-dominated nor market-dominated; neither controlled by the state nor by conglomerates, and radical/critical thought including dissent is freely expressed. State ownership has been superseded by private-commercial ownership, which functions far below the capacity of corporate ownership and commercial organisational types of the west. Ghana operates an uneven blend of state, private, independent and commercial ownership types of media with neither press barons nor media moguls. It has no corporate mergers, takeovers or media conglomerates to make discussion of the explanatory power of

the political economy approach fit into its media context. The relevance of the political economy approach is, therefore, as uncertain as is contestable given Ghana's feeble independent media structures. Thus, when Murdock (1973, p. 158) describes the link between the larger societal political economy and daily journalistic practices as "oblique", he is most likely referring to media in western industrialised countries. In countries such as Ghana, the link is direct and explicit mainly because of the rudimentary political economy of the media and the fact that media practitioners largely tailor content and its production to suit powers in that limited economy.

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

***Impact of New Media***

Schudson (2000) sees the relationship between news organisations and the new information technologies as "a feature of political economy" (p. 182) despite little research attention paid to it. Considerations of the political economy approach therefore include the impact of the

new media environment on organisational ability to gather, process and disseminate news (Ursell, 2001; Katz, 1992; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000).

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

Despite changing roles for journalists in the interaction between the media and politics, the problem with the conclusions of Williams and Delli Carpini (2000), and Katz (1992) is that they tend to assume that all societies are information resource-rich and/or technologically powerful. This, however, is a universally unsupported and untenable assumption,

particularly, in countries such as Ghana whose ability to access and use modern communication technologies is limited. Ghanaian media use of new communication technology, seen as an important factor in the political economy approach, is still low (Kwansah-Aidoo, 2004) and therefore of minimal benefit to, and effect on, news production. Besides, as Cottle (1999) earlier observed, the adoption of particular technologies is socially and culturally determined.

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

The context for the present study is far from achieving any marked alterations in the media environment that renders the gatekeeping function redundant as suggested by Katz (1992), and Williams and Delli Carpini (2000). Although Schudson (2000) contends, "there has been

little academic attention to the concrete consequences of the technological transformation of news production, both in print and in television" (p. 182), the remit of this study does not extend to such exploration. The study does not seek to explore any influences the use of new information technology has on either the production of news or the final news product not least because the use of such technology by Ghanaian newspapers is still at its basic levels (Kwansah-Aidoo, 2004). Within the local Ghanaian context of undeveloped market structures, media pluralism and diminished state control, and low new media penetration, studying media from a political economy perspective is problematic. Consequently, the study did not consider political economy a viable theoretical perspective.

**Cultural Approach**

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

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

The cultural approach discusses "culture" in its broadest understanding to include the historical, political, social, cultural and organisational newsroom processes as the symbolic journalistic operational environment. It examines how journalists perceive of their roles vis-

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

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

> In between the theoretical foci on marketplace determinations and play of cultural discourses, there still exists a relatively unexplored and under-theorised 'middle ground' of organisational structures and workplace practices (p. 24).

The cultural and political economy approaches were unsuitable for the present study because the study did not seek to explain newspaper reporting by either "the cultural discourses at play" or "the economic determinants at work". Instead, it sought to explain reporting within organisational and institutional influences on journalistic activity and considered the importance of interactions involving news organisations, news sources and socio-political

institutions. Consequently, it focused on the social organisation of news work (Schudson, 2000/2005) discussed below.

**Social Organisation of News Work**

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

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

> The conventionalized opposition in media studies programmes between 'political-economic' and 'cultural' approaches has too often neglected the specific social realities that can be observed at the point of news production ... where news sources, news reporters, news organization editors and the competing demands of professionalism, the market-place and cultural traditions collect around specific choices of what news to report and how to report it (p. 175).

In Cottle's (2003, p. 13) view, studies focusing on such social contextual realities of news production lie between "the economic determinations of the marketplace and the cultural discourses within media representations". The relationship between journalists/reporters and their news sources has been variously defined in social, economic and political terms (Gandy, 1982; Schudson, 2000). In Schudson's (2000) view, "the reporter-official connection makes news an important tool of government and other established authorities" (p. 184). The last section of this chapter discusses the source-centred approach to news production within the perspective of social organisation of news work.

### *The Source-Centred Approach*

The source-centred approach provides an explanation for news selection and placement within the news-making framework focusing on the relationship between the media and their news sources. According to McNair (1999), the "term focuses attention on the active role in shaping media content played by those who provide the source material, rather than the producers of journalistic output themselves" (p. xiii). Many studies including Schlesinger (1978), Tuchman (1978; 1991), Gans (1979), Fishman (1980), Hallin (1986), Schudson (2000/2005), and Ericson *et al.* (1987; 1989) indicate: "news organizations are heavily dependent on legitimated sources" for their news content (Tuchman, 1991, p. 86).

Source-reporter relations are central to the news-making model as both sources and reporters contribute to news selection, also central to both gatekeeping and news-making. Many, including Gandy (1982), Fishman (1980) and Schudson (2000), have outlined advantages offered by such relationships. Interactions between a source and a reporter finally transform an occurrence or event into a published news item (Ericson *et al*, 1987; 1989). McQuail and Windahl (1993) contend that the source-reporter relationships model "applies to a not

untypical situation where routine reporting of news often leads to, sometimes depends on, a measure of collaboration between regular sources or 'newsmakers' on the one hand and reporters on the other hand" (p. 162).

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

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

Gieber and Johnson (1961) provide three alternative source-reporter role models that describe the degree of interaction and independence between reporters and news sources namely: separate source-reporter roles, partially assimilated source-reporter roles, and assimilated source-reporter roles. According to McQuail and Windahl (1993), sources and reporters "co-operate with each other and form a mutually agreed perception of their function" with "certain objectives in common, the one needing to get a particular story into a

newspaper, the other needing to get news to satisfy an editor" (p. 163). The difficulty, however, lies in determining whether, and at what stage co-operation and accommodation characteristic of their relationship remain mutually beneficial and respectful of their individual functions, objectives and roles or shade into complete or partial assimilation.

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

Ericson *et al.* (1987) saw some kind of assimilation or socialisation of journalists on beat to the organisational and occupational cultures of their sources leading to a certain level of convergence of the two sides' understanding and values. This compared with Gieber and Johnson's (1961) partially assimilated, and assimilated source-reporter roles. Although the process of assimilation could occur in either direction, reporters are more likely to be assimilated "since the supplier of information usually is in a stronger position in the relationship" (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 164). Gans (1979) saw the relationship more as

a dance or a tango because each side needed the other to achieve their individual goals. "The relationship between sources and journalists resembles a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading" (p 116). McQuail and Windahl (1993) explained why sources often led and assimilated reporters: "The giving or withholding of news is a more effective sanction in day-to-day affairs than the longer-term sanction of inadequate or unfavourable publicity" (p. 164). Furthermore, in some situations, "authorities are in a very strong position to control access to scarce information with a high news value, and news media become assimilated, by necessity or choice, to official policy" (p. 165).

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

very active two-way process. The news media are always looking for suitable content, and content ... is always looking for an outlet in the news".

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

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

**Summary**

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

practice and research as "the single mass media theory that focuses on what happens in the organizational structure of news rooms" (Stone *et al.*, 1999, p. 177).

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

# CHAPTER FOUR

# INFLUENCES ON MEDIA SYSTEMS AND NEWS PRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW

## Introduction

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

## Press/Media System Influences

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

including Papathanassopoulos (2001) on Greek journalism and Avraham (2002) on Israeli news reporting. According to Kowalski, media structures and ownership relations are influenced and dictated to by considerations of history, economics, politics and ideology.

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

The effects of socio-political and ideological environments on the press of Singapore, another Asian country, were the subject of discussion by Bokhorst-Heng (2002). She examined the mass press in the daily lives of Singaporeans, its position, how that has been defined and practised, "various forms of control on the press, and how the government's intervention is conditioned by the socio-political and ideological climate of the nation" (p. 559). She identified three spheres of government control: 1) the close relationship established

between the government and the press in which government officials built ties with journalists; 2) tendencies towards centralisation and media monopolies through mergers and closures of newspaper organisations; and 3) direct government legislation enabling government to control both "voice" and "content". Control over voice was effected through government control of management shareholding and the appointment of management and editorial staff of newspapers. Content was controlled through both direct (legislation) and indirect means (government officials' refusal to clearly define 'out of bounds' (OB) markers for journalists to enable them realise their operational limits). This, according to Bokhorst-Heng, resulted in "a rigidly self-imposed censorship by journalists and editors attempting to avoid the invisible line" (p. 563). Finally, newspaper-licensing law, which required annual renewals "controls both *voice* and *content*" (p. 566).

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

political stability among Singapore's multilingual, multiracial, and multi-religious populations (p. 561).

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

The reduced role of the state and the extent of press control resulting in a relaxed state power over the print media was one major change found in Gulyás' (2003) study. "There was a significant move from the overwhelming presence of the state during the Communist era to more limited state interventions" (p. 85). "All the former Communist titles went through significant changes in terms of content, ownership and appearance" (p. 93). The resultant effect of these changes has been much more critical media than politicians have been used to under Communism bringing in its wake sometimes strained relations between the media and

those in power. Political change has had enormous effects on print media production, content and affected the dynamics of print media ownership and readership patterns in the three countries thereby destroying their traditional press system categorisations.

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

The variable outcomes or influences of political change on the mass media could be explained by the magnitude of change and its proximity to the period of study. In other words, how radical that political change is and its closeness to the study period could determine the extent of reaction and/or degree of impact that change generates in the particular media system. Malinkina and McLeod (2000) content analysed the *New York Times* and *Izvestia*'s coverage of conflicts in Afghanistan and Chechnya to examine the impact of political change on news coverage. Their analysis pointed to a third outcome of such impact between the findings of Gulyás (2003) and the conclusions of Hagan (1997): a

qualified impact. It revealed that whereas changes to the media system in Russia as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union had a profound impact on *Izvestia*'s coverage, political changes in the US arising from the ending of the Cold War, which changed that country's foreign policy, had little impact on *New York Times*' coverage.

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

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

close working relationships between the news media and government to stem political instability and to support national development objectives.

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

**Gatekeeping Studies**

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

> noted with particular interest the ideological character of many of the editor's comments. Stories were rejected because they were "propaganda" or "too red", and occasionally, because they were probably false, as indicated by the "B.S." label applied

> by Mr Gates. Most important of all, however, was the limitation of space. Stories that made their way past other more personal filters were rejected because there was not enough space for their publication (p. 10).

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

Berkowitz (1990) refined the gatekeeping metaphor in his study of local television news selection. He worked with journalists in the newsroom coding a total of 391 potential stories during a period of four weeks and found that news selection decisions were based on several factors beside news values. These included: a) information that was easy to explain; b) information that would draw audiences; and c) information that could be assembled with efficiency. Berkowitz realised, after 220 hours of newsroom observation and interviews that news workers depended on their instincts rather than textbook news values and selected stories based on interest, importance, and visual impact or appeal. He also observed that the newscast format, which called for an approximate quota of stories from various categories, was a function of both story selection and the news merits of potential stories. Conclusions drawn from Berkowitz's (1990) study question original notions of the single gatekeeper manning a single-axis news gate, and widen the perspectives of gatekeeping:

...this study found that decision-making didn't fit the traditional mold of a lone wire editor sitting next to a pile of stories and making decisions based on either newsworthiness or personal preferences... First, decision-making seemed to be a group process; content, therefore, was shaped by group dynamics. ... Second, the keys to the lock – interest, importance, visual quality – were different than the keys searched for by past studies of newspaper wire editors or those taught in journalism classes. Whether these keys could even be used was partly dictated by organizational demands such as resource constraints and newscast formats. ... Stories that passed through one gate faced still other gates on their way toward being broadcast. Spot news closed the gate on planned event stories. Resource constraints and logistical problems sometimes closed the gate on spot news stories (Berkowitz, 1990, p. 66).

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

**Political Economic Influences**

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

Gilens and Hertzman (2000) found commercial and financial interests of media owners to be major determinants of news decisions. They examined newspaper coverage of an aspect of America's 1996 Telecommunications Act, which dealt with the loosening of restrictions on

television ownership comparing its coverage by newspapers whose owners had substantial investments in television and, therefore, stood to gain from it, to those who had little or no financial interests in television. In all, 14 media owners and 27 newspapers were covered in the study, which found 397 relevant stories focusing on the implications of loosening television ownership caps. The researchers found "substantial differences in how newspapers reported on these proposed regulatory changes depending on the financial interests of their corporate owners" (Gilens & Hertzman, 2000, p. 369).

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

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

*Impact of New Media*

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

Despite the conclusions of Katz (1992), and Williams and Delli Carpini (2000), a study of three television stations in the United Kingdom conducted by Ursell (2001) qualified the impact of technology on news-making and media performance. The researcher used data from news-making activities of the BBC, ITN and the Yorkshire Television to demonstrate different uses and effects of technology. The study sought "to track their respective adoptions of new technologies in news production, the strategic perspectives and political factors informing their different practices, and the consequences for the journalists they employ and the news they produce" (p. 178). It found variations in the extent and intensity of

technological adoption, which were greatest at the BBC, followed by the ITN with relatively modest changes in the Yorkshire Television. Based on the findings of the study, therefore, Ursell asserted that "any suggestions of technological determinism" should be substantially qualified (p. 175). Indeed, neither the availability, accessibility (or otherwise) nor use of information and communication technologies in the news production process should necessarily limit the gatekeeping potential or capabilities of news people.

**Cultural Influences**

Despite the fact that the study was not situated in the cultural approach to news production, a review of a couple of studies conducted within that approach was deemed necessary to show why it could not explain news decision-making in Ghana. Extending influences on the production of news, Zaharopoulos (1990) explored the notion of cultural proximity as additional to other influences on news choices and placement. He recognised influences exerted by economic, social, political and geographic values on news selection but believed that cultural proximity also played an important role in such decisions. A content analysis of a liberal and a conservative Greek newspaper during the final three months of the 1988 United States Presidential campaign showed this latter influence. Although the two newspapers were as ideologically opposed to each other as the two candidates in the campaign, Democrat Michael Dukakis, a Greek-American, was given more space and more favourable reports in both newspapers than Republican George Bush. According to Zaharopoulos (1990), despite their strong ideological differences, the two newspapers differed little in overall United States campaign coverage indicating the crucial role played by cultural proximity.

Other studies have found influences and biases resulting from gender. A study by List (1985) found gender-related influences on political coverage in spite of ideological differences of newspapers. In a comparative analysis of political coverage of women in two party newspapers, List discovered that despite usually taking completely different positions on every political issue, the two newspapers converged in their support for women as being active political actors capable of wielding political power. Ghanaian media are neither structured along such cultural/ethnic lines (despite the country's multi-ethnic composition) as those in Zaharopoulos' (1990) study nor according to gender to engender any such biases. In fact, with very few women at the top echelons of Ghanaian politics, political coverage is generally focused on men.

## Social and Institutional Influences

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

### *Source-Reporter Relationships*

Much source-reporter research has focused on the heavyweights of politics as well as the interface between press/public relations practitioners and spin-doctors as main organisational sources of official information and reporters/journalists, and the power dynamics of their relationships. Studying the effects of the President on coverage patterns of three major

United States networks during his first eight weeks in office, Wanta and Foote (1994) found that President Bush had a dramatic impact on coverage. They found that coverage of those issues he either focused on or for which he was a central source of information was consistently high and extensive. The researchers also observed some reciprocity in the relationship between source and reporter in that the President sometimes followed the media's lead when deciding whether and to what extent he should respond to more general social problems.

el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001) examined power relations between sources and journalists investigating power dynamics involved in the relationship between western correspondents in Egypt and Israel and those two countries' official sources of government information (press relations practitioners). They investigated "how access to information about the Middle East conflict ... is affected by differing professional role perceptions held by those in the government's information delivery systems and by the correspondents themselves" (pp. 90-91). el-Nawawy and Kelly (2001) conducted surveys and interviews to determine the role perceptions of western correspondents and government press relations directors "within the context of two theoretical models: the news-making model and the public relations two-way asymmetrical model" (p. 90). Findings of the study showed that while correspondents believed analyses of complex issues were their primary role, press relations officials found the provision of information to correspondents to be their primary function. Government "officials viewed themselves as conveyors of government information and mediators between the government and foreign news media" (p. 100). The study found Israeli officials more accessible and much easier to work with than their Egyptian counterparts although correspondents were more sceptical of information provided by Israeli than Egyptian officials.

Butler (1999), examining the power relations between news sources and reporters, had doubted the professionalism of sources in managing news and challenged the usefulness of Gandy's information subsidies in reducing costs. She analysed all media releases received by a metropolitan television station during the fourth week of the five-week long 1998 federal election campaign in Australia and found that the so-called information subsidies entailed costs for news organisations. This was, not least, in view of the amount of time and effort spent organising such items to make them meet the requirements of news value and news worthiness. Butler (1999) was of the opinion that the doubtful professionalism of news sources in the management of news reduced their status as powerful sources in the estimation of news professionals making them less useful as cost reduction measures.

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

Other researchers have indicated that sources have an edge over reporters (Gans, 1979; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). Notwithstanding instances of media edge over sources and observations of interactions, negotiations and mutual exchanges in source-reporter

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

Some studies have examined the use and effects of routine bureaucratic sources and/or channels of information on media coverage. A study conducted by Fishman and reported by Gandy (1982) indicated that journalists would rather "go along with the trend than to risk criticism or to invest in producing a more attractive alternative" (Gandy, 1982, p. 13). Fishman (1980) observed the impact of information subsidies on the credibility of media reports and noted that in spite of the cost-effectiveness and attractiveness of such subsidies, they incapacitated journalists' ability to investigate stories they received. Fishman studied attempts by a newly created police unit to seek publicity using the media. The unit did this by leaking stories about a supposed increased crime wave involving attacks on poor elderly Whites by Black and Hispanic youths. Although police statistics showed an actual decrease in such crimes, Fishman observed that journalists still published the "non-story" mainly

because other journalists and media channels were covering and publishing each new story the police unit issued. The overall effect of the information subsidy given by the police, in this case, was the publication of stories that were not statistically true thus undermining the credibility of both the media and their coverage.

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

### *Journalistic Role Perceptions, Norms and Profiles*

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

The study found that orientations of political spokespersons and journalists pointed to "a media-driven political communication culture in the United States and a politically motivated political communication culture in Germany" (Pfetsch, 2001, pp. 47-48) in line with their different political and media systems. Consequently, whereas in Germany communication focused on political goals, in the United States, it was marketing oriented geared toward attracting media attention with a view to influencing the media. American political communication actors referred more to professional journalistic norms – professionalism, high quality reporting, objectivity, impartiality, balance – in the interaction between journalists and political spokespeople, while their German counterparts gave priority to social norms such as code of ethics, credibility, trustworthiness, openness, honesty and truth.

According to Pfetsch, the "findings permit the conclusion that there are national differences in the perceived scope for action and distance and in the proximity of opinion makers and journalists" (p. 55). While there was greater distance between journalists and political spokespersons in the United States than in Germany, both countries saw interaction as an exchange relationship. Their different communication cultures, according to Pfetsch, found expression in both interaction norm patterns and in the relationship between journalists and spokespeople.

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

Esser *et al.* (2001) moved beyond issue and strategy coverage to what they termed "a new, third stage in election coverage": *Metacommunication*, which they defined as "the news media's self-referential reflections on the nature of the interplay between political public relations and political journalism" (p. 16). Their study focused on process news involving

strategies, stage crafting and spin-doctors employed by candidates to control information. The researchers examined the quantity/amount of metadiscursive process news in campaign coverage of Britain, Germany, and the United States focusing on "the media's evaluation of this new force of news making" (p. 27). They sought to answer the bigger question of how the press in the three countries saw their own role as political institutions:

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

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

According to the researchers, the enormous variations in the amount of metadiscursive process news carried in the newspapers indicated that, "this new reporting style is least developed in Germany and most common in the United States" (p. 29). They attributed the higher amount of process coverage in America to its "longer tradition of political consultants during which journalists have started to appreciate those consultants as interesting and reliable sources of information. … It also reflects the fact that, in a U.S. general election,

more campaign operatives and spin doctors are involved and play more important roles than in Great Britain and Germany" (p. 29). The study found that 47 percent in the United States and 42 percent in Britain of all spin-doctor activities covered in the study referred to their interaction with journalists whereas only 30 percent did so in Germany.

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

Ramaprasad (2003) used Tanzania's media history as a backdrop for an empirical opinion profiling of that country's journalists. She traced the evolution of Tanzania's political, economic and media systems from the period of control to the period of liberation examining private and government media traits from indigenous government and party control to private ownership. Using a survey of 139 convenience sample of Tanzanian journalists, the study assessed the extent to which Tanzania's collectivist African tradition (the concept of

*ujamaa*), reinforced by its communitarian societal organisation (the concept of *villagization*) and socialist press ideology reflected in journalists' assignment of roles and traits to the private and state media. It examined how journalists from private, party and government-owned media viewed "private and government media in terms of such journalistic traits as credibility, accuracy, and competence and such roles as unify the country and contribute to the country's development" (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 14).

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

Overall, the study found that whereas traits generally associated with development journalism – unifying the country, contributing to national development, and focusing on cultural issues –were assigned to the government media, those associated with free press – vocal critic of government policy, and support for political pluralism – were assigned to the private media. In addition, unwanted journalistic traits such as sensationalism, commercialism and reflecting views of the rich and powerful, and stirring up conflict and

sectionalism in society were also assigned to the private media. Ramaprasad (2003) concluded: "to a large extent Tanzanian journalists align a socialist journalistic ideology with the government press and a libertarian journalistic ideology with the private press" (p. 21).

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

On media functions, Mwesige found that just as their counterparts in the west, Ugandan journalists tended "to support both the *disseminator* and *interpretive* roles of the news media" (p. 84). Additionally, Ugandan journalists, more than their western colleagues, showed support for the advocacy role of journalism or what Weaver and Wilhoit (1996, p. 140) called the *populist mobiliser* role. Majority of respondents rated highest the functions of getting information out quickly to the public (86%), giving ordinary people a chance to

express themselves (80%), and investigating claims and statements made by government (75%). Many rated the following functions above average: providing analysis and interpretation of complex problems (63%); concentrating on news that is of interest to the widest possible audience (55%); and discussing national policy while it is still being developed (50%). "However, Ugandan journalists were less likely to support the *adversarial role* of the news media. Consequently, only 14 percent of the respondents thought it was 'extremely important' that the news media should be an adversary of public officials by being constantly sceptical of their actions and only 11 percent felt journalists should be an adversary, in the same sense, of business" (Mwesige, 2004, p. 84). Overall, the study found overwhelming endorsement of western journalistic functions/roles and values although journalistic practice did not match those conceptualisations.

## Organisational Influences

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

### *Media Ideology and News Decision-Making*

Many studies especially in the west have examined the ideological positions or orientations of media organisations and their effects on gatekeeping and news reporting. Gans (1979) contended that "news does not limit itself to reality judgments; it also contains values, or preference statements" (p. 40). Complementing participant observations and interviews with quantitative content analyses, Gans observed some general characteristics of news reports

and American values. He referred to these as enduring values that combined news values and ideology. Gans referred to the professional and political attitudes of reporters/journalists as their para-ideology, that is, the "aggregate of values and the reality judgments associated with it" (p. 45) – which underlay their concept of, and what they produced as news. He concluded that news reports were more likely to focus on people who were "knowns" than people who were "unknowns" (pp 84-5).

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

### *Bias and Negativity in News Reporting*

Bias in news reporting, usually seen as a result of ideological and political influences on the mass media, has often been a charge levelled against journalists and media organisations in

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

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

newspaper story in 2000 only reported seven percent of what the candidates said in a debate indicating wide discrepancies between debates and coverage.

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

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

encountered was one sided and that even two-sided stories were likely to be significantly imbalanced as well.

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

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

factor in unemployment coverage" (p. 40). While evidence of partisan bias proved controversial, allegations of negativity bias tended to be supported. Niven (2001) found:

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

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

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

Esser *et al.*'s (2001) cross-country content analysis of "spin doctors in the press" (earlier reviewed in relation to the media's own assessments of their roles), like Niven (2001), found evidence of negativity bias or negative coverage of spin-doctors and/or campaign strategists

and their activities. Although overall the researchers found "all three countries' media institutions portrayed campaign strategists overwhelmingly negatively", there were variations in the degree of negativity bias from country to country. They found "the highest degree of adversarial process news in Great Britain, where journalists presented the information-control methods and the people responsible for them in the most negative – and partly sinister – light". British journalists judged spin-doctors and their activities as threats to "freedom of the press" and the "political culture", the German press judged them as "neither competent nor effective" while the American press judged them as "competent" and "useful for campaign success". The media's overall assessment, however, was that "political PR experts and communication strategists are a problematic addition to the political publicity process" (pp. 37-38).

In a study of the coverage of minorities in the marginal or development cities of Israel, Avraham (2002) found overwhelming evidence of negativity bias against minorities. The study examined the production of news about these cities combining content analysis and in-depth interviews with about 26 editors and journalists described as "actors interacting to construct minority portrayals" (p. 69). It focused mainly on "the structures and routines journalists use to collect information and construct stories" about Israel's marginal cities (p. 75) and analysed 1, 411 articles on different subjects about 41 cities in the sample found in the coverage of two widely read national dailies. The study found that what has been classified as "crisis news" or "negative-disorder events" (Gans, 1979) predominated coverage of those cities. "Crimes and Trials", "Standard of Living Problems (poverty, unemployment, housing and education problems, etc)", and "Accidents and Disasters" (p. 76) constituted the three most covered topics accounting for 59 percent of total coverage.

"Crimes and Trials" alone took nearly one-third of all coverage distinguishing itself as the most frequently covered category.

On the whole, Avraham found that many factors conspired to perpetuate negative coverage of Israel's development cities inhabited by Israeli minority groups. These factors were mainly contained in the social and political environment in which the media worked and the power distribution therein, which affected media content. In his view, the media image of a group, which reflected in both the quantity and quality of coverage, was formed by these factors including the concept of news and the choice of news sources. Also important were newspapers' perceptions of their target audiences, and the proximity of the event to those audiences, the reporter and the national centre. Total coverage of these marginal cities was not only low but also excessively focused on negative societal tendencies using stereotyped generalisations and stereotypical language.

**Summary**

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

source-reporter relationships and some journalistic and organisational influences including ideology and bias.

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

# CHAPTER FIVE
# METHODOLOGY

## Introduction

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

## Methodological Considerations

Studies have shown that content analysis is the most popular method of data gathering used in research published in major mass communication journals. Of all mass communication studies conducted within the quantitative approach from 1965 to 1989, Cooper, Potter, and Dupagne (1994) found that 25% used content analysis. Similarly, Riffe and Freitag (1997) found about 25% (486 studies) of 1,977 articles published in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* between 1971 and 1995 used content analysis, while Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) reported the popularity of the method in articles published in major mass communication journals between 1995 and 1999. While many of these studies have used only content analysis, others have integrated content analysis and other research methods.

Studies that combine methods are, however, few as observed from Riffe and Freitag's (1997) study in which only 10% of the 25% of content analytical studies published in 25 years of *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* combined it with another research method.

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

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

> A related application of content analysis, even when direct access to the subject poses no difficulty, is to develop an independent line of validation for data obtained through other methods. The investigator may check the results of questionnaire or interview data by comparing them with content analyses of the subject's statements (p. 16).

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

> ... content analysis is and should be enriched by the theoretical framework offered by other more qualitative approaches, while bringing to these a methodological rigour, prescriptions for use, and systematicity rarely found in many of the more qualitative approaches.

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

## Study Design

The study incorporated a longitudinal and a comparative design. Longitudinally, it assessed trends and changes in newspaper reporting of two political administrations over two time periods: 1993/1994 and 2001/2002. It was comparative in four different ways assessing: 1) differences or similarities in newspaper reporting of Rawlings and Kufuor's regimes; 2) differences or similarities in coverage between two newspapers; 3) differences or similarities in coverage within the same newspaper over time; and 4) two different sources of data. The study thus compared political coverage of two newspapers at two different points in time. Two data points – January-December 1993/1994 and January-December 2001/2002 - were

used to compare the impact of time (with its intervening variables) on political coverage through comparative analyses of the following:

- Rawlings (NDC) and Kufuor's (NPP) administrations
- The *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*
- The *Daily Graphic*'s coverage of 1993/1994 versus its coverage of 2001/2002
- *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s coverage of 1993/1994 versus its coverage of 2001/2002

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

## Methods of Data Collection

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

of data were the two newspapers and their contents and documents of selected state and government organisations selected for their relevance and salience to the investigation.

### *Content Analysis*

#### Definitions

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

Ultimately, findings of studies should reflect the content of whatever document or material was analysed and inferences drawn should be based on those findings. The requirement of "objectivity" has, however, been the subject of controversy and disagreement in later studies (Krippendorff, 1980; Hansen *et al.*, 1998) owing to its positivist value-free denotation and connotation, what Van den Bulck (2002, p. 80) referred to as "its number-crunching, positivist approach". According to Hansen *et al.*, "it is perhaps symptomatic that later definitions of content analysis have omitted references to 'objectivity', requiring simply that content analysis be 'systematic' (Holsti, 1969) or 'replicable' (Krippendorff, 1980)" (p. 95).

The requirement that content analysis should be "systematic" was explained by the fact that the decision to include or exclude some content or category of content should be made in accordance with consistently applied rules. This was to eliminate situations where the researcher only used materials that supported his or her hypotheses and also to ensure that categories were well defined and suited to consistently applied rules. The third requirement, the criterion of generality, "requires that the findings must have theoretical relevance" because merely describing content without relating it to "other attributes of documents or to the characteristics of the sender or recipient of the message, is of little value" (Holsti, 1969, p. 5). For results of content analyses to be meaningful, therefore, they must be presented in the form of comparisons dictated by the researcher's theory.

Uses

The fact that quantitative content analysis is used for a variety of research problems has been widely noted (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorf, 1980; Hansen *et al.*, 1998; Neuendorf, 2002; Van den Bulck, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Hansen *et al.* (1998) indicate that the widest use of the method is in the social sciences and humanities since most social processes are transacted through symbols. It has been used extensively "for monitoring the 'cultural temperature' of society, for establishing long-term cultural indicators comparable to the indicators used by economists and politicians in the monitoring of the economy" (p. 92). According to Van den Bulck (2002, p. 79), among many others, content analysis:

> can also be sender/production-oriented to study the influence of ownership, organizational routines and rules when it becomes integrated into studies of international media flows, media organizations, professionals, production of media content". Conversely, it can be receiver/consumption related in order to analyse the influence of media content on individuals' opinions or on wider socio-cultural, economic or political processes.

Wimmer and Dominick (2006), though admitting the difficulty in classifying and categorising "studies as varied and diverse as those using content analysis" (p. 152) list and illustrate five aims and purposes. These are: describing communication content; testing hypotheses of message characteristics; comparing media content to the real world; assessing the image of particular societal groups; and establishing a starting point for studies of media effects. Content analysis is used in the present study because media content is the principal object of study. Although the method usually enables questions about such content to be answered by merely examining it, the present study has used content analysis to infer something about Government-media relations contrary to Holsti's (1969) observation below.

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

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

encountered with longitudinal studies as a Chinese proverb succinctly captures: "The palest ink is clearer than the best memory" (Webb *et al.*, 1966, p. 111).

Advantages

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

Many of the definitions of the method have stressed three important concepts - objectivity, systematicity, and quantification – all of which provide advantages for using content analysis. The method provides consistency and "uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures", as "one set of guidelines is used for evaluation throughout the study". The

criterion of objectivity strives to eliminate "the researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases" while quantification helps achieve the goal of content analysis: "an accurate representation of a body of messages" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 151). The researchers provide further advantages of quantification:

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

*Disadvantages*

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

Other limitations of content analysis identified by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) related to issues of the method's generalisability and comparability because findings are usually limited to the framework of categories and definitions used in particular studies. "Different researchers may use varying definitions and category systems to measure a single concept … Researchers who use different tools of measurement naturally arrive at different conclusions"

(p. 154). The authors also mentioned "a lack of messages relevant to the research", and the fact that the method is laborious, tedious, time-consuming and expensive as potential limitations. Berger (1991) had identified problems with sampling, its appropriateness and representativeness. He believed questions as to how representative of the total population a particular sample was; the appropriate sample size and manner of sampling could be problematic.

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

## Processes

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

coding scheme; 5) sampling; 6) training of coders and piloting for reliability; 7) coding; 8) calculating for final reliability; and 9) tabulation and reporting of results.

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

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

**Selection of Media and Sampling**

Defining the Population/Universe

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

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

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

| State Newspapers | Private Newspapers |
|---|---|
| The *Daily Graphic* | *The Pioneer* |
| *The Mirror* | *The Ghanaian Chronicle* |
| The *Ghanaian Times* | The *Daily Guide* |
| The *Weekly Spectator* | The *Catholic Standard* |

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

Selecting Samples

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

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

- Stratification to ensure that both state and private newspapers were represented.
- Purposiveness to study the two most consequential newspapers and time periods based on the researcher's knowledge and "the goal of the project" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 157).
- Stratification by constructed week (for dailies) and months (for weeklies) to determine dates or editions of the two newspapers to study.

- Purposiveness to select stories/articles on the front pages, and editorials, which had political themes, to reflect the thrust of the study.

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

*Media/Content Sources*

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

The *Daily Graphic*

The *Daily Graphic* is state-owned and has the widest circulation among Ghanaian newspapers. It has always been a daily newspaper. It was selected because it is the most authoritative state-owned newspaper in Ghana and, with the exception of the *Pioneer* (a private broadsheet), predates all other newspapers currently circulating in the country. The newspaper's pre-eminence manifests in the fact that "Graphic" has for a long time been the euphemism for newspapers and the *Daily Graphic* has established itself as the pace-setter and standard by which others have been measured in the Ghanaian newspaper industry. More

importantly, its selection was as a result of the controversy surrounding its relationship with the Rawlings administration and charges of bias towards that regime. Its relationship with the Rawlings administration was illustrated by the fact that its immediate past editor, Elvis Aryeh (editor during the period of the study), was for many years the Press Officer in Rawlings' PNDC government. Some *Daily Graphic* front-page main news stories and editorials were perceived to have either originated from the Castle or been doctored by the Castle Information Bureau during the Rawlings NDC regime. *Daily Graphic* was largely believed to be the masked mouthpiece of the regime, used to maintain its credibility. Although the *Daily Graphic* has a page specifically devoted to political news, its front-page has usually contained the most important political news.

*The Ghanaian Chronicle*

*The Ghanaian Chronicle* is a privately owned newspaper. It has a relatively smaller circulation compared to the *Daily Graphic* but is the widest circulating private newspaper in Ghana. Unlike the *Daily Graphic*, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* has presented varying periodicities. It started publication as a weekly newspaper and, later became a bi-weekly, but is currently published daily. In 1993 and most parts of 1994 (the first period of the present study), it was a weekly newspaper but by 2001 and 2002 (second period of the study) it had become a daily newspaper. Although *The Ghanaian Chronicle* was pre-dated by such newspapers as the *Pioneer* and the *Catholic Standard* in the private category, it early distinguished itself as a firebrand and an authoritative newspaper to provide the much-needed alternative voice. As soon as it introduced itself on the Ghanaian media scene in August 1991, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* showed its readiness to oppose what it saw as official ineptitude, corruption, lack of respect for the governed, lack of accountability, openness and

transparency. In a telephone interview, its current editor, Mr Omaboe[2], indicated that the focus and philosophy of the newspaper had been consistently the same: "It was established as a political paper to keep government accountable to the governed".

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

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[2] The interview with Mr Omaboe was conducted by telephone in January 2003 and lasted for 20 minutes. It sought information and clarification on the status, intent and purpose of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, asking, among others, questions relating to its mission, vision, organisational structure, its date of establishment and commencement of business and sources of support. This was the only interview conducted throughout the study, and was meant solely to provide background information, which was otherwise unavailable.

The two newspapers were, therefore, selected based on their ownership types and periods of commencement of publication, considered important variables for achieving study goals, and on their salience to the development of Ghana's critical press. It was in consideration of their contextual and background differences that the study designed to assess differences in media coverage of two different regimes over time intentionally selected them as ideal instruments for comparison. The selection was based on their suitability for investigating media coverage of the two regimes as a result of their longevity, different ownership and organisational structures, philosophies, and sizes. The two publications were considered particularly important and of interest because of the perceived docility of the state-owned newspaper (the *Daily Graphic*), and the perceived boldness of the private newspaper (*The Ghanaian Chronicle*). They also represent, albeit broadly, the structural, operational and philosophical diversity of the Ghanaian press. Their selection was thus based on conceptual considerations - a regard for the state-private dichotomy, and a quest for structural and philosophical/ideological diversity – as dictated by the nature of the research: a comparative study of two symmetrical time periods of Ghana's recent political history.

*Study Period*

In the present study, just as in many others (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 157), the time period from which the issues analysed were selected was determined by the goal of the research. The two study periods: January 1993-December 1994, and January 2001-December 2002, were selected because they constituted a decade of political stability with unique comparative opportunities for assessing contrasting government-media philosophies. The two time periods were, therefore, selected because of their political symmetry. They marked the beginnings of two different but successive political administrations in the same republic thereby generating particular interest as a significant area of study.

*Issues/Dates*

As regards sampling editions of the two newspapers, two different approaches were adopted to reflect the different periodicities or publication frequencies of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic*[3]. Sampling of the dailies was done through the constructed week approach using systematic sampling while that of the weeklies was done through stratifying by month and randomly selecting two issues per month[4]. Subsequently, articles on the front-page and the editorials of selected editions of the two newspapers, which had political themes, were studied. The front-page and editorials were chosen because they represented the two most important pages of newspapers highlighting their selection biases and ideological positions. Similarly, political news stories were selected for analysis to reflect the theme of the study, which focused on politicians, their activities, and how these were covered in the two newspapers.

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

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

[4] The different sampling methods, reflecting the different publication frequencies of the two newspapers, were necessary only during the first period of the study when *Graphic* was a daily and *Chronicle* was a weekly.

drawing stratified samples to study daily and weekly newspapers. Stempel's (1952) study of sampling using the number of front-page photographs in a six-day-a-week Wisconsin newspaper has been widely quoted (see Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 1980; Riffe *et al.*, 1993; Lacy *et al.*, 1995; and Riffe *et al.*, 1998; Neuendorf, 2002).

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

Same day samples/editions of the two newspapers were drawn during the second period of the study in order to allow for inter-newspaper comparisons of issues that became news, story prominence, salience and manner of presentation. Same day editions were, thus, sampled to determine what activity or event each of them considered newsworthy to publish from the political news tray of the day and to evaluate how that activity was published. The editorials of all sampled editions of the two newspapers were content analysed to find how

much political content they contained and to determine whether there was a synergy or, at least, concordance between major front-page stories and editorial content. It was envisaged that these approaches would ensure some degree of uniformity in both sample selection and analysis of newspaper reporting of the two regimes, their principal officers or actors and their activities.

*Sample Size*

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

Stempel's (1952) study concluded that 12 days' or two constructed weeks' samples were sufficient for representing a year's content of a newspaper since "increasing the sample

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

The present study, however, used a larger sample size of both the daily and weekly newspapers in order to reduce the level of bias of study results and to enhance generalizability since "a substantial sample size is needed to ensure a small confidence interval (e.g., plus or minus 2%)". Besides, since large portions of the study dealt with "variables that are not simple dichotomies" (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 89), there was greater need to increase the size of the sample. Furthermore, the large sample was also in recognition of the fact that acceptable sample sizes varied depending on the newspaper concerned and types of variables involved in the examination (Lacy *et al.*, 1995). It was also to reduce effects of irrelevant and missing samples.

Out of the 192 editions, four could not be traced and 13 did not contain any political stories. Ten of these, which together carried 42 news stories and ten editorials, were from the *Daily Graphic* while three, with a total of 10 news stories and three editorials, were found in *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Therefore, the total number of front-page news stories (and stand-alone cartoons, etc.) which stood at 332 and editorial articles of 72 could have been much higher if all sampled editions had contained political news stories and politically relevant editorials. It must also be noted that only 72 editorials (out of the 192 samples) were coded political and that some editions, especially of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* had more than one editorial. This figure could also have been much higher if all samples had political editorials.

**Units of Analysis**

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

1) News stories with Ghanaian political actors, sources, themes/topics published on the **front-page** and **editorials** of all sampled editions of the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle* of January - December 1993/1994 and 2001/2002.

2) News stories that mentioned or referred to Ghanaian politicians in the headline, lead or within the first five paragraphs.
3) Stand-alone cartoons, photographs, letters/circulars that referred to Ghanaian politicians on the front-page of sampled editions[5].

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

**Content Analytical Categories**

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

[5] These images/visual materials usually appeared on the front-page of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (see Appendices 7 & 8). Besides, since the study limited itself to the front-page and editorials of sampled editions of the two newspapers, these constituted the pages of interest and focus.

construction a more preferable design. Whatever option adopted, content categories should be clearly defined to be useful and serviceable. Wimmer and Dominick (2006, pp. 159-160) suggested that "all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable". In the present study, *a priori* coding was based on press systems theories and the sociology of news production focusing on source-reporter relationships and gatekeeping while emergent coding resulted from the data.

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

Political themes/topics were coded under predetermined categories of content such as "Presidential Visits", "Political Appointments", "Parliamentary Matters, Debates and Vetting", "Bilateral and Multilateral Relations", "Scandals" and "Corruption". They included stories that revolved around Ghanaian politicians as actors and excluded those that principally centred on foreign politicians. For instance, Nelson Mandela's swearing-in ceremony (*Daily Graphic* of May 10 1994), and Tony Blair's retention of political power (*Daily Graphic* of June 9 2001) were not coded as political news stories because they neither named nor referred to any Ghanaian politician. Similarly excluded were stories that, though

carried photographs of Ghanaian politicians, did not involve them but technocrats in their sector ministries or issues about those sectors. Relevant stories in each sampled edition were coded and subsequently analysed. The two most important categories for the study: type of newspaper/publication and year/period of publication generated a four-dimensional axis for comparison: *Daily Graphic* 1993-1994; 2001-2002; *The Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993-1994; 2001-2002. All content categories were assessed/analysed along these axes to determine change over time both within the same newspaper and across the two newspapers.

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

By and large, attempts were made to ensure a clear formulation and adaptability of categories to the research problem and content as Berelson (1952) warned: "Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well-adapted to the problem and the content" (p. 147). Indeed, the content analysis literature has indicated that the construction and definition of analytical categories should flow from, and be related to, the research problem and objectives (Neuendorf, 2002; Hansen *et al.*, 1998). "The most

important requirement of categories is that they must adequately reflect the investigator's research question" (Holsti, 1969, p. 95). The study has largely followed these suggestions.

**Coding Schedule**

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

***Document Analysis***

Altheide (1996) defined document analysis as "an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analysing documents for their relevance, significance and meaning" (p. 2). The supplementary and complementary use of document analysis in the thesis helped examine the general socio-political and legislative atmosphere within which journalists operated during the two study periods. Document analysis sought to assess and compare the media environment under the two regimes, and how that influenced and shaped the selection, production and placement of

news. It thus aimed to answer questions relating to the second segment of the study, which sought to document and examine any antecedent factors, especially regarding sources of political news that might have influenced the newsgathering, selection and production process. Document analysis enabled some characteristics of political news sources, the mass media, and political environments to be inferred in order to put findings of the content analysis in context. It was, therefore, key to understanding characteristics of sources of political news, and those of the environment within which newspaper reporting of politics was carried out.

Documents Studied

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

- Parliamentary Debates (Official Report) of 1993, 1994, 2001 and 2002 containing discussions about the mass media in general.
- Presidential Sessional Addresses (State of the Nation Address) of 1993, 1994, 2001, and 2002.
- Supreme Court of Ghana Law Reports and The Ghana Bar Law Reports containing cases involving the mass media and government officials, political party functionaries of the NPP and the NDC of 1993, 1994, 2001, and 2002.
- NMC Annual Reports and Complaints Settlement of 1993, 1994, 2001 and 2002.

Sourcing of Documents

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

Rationale

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

## Data Analysis

Results of the content analysis were processed using the SPSS computer software programme while those of the document analysis were developed using the traditional qualitative method of writing out relevant portions of documents and incorporating them into the findings. The content analysis was basically quantitative, although some qualitative measures were used as reflected in some variables included on the content coding schedule. The document analysis was qualitative.

# CHAPTER SIX

# FINDINGS: THE NATURE, TYPE AND EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF TWO POLITICAL REGIMES IN GHANA

## Introduction

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

## Content Analysis: Key Variables

Certain variables were considered central to the study. Key among these were title of newspaper (to differentiate the two types of ownership systems in Ghana – private and state), year/period of publication of content item and political party mentioned or referred to. The last two variables were meant to distinguish between President Rawlings' NDC and President Kufuor's NPP regimes. Periods 1 and 2 are coterminous with the Rawlings and Kufuor administrations respectively. In addition to a political party being specifically mentioned in a

news report, distinguishing between years of publication of stories served to point out the regime in power at the time of coverage. These important variables served as the pivot around which others in the study revolved. As a result, they were kept constant in most cases of analysis while their likely associations with other variables in the study were examined. It was important, for example, to examine whether overall, there were noticeable changes in coverage between the two newspapers and also within the same newspaper over the two time periods especially with regard to stories that concerned the two main political parties.

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

**Amount/Extent of Coverage**

The amount and extent of coverage each political party received in each newspaper during each period of the study was assessed through the number of political stories carried, political party mentioned or referred to in those stories, actors and sources frequently used. These were assessed looking at the newspaper, which carried them, and the period within which they were carried. The examination also pitted the two newspapers against each other as regards their coverage of the two political parties to obtain differences in coverage between

1993-1994 and 2001-2002, which by inference compared coverage of President Rawlings' administration to that of President Kufuor. The number of times each political party was mentioned by each newspaper and the two newspapers' total coverage of the two political parties during each period of the study were ultimately seen as important indicators of the prevailing journalistic atmosphere.

Number of Political Stories

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

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

Table 1a: Title of Newspaper by Political News Story per Year of Publication

| YEAR | NEWSPAPER | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Daily Graphic* | | *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | |
| | N | % | N | % |
| 1993 | 42 | 21.8% | 62 | 29.4% |
| 1994 | 31 | 16.0% | 49 | 23.2% |
| 2001 | 66 | 34.2% | 53 | 25.1% |
| 2002 | 54 | 28.0% | 47 | 22.3% |
| **TOTAL** | 193 | 100% | 211 | 100% |

Table 1a shows that while the *Daily Graphic* published its highest number of stories in 2001 and the lowest in 1994, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published the highest number of stories in 1993 and the lowest in 2002. Between periods, more stories (220: 54.5%) were carried in Period 2 than in Period 1 (184: 45.5%).

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

| **NEWSPAPER** | **STUDY PERIOD** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Period 1 (1993-1994) | | Period 2 (2001-2002) | |
| | N | % | N | % |
| *Daily Graphic* | 73 | 39.7% | 120 | 54.5% |
| *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 111 | 60.3% | 100 | 45.5% |
| **TOTAL** | 184 | 100% | 220 | 100% |

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

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

| **STUDY PERIOD** | **NEWSPAPER** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Daily Graphic* | | *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | |
| | N | % | N | % |
| Period 1 (1993-1994) | 73 | 37.8% | 111 | 52.6% |
| Period 2 (2001-2002) | 120 | 62.2% | 100 | 47.4% |
| **TOTAL** | 193 | 100% | 211 | 100% |

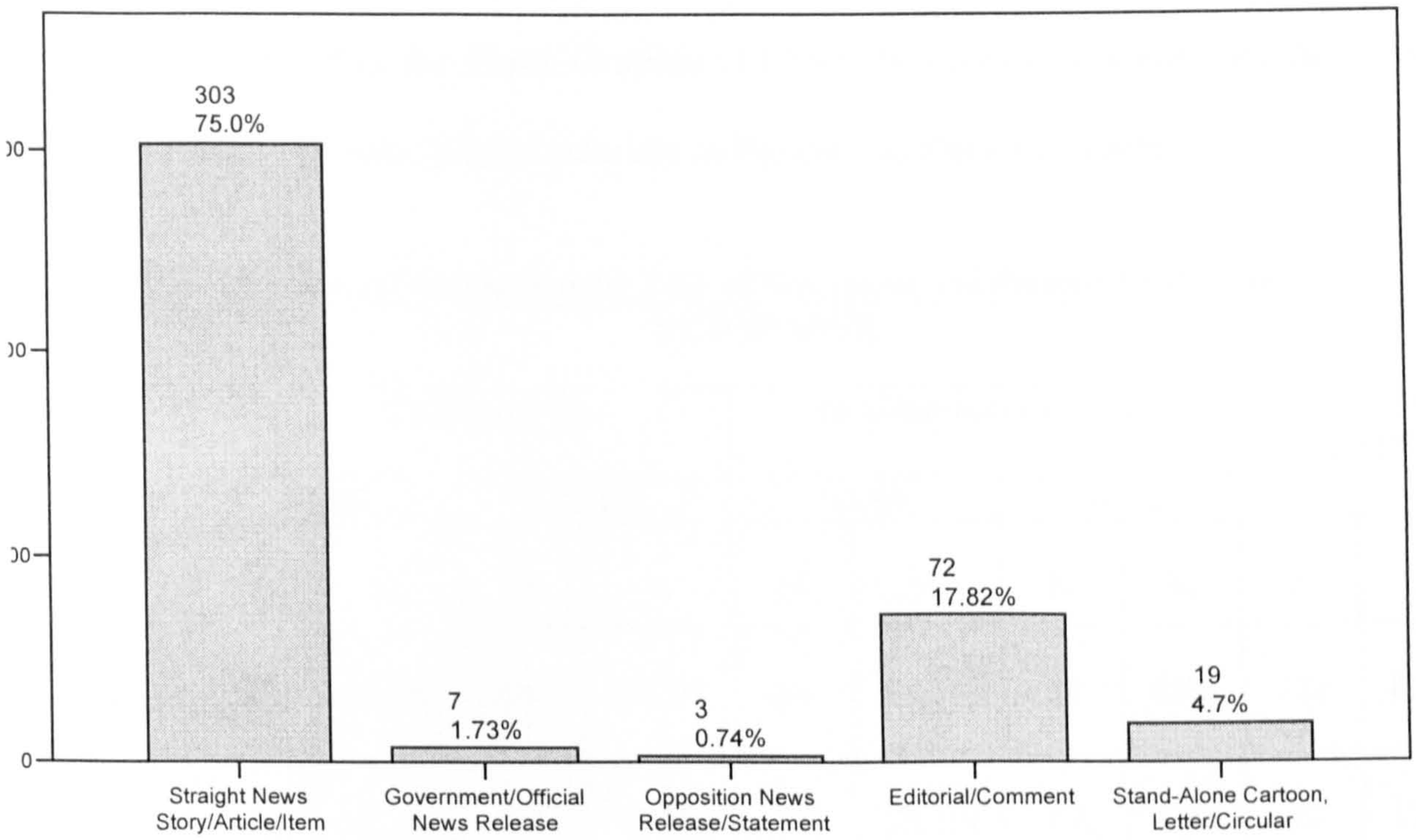
Within newspapers, a greater number of *Chronicle* stories (52.6%) was published in Period 1 while that for *Graphic* (62.2%) was published in Period 2 as illustrated in Table 1c.

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

The breakdown of political content items analysed in the different categories (graphically presented in Chart 1) is as follows: 82.2% (332) political items consisting of 77.5% (313) front-page news stories and 4.7% (19) combination of stand-alone cartoons, photographs and/or photocopies of documents/letters reproduced on the front-page. Editorials made up 17.8% (72) items bringing the total to 404[6].

[6]The majority of issues/editions of newspapers analysed had a total of either three (25.7%) or four (36.1%) stories on the front-page. Almost one-fifth (17.8%) of editions had at least one relevant stand-alone cartoon, photograph, document or letter on its front-page, which counted as bona fide political stories. All these were carried by the *Ghanaian Chronicle* alone with the majority appearing during the first period of the study. As regards types of stories carried by the two newspapers, straight news items had a commanding majority. Out of the 404 stories analysed, 303 (75%) were straight news stories while editorials took a distant second with the other three categories - government and opposition news releases, and stand-alone cartoons, photographs and letters - together constituting only 7%.

**Chart 1: Type of Story**




The choice of story types showed a greater use of straight news stories by the two newspapers with 75% (303) of total coverage. News releases, whether from the government in power (1.7%) or from the opposition (0.7%), were fewer than cartoons, photographs and others, which were only published by the privately owned independent newspaper: *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Taking the four-year study period as a whole and looking at the two newspapers, *Daily Graphic* had slightly more straight news stories (50.8%) than *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (49.2%). This must, however, be explained by the fact that four (4) copies of the *Chronicle* could not be found after several attempts to trace them. It is probable that if all copies within the sample had been found, the private newspaper might have produced more front-page straight news stories than the state-owned *Daily Graphic*. Whereas *The Ghanaian Chronicle* alone produced all the stand-alone cartoons, photographs, and documents/letters (4.7%), *Daily Graphic* produced all the Government news releases/statements (1.7%). On a ratio of 2:1, the two newspapers published opposition news releases/statements: *Daily Graphic* (1.0%), *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (0.5%).

As regards type of political item, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more political editorials, (19.9%) than the *Daily Graphic* (15.5%). Whereas *Chronicle* published more of these in Period 1, *Graphic* published more in Period 2 as shown in Table 2.

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

| ITEM TYPE | NEWSPAPER | | | | | | | | TOTAL TYPE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Daily Graphic* | | | | *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | | | | | |
| | 93/94 | | 01/02 | | 93/94 | | 01/02 | | | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Front-Page | 62 | 84.9% | 101 | 84.2% | 86 | 77.5% | 83 | 83% | 332 | 82.2% |
| Editorial | 11 | 15.1% | 19 | 15.8% | 25 | 22.5% | 17 | 17% | 72 | 17.8% |
| **TOTAL** | 73 | 100% | 120 | 100% | 111 | 100% | 100 | 100 % | 404 | 100% |

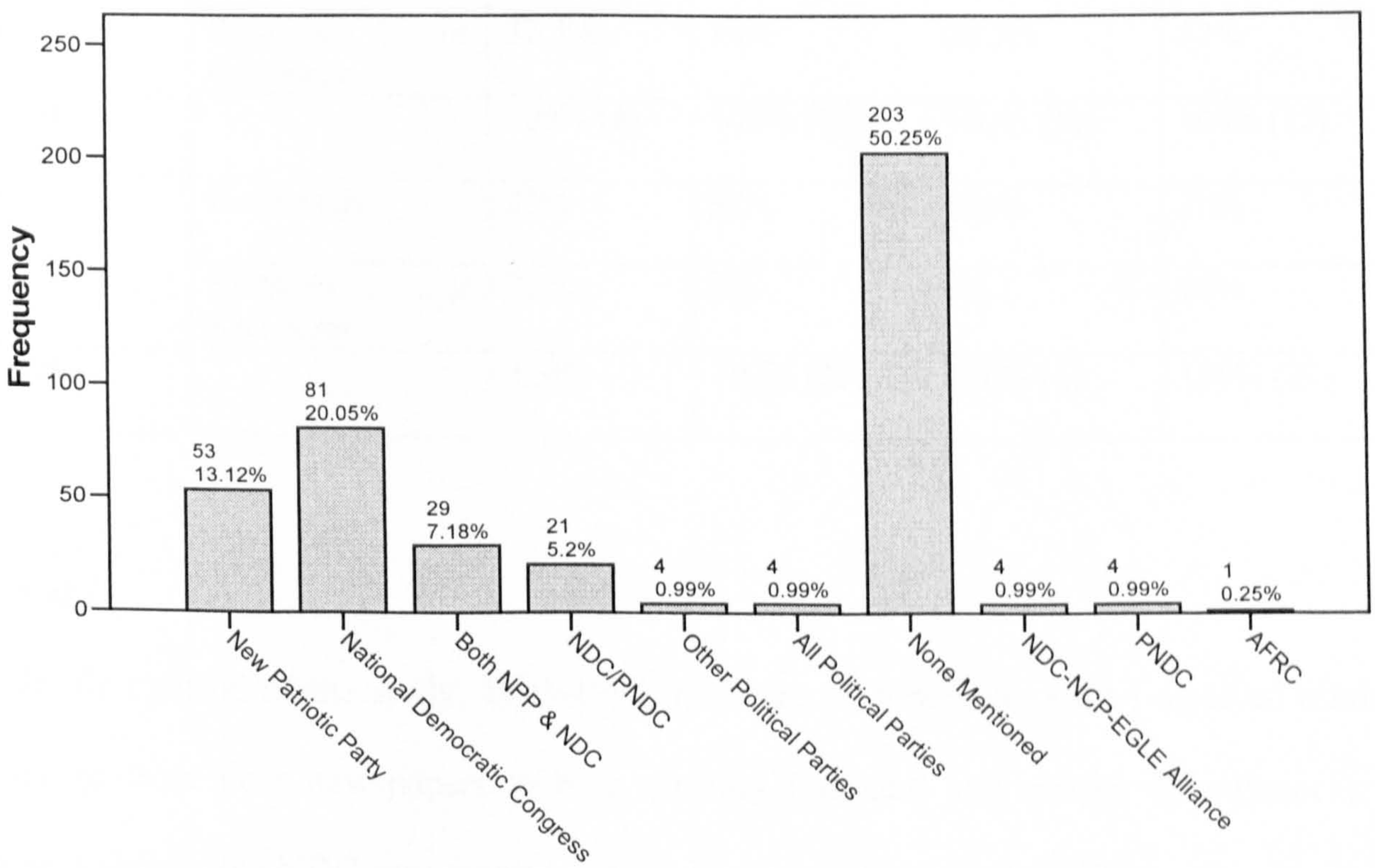
Cross-tabulating title of newspaper with type of political content item (front-page news story versus editorial) and controlling for period of publication, it was naturally (since there is usually one editorial per newspaper edition and more than one front-page story) observed that there were far fewer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

Most Mentioned Political Party

The study looked at the political party, which received the most mention in the two newspapers over the four-year study period to determine the political party that was most

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

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




However, where political parties were mentioned, the NDC received the most mention (20%) followed by the NPP (13.1%). Both NDC and NPP were together mentioned in the same stories more times (7.2%) than any other political party in Ghana. While the NDC and its predecessor, the PNDC, were together mentioned in 5.2% of news stories, all other

categories received only 1.0% apiece except the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), which received 0.2% as illustrated in Chart 2.

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

Table 3: Content Item Type by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party

| Political Party Mentioned | Type of News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **N D C** | Front-Page | 62.5% | 90% | 73.7% | 88% |
| | Editorial or Comment | 37.5% | 10% | 26.3% | 12% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| **N P P** | Front-Page | 25% | 92% | 100% | 70% |
| | Editorial or Comment | 75% | 8% | 0% | 30% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

*Period 1*

In the first period of the study, 1993-1994, NPP (as an opposition party) received minimal coverage from both newspapers in both quantity (amount) and quality (prominence). As Table 3 shows, the NDC was mentioned twice as many times as the NPP in *Graphic* stories of that period while in the case of the *Chronicle*, the NDC was mentioned nearly 10 times more than the NPP. The NDC government thus received several times more coverage than the opposition NPP.

In 1993, there was no straight news story carried by either newspaper on the opposition NPP although the *Daily Graphic* carried two editorials on the party. The NPP was also mentioned in only one straight news story in *Daily Graphic*'s "front-page main news" category and one editorial in 1994. Similarly, in the same year, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* mentioned the NPP in only three straight news stories, one as the "front-page main news story" and the other two as "front-page other news" stories. *Chronicle* also published one news release from the NPP.

*Period 2*

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

*Graphic Coverage*

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

*Chronicle Coverage*

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

During the second period of the study, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* repeated its pattern of offering the NDC (now in opposition) extensive coverage. In 2001, it carried 10 straight

news stories about that party, seven (63.6%) as "front-page main news" and three (27.3%) as "front-page other news" stories, and also published one (9.1%) editorial on it. In 2002, it carried 12 straight news stories about the party, six (42.9%) apiece in the two front-page placement categories, and published two (14.3%) editorials on it.

*Items with Joint NPP/NDC Mentions*

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

*Multi-Axial Comparisons*

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

NDC total mention of 82.6%, *Graphic* gave it 17.4% although they both gave the NPP 50% total mention for the period.

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

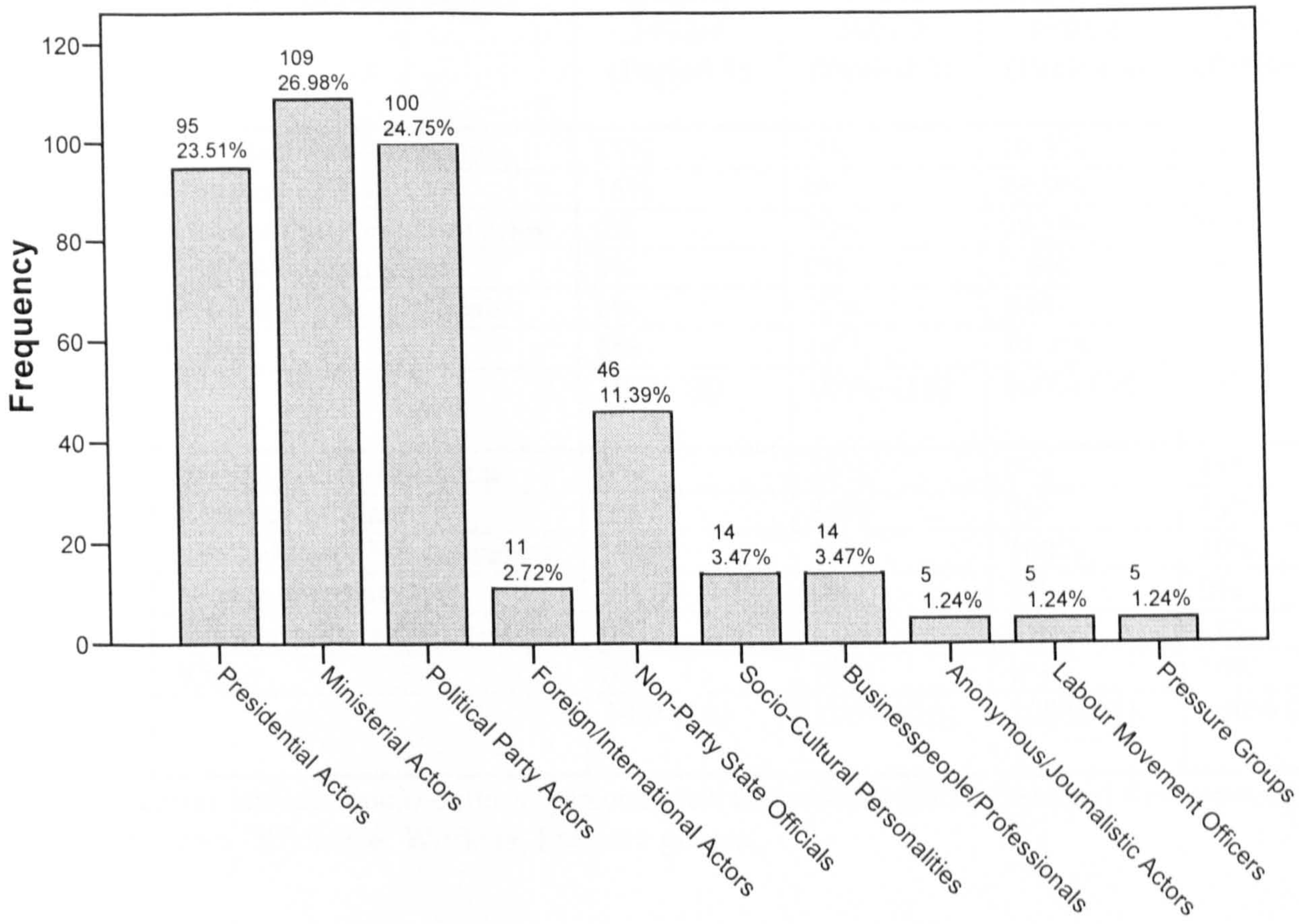
The NDC received the most mention in both newspapers (not just *Graphic*) over the two periods making it more prominent overall. Of the 49.8% political news stories that specifically mentioned names of political parties, the NDC was the most mentioned receiving 20% while the NPP followed with 13.1%. However, in relation to the two newspapers, *Graphic* gave more coverage to the NDC in the first period when it was in power, but its coverage of the NPP in the second period far outstripped that of the NDC of the first period. It thus did not show bias in terms of the amount of coverage in favour of Rawlings' government. Similarly, *Chronicle* did not show coverage bias in favour of Kufuor's government in either period of the study. Although it gave the NPP much-improved coverage in the second period compared to the first, its total coverage tilted more towards the NDC than the NPP.

Coverage of the first two years of the Kufuor regime (2001-2002) showed that the *Daily Graphic* actually reported it (NPP) much more (20.8%) than it reported the NDC (11%) during the first two years (1993-1994) of the Rawlings regime. Conversely, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, although with higher percentages of coverage, concentrated much more on the NDC in both periods of the study: 34.2% in the first period and 25% in the second. It only referred to President Kufuor's NPP in 3.6% and 20% of cases in the first and second periods, respectively. Indeed, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried more stories making references to the NDC than the NPP. It produced more coverage of government and its activities than the *Daily Graphic* in the first study period when the NDC was in power but reversed the trend in the second period during the NPP administration mentioning the opposition NDC more times in its political stories than the ruling NPP.

Actors in Political Stories

Ministers of State (27%), political party functionaries (24.8%), the President and Vice-President (23.5%) in that order of prominence stood out as the most frequently reported actors in political stories. With the exception of non-party state officials such as directors of ministries and officers of state-owned corporations and boards who together constituted 11.4% of story actors, all other categories of actors received only marginal coverage totalling a little above 10%. Chart 3 shows actors frequently covered while Table 4 that follows explains the different permutations as regards each of the two newspapers, period of publication and the political party mentioned in those political stories.

## Chart 3: Main Actors in Political News Stories




Results of a cross-tabulation of the variable "actors in political news stories" with the other variables mentioned (political parties mentioned, newspaper concerned and period of publication) provide an indication of the period during which the media had greater access to politicians/political stories.

Table 4: Actors in Political Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

| Political Party Mentioned | Actor in News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDC | President/Vice-President | 25% | 0% | 10.5% | 0% |
| | Ministers of State | 75% | 0% | 28.9% | 4% |
| | Political Party Functionaries | 0% | 70% | 39.5% | 76% |
| | Foreign/International | 0% | 0% | 2.6% | 0% |
| | Non-Party State Officials | 0% | 20% | 2.6% | 8% |
| | *Other | 0% | 10% | 15.8% | 12% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| NPP | President/Vice-President | 0% | 28% | 0% | 45% |
| | Ministers of State | 0% | 44% | 0% | 15% |
| | Political Party Functionaries | 100% | 4% | 100% | 20% |
| | Foreign/International | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Non-Party State Officials | 0% | 12% | 0% | 10% |
| | *Other | 0% | 12% | 0% | 10% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

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

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

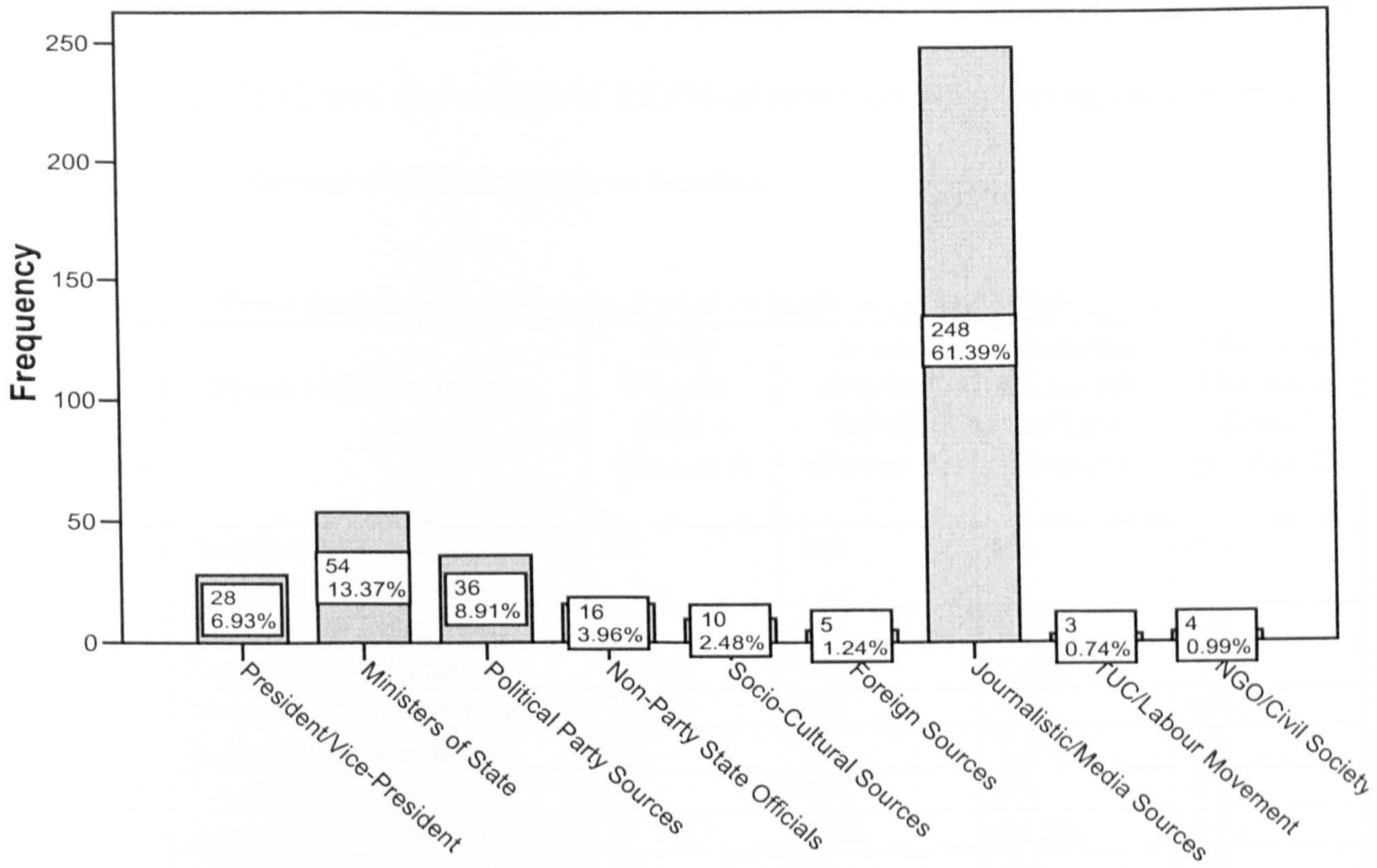
The political actor indicator thus showed the predominance of those quoted or referred to in stories that mentioned the NDC as opposed to the NPP. This was true of both study periods and not only when the NDC was in power. In both cases, Ministers of State, political party

functionaries, the President and Vice-President were the most frequently reported actors in political stories but the levels of coverage showed differences in the two periods of the study that indicated the prominence of one government (political party) over the other. More of these actors were found in the first than the second period, thus pointing to the predominance of NDC political actors, although *Graphic* used more NPP actors in the second period.

Sources of Political News

With regard to sources of political news, journalistic sources predominated making a total of 61.4%. These included reporters attending functions and reporting from those functions (31.2%). Others were using other media sources such as the Ghana News Agency (GNA) (2.2%) or other newspapers (0.7%) and leaked or public documents (0.5%) or the newspaper's own editorials (15.6%). They also included unnamed or anonymous sources, which constituted over 11% of cases. Political sources - the President, Vice-President, Ministers of State, opposition leaders and spokespeople, Members of Parliament and political party officers - together were sources for only about 29% of news stories as illustrated in Chart 4.

**Chart 4: Sources of Political News**




Key politicians did not constitute important news sources despite the importance of official news sources to journalists. Whether because they were inaccessible, unavailable or provided very little newsworthy information, they were used very sparingly as news sources throughout the study. Among the few that were used, the majority were in stories that referred to the NPP rather than the NDC. This could relate to the relative accessibility and/or credibility of NPP political sources to news people. By and large, using news sources as an indicator of extensive coverage did not provide much useful information especially since more journalistic/media sources were used in both periods.

*Journalistic Sources*

In both study periods and in the two newspapers, journalistic/media news sources were much more favoured than any other category of sources especially during the first period. In this period, 1993-1994, reliance on journalists' ability to cover events/activities and gather news

was the source of news for 77.2% of coverage while for the second period, it constituted 48.2%. The only other single category worth mentioning was "ministers of state" which in *Graphic* of 2001-2002 was the source of 27.5% of news coverage though not necessarily mentioning any of the two political parties in the study.

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Types of News Sources | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDC | Presidential/Vice-Presidential Sources | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Ministers of State | 0% | 0% | 5.3% | 0% |
| | Political Party Sources | 12.5% | 40% | 2.6% | 32% |
| | Non-Party State Officials | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Socio-Cultural Sources | 0% | 0% | 7.9% | 4% |
| | Foreign Sources | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Journalistic/Media Sources | 87.5% | 60% | 84.2% | 64% |
| | TUC/Labour Movement Officials/Workers | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | NGO/Civil Society Officials | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| NPP | Presidential/Vice-Presidential Sources | 0% | 24% | 0% | 15% |
| | Ministers of State | 0% | 36% | 0% | 15% |
| | Political Party Sources | 50% | 4% | 75% | 0% |
| | Non-Party State Officials | 0% | 16% | 0% | 0% |
| | Socio-Cultural Sources | 0% | 8% | 0% | 0% |
| | Foreign Sources | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Journalistic/Media Sources | 50% | 8% | 25% | 65% |
| | TUC/Labour Movement Officials/Workers | 0% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| | NGO/Civil Society Officials | 0% | 4% | 0% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

*The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s use of journalistic/media sources was remarkable in stories that mentioned the NDC particularly during the first period as shown in Table 5. Key politicians such as the President, Vice-President and Ministers of State were hardly used as news sources throughout the study especially in stories that referred to the NDC. Comparing the

two newspapers, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* used more journalistic/media sources than the *Daily Graphic* in both periods: 78.4% as against *Graphic*'s 75.3% in the first, and 66% to 33.3% in the second. Comparing newspapers across periods, each of them used more of these sources in coverage of the first than of the second period.

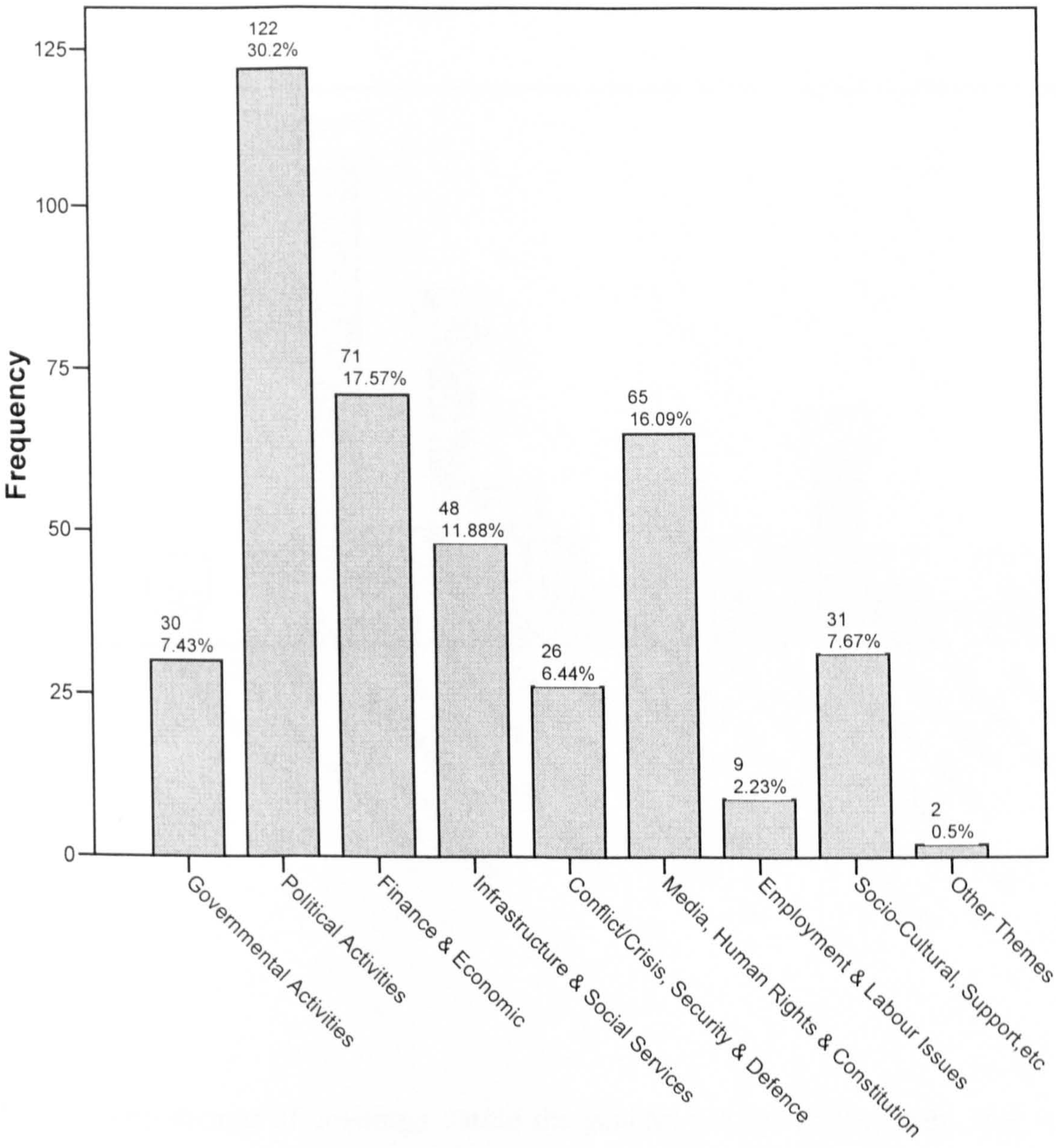
## Quality/Type of Coverage

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

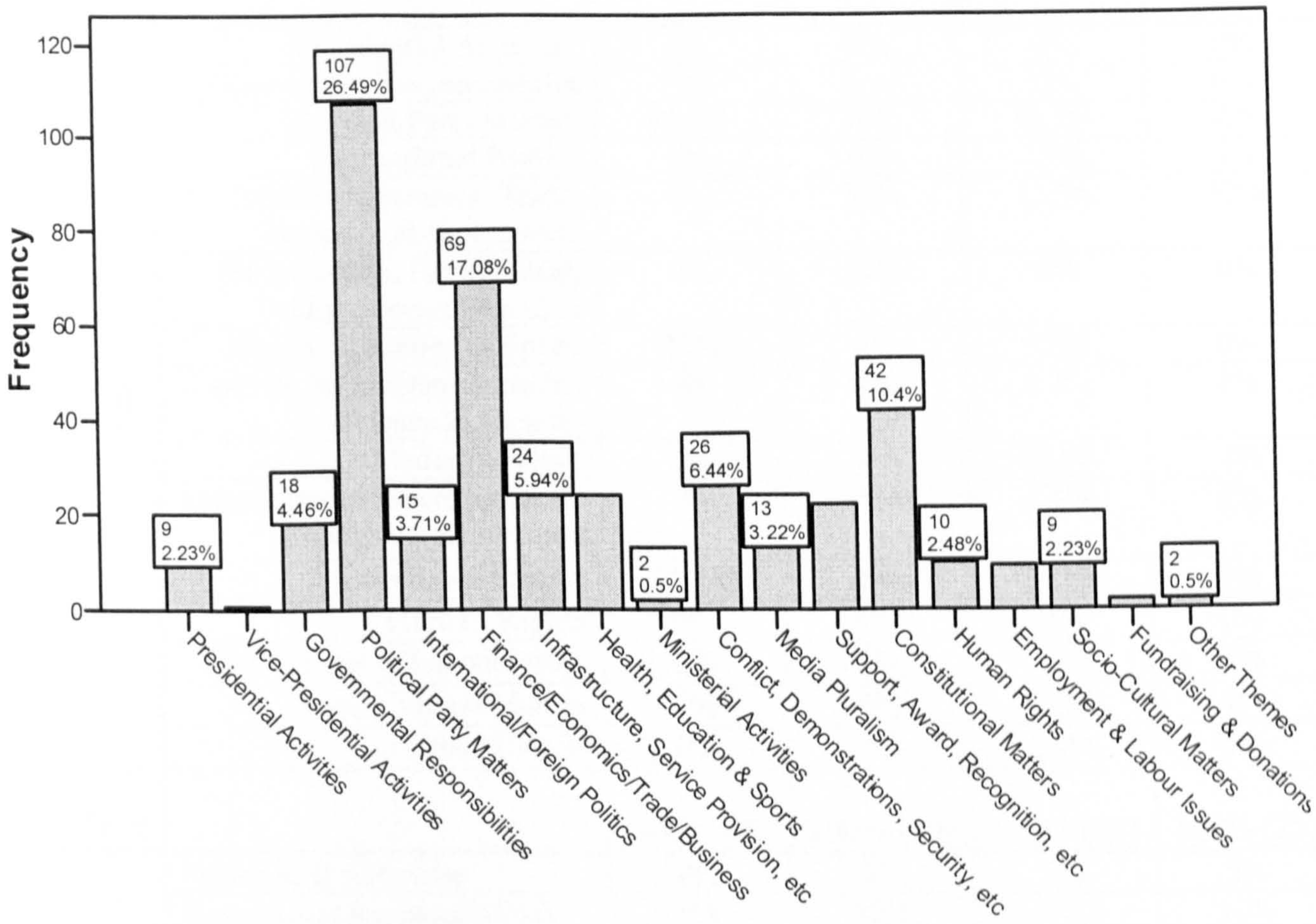
### Major Themes of Political Coverage

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

## Chart 5a: Main Themes of Coverage



## Chart 5b: Main Themes of Coverage Elaborated




Placing main themes of coverage within the general context of the study, that is, examining and comparing that category vis-à-vis the political party mentioned in the story, the period of publication and the newspaper concerned produced Table 6. In both newspapers and during both periods of study, activities of Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Ministers of State surprisingly received inconsequential media attention compared to activities of their political parties and even what was perceived to be their responsibilities as public officials as Table 6 shows.

Table 6: Main Themes of Political Story by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

| Political Party Mentioned | Main Themes of Political News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDC | Presidential Activities | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Government Responsibilities | 25% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Political Party Matters | 37.5% | 10% | 42.1% | 52% |
| | International Politics | 0% | 0% | 7.9% | 0% |
| | Finance/Economics, Trade, Business, & Investments | 0% | 20% | 13.2% | 32% |
| | Infrastructure, Environment, Utility, Service Provision | 0% | 20% | 0% | 0% |
| | Health, Education & Sports | 25% | 0% | 5.3% | 0% |
| | Conflict, Strike/Demonstration Defence & Security | 0% | 10% | 5.3% | 4% |
| | Media Pluralism | 0% | 0% | 10.5% | 4% |
| | Support/Award/Recognition for Excellence; Celebration | 0% | 10% | 2.6% | 0% |
| | Constitutional Matters | 12.5% | 30% | 27.3% | 4% |
| | Human Rights | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Employment & Labour Issues | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Socio-Cultural Matters | 0% | 0% | 2.6% | 4% |
| | Other Themes | 0% | 0% | 2.6% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| NPP | Presidential Activities | 0% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| | Government Responsibilities | 0% | 12% | 0% | 10% |
| | Political Party Matters | 25% | 8% | 25% | 45% |
| | International Politics | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Finance/Economics, Trade, Business, & Investments | 0% | 32% | 25% | 15% |
| | Infrastructure, Environment, Utility, Service Provision | 0% | 12% | 0% | 5% |
| | Health, Education & Sports | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | Conflict, Demonstration, Strike, Defence & Security | 25% | 8% | 0% | 0% |
| | Media Pluralism | 0% | 4% | 25% | 0% |
| | Support/Award/Recognition for Excellence; Celebration | 0% | 16% | 25% | 0% |
| | Constitutional Matters | 50% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| | Human Rights | 0% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| | Employment & Labour Issues | 0% | 8% | 0% | 0% |
| | Other Themes | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

In the prominent categories of political party activities; finance, economics, trade, business and investments; constitutional, human rights and media matters; and infrastructure development, the NDC had more stories referring to it than the NPP as the Table shows. Both by being specifically mentioned and also in terms of the period of coverage, the NDC was more prominent in coverage of such themes. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* carried more of these stories especially in the first period of the study than the *Daily Graphic*, which during the second period did far more stories about the NPP than the NDC.

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

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

Examining main themes within the subcategory "positive" and "negative" coverage showed that in the first period, out of 184 stories in the two newspapers 32.1% were negative and in the second, 27.2% of a total of 220 stories fell within that category. The two newspapers, therefore, published more negative news stories during the first period (under Rawlings' NDC) than the second (under Kufuor's NPP) although in both periods, coverage of positive news exceeded negative news. In both cases, the thematic focus was on activities of political parties and related issues (including political appointments and parliamentary vetting of

political appointees). Negative topics covered included scandals, corruption, fraud and misappropriation of funds, political defections, inter- and intra-party wrangling and power struggles as well as attacks or threats of attacks on political opponents.

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

In 2001-2002, 54.3% of the 35 stories that referred to the NDC were negative/critical of it while of the NPP's total of 45 only 17.8% were of that description. In 1993-1994, out of a total of 46 stories that referred to the NDC, 39.1% were critical while for the same period; of the eight that referred to the NPP only 12.5% were critical. Interestingly, the only negative story about the NPP was published by the *Daily Graphic* and not *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. For both periods, however, *Chronicle* did most of the negative stories that mentioned the NDC: 88.9% in the first period constituting 42.1% of its total coverage for the period, and 78.9% in the second amounting to 60% of its total for that period. Overall, of 303 straight news stories, 30% were negative out of which the *Daily Graphic* published 23.1% (only 13.6% of its total straight news stories) and *Chronicle*, 76.9%, making 47% of its total.

Further subcategorised into "front-page main news" and "front-page other news" stories (for purposes of placement), straight news stories were more negative if they were "front-page main news" (37.2%) than if they were in the "front-page other news" subcategory (24.5%). Though the seven government releases (all published by *Graphic*) were supportive and positive, one of that newspaper's two opposition news statements was negative while the only one in *Chronicle* was positive. Of the 72 editorials, 27.8% were on negative themes out of which *Graphic* did 35% (23.3% of its 30 editorials) and *Chronicle* the remaining 65% constituting 31% of its 42 editorials. Stand-alone cartoons, letters and photographs (all 19 published by *Chronicle*) were 42.1% negative/critical.

## Tone and Direction of Political Stories

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

### *Tone of Story*

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

Most news stories (38.1%) fell within the 'neutral' category and although 'unfavourable or adversarial' stories, with 22.5%, appeared second, combining 'favourable/friendly' stories (10.1%) with 'exhortation or encouraging' stories (15.6%) meant there were more news stories (25.7%) with favourable tones. The other categories received only minor scores: 'admonition' (6.4%), 'sarcastic/teasing' (6.2%), and 'flattery' (1.0%) as the chart shows.

Comparing the two newspapers on the variable 'tone', it was observed that in both periods, the highest number of stories – 31.5% in the first and 43.6% in the second period - was scored under the category 'neutral'. As regards the other categories, during the first period of the study *Graphic* published more 'favourable' news stories (23.3%) than *Chronicle* (4.5%) while the latter published far more 'unfavourable' stories (32.4%) than *Graphic* (12.3%). Indeed, of the 22 "favourable" stories of that period, *Chronicle* published only 22.7%. The rest (77.3%) was published by *Graphic*. Conversely, of the 45 'unfavourable' stories of the same period, *Graphic* published only 20% while *Chronicle* published the remaining 80%. While most stories published by the *Daily Graphic* (38.4%) during this first period fell under the category 'neutral', followed by 'favourable' (23.3%) and 'exhortation/encouraging' tone (19.2%), the largest category in *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (32.4%) was 'unfavourable' followed by 27% 'neutral' and 16.2% 'sarcastic/mocking' tone.

In the second period, a different pattern emerged between the two newspapers. While 'neutral' stories in the *Daily Graphic* constituted 56.7% of its total coverage, the same category was only 28% of the coverage of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* of the same period. Favourable stories accounted for only 7.5% of *Daily Graphic* coverage, and constituted 10% of that of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* for the period. The three highest categories for each newspaper were: 'neutral', 'exhortation/encouraging' (18.3%) and 'unfavourable' (13.3%) for *Graphic*, and 'unfavourable' (30%), 'neutral' and 'exhortation/encouraging' (17%) for *Chronicle*. Indeed the highest percentage of 'neutral' stories during the entire study period appeared in the *Daily Graphic* while that of 'unfavourable' stories was found in *The Ghanaian Chronicle*.

Cross-tabulating 'tone of story' with the political party mentioned, title of newspaper and period in which such stories were published showed that those stories referring to the NPP fell mainly within the category 'neutral' while the NDC had more 'unfavourable' stories as Table 7 shows.

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Tone of News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDC | Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory | 37.5% | 0% | 2.6% | 4% |
| | Unfavourable/Stern/Adversarial | 0% | 30% | 42.1% | 40% |
| | Neutral | 25% | 50% | 21.1% | 28% |
| | Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging | 12.5% | 10% | 7.9% | 4% |
| | Admonition/Instructional | 25% | 10% | 7.9% | 8% |
| | *Other | 0% | 0% | 18.4% | 16% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| NPP | Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory | 0% | 8% | 25% | 20% |
| | Unfavourable/Stern/Adversarial | 75% | 4% | 0% | 20% |
| | Neutral | 0% | 72% | 25% | 20% |
| | Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging | 0% | 16% | 50% | 25% |
| | Admonition/Instructional | 25% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| | *Other | 0% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

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

Interestingly, while *Graphic* stories referring to the NDC in the first period were largely 'favourable', 'neutral' and 'instructional', in the second period, they had become largely 'neutral' and 'unfavourable'. Out of four stories mentioning the NPP in the *Daily Graphic*

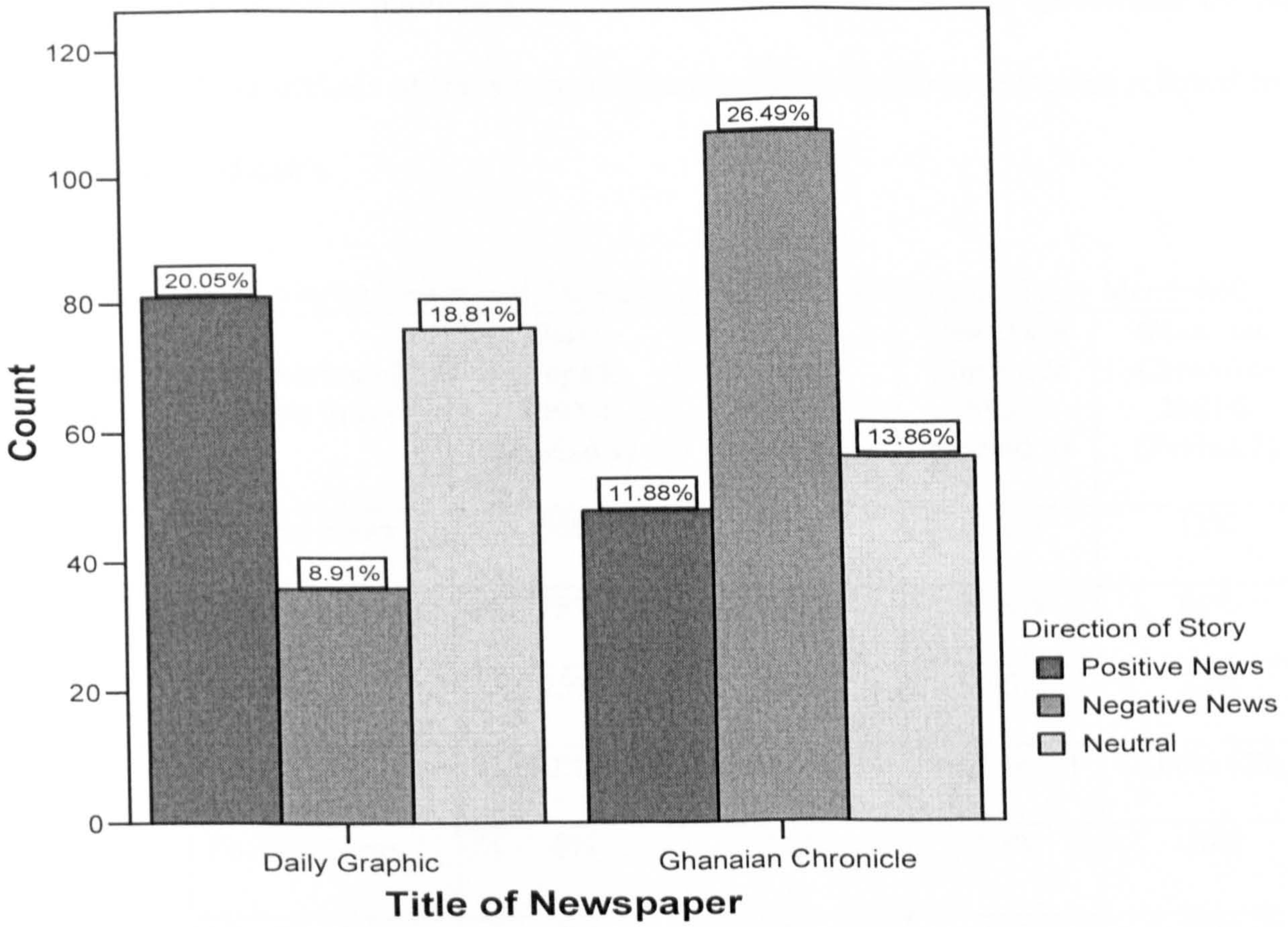
during the first period, three were 'unfavourable' to the NPP but of the same newspaper's eight stories about the NDC in the same period, three were 'favourable'. In the case of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, although it did most of the stories that mentioned the NDC overall, these were generally unfavourable to the party in both periods of the study. Its coverage of the NPP, however, had a largely 'encouraging or urging', 'favourable or friendly', or at least a 'neutral' tone overall.

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

*Direction of Story*

Direction of a news story was interpreted in terms of the positive, implying either a solution to a problem or a desired move while in the negative, it was seen as either a source of problems or a wrong move. As regards the direction of news stories, there was a relatively even spread among the three categories used in the study: positive news (31.9%); negative news (35.4%); and neutral (32.7%) in relation to the two newspapers and both study periods. Chart 6 compares the two newspapers on the "direction of political items" over the entire study period and shows that while *Graphic* published most of the positive and neutral items overall, *Chronicle* did most of the negative ones.

**Chart 6: Direction of Political Items in the Two Newspapers**




Looking at each newspaper separately, it was observed that *Chronicle* carried most of the negative items in both periods: 81.9% in 1993-1994 and 67.6% in 2001-2002 representing 53.2% and 48% respectively of its total coverage for each period. Conversely, *Graphic* carried most of the positive items in both periods of the study: 59.2% in the first and 65% in the second. This meant that *Graphic* covered more positive stories in the second (43.3%) than the first (39.7%) period. It also had a higher percentage (42.5%) of 'neutral' stories in the first than the second period during which 'neutral' items made up 37.5% of its total coverage (though still higher than in *Chronicle*). Between the two newspapers, *Chronicle* carried more 'neutral' stories (50.8%) than *Graphic* (49.2%) in the first period while *Graphic* published far more 'neutral' stories (65.2%) than *Chronicle* (34.8%) in the second period.

Examining "direction of story" in relation to the two newspapers' coverage of the two political parties, *Chronicle* published most of the negative stories that mentioned the NDC and the NPP in both periods of the study although most of its positive stories referred to the NPP as Table 8 indicates.

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Direction of News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **N D C** | Positive News | 50% | 0% | 13.2% | 12% |
| | Negative News | 25% | 70% | 55.3% | 64% |
| | Neutral | 25% | 30% | 31.6% | 24% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| **N P P** | Positive News | 0% | 56% | 50% | 50% |
| | Negative News | 100% | 4% | 0% | 30% |
| | Neutral | 0% | 40% | 50% | 20% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

*Graphic* again provided the most interesting case by matching the 'direction' of its news stories to ruling political parties. During the first period when the NDC was in political power, one half of *Graphic* stories that referred to it were positive with none for the then opposition NPP. However, in its coverage during the second period when the NPP was in power, *Graphic* stories that referred to it were 56% positive and, symmetrically, no positives for the NDC. Similarly, negative reports in which the two parties were mentioned had overwhelmingly high percentages when the parties were in opposition: 100% for the NPP in 1993-1994 and 70% for the NDC in 2001-2002.

On the whole, however, out of a total of 29 *Graphic* stories that referred to the NPP, 48.3% were positive, 34.5% neutral and only 17.2% negative. As regards its 18 stories mentioning the NDC, 50% were negative, 27.8% neutral and only 22.2% positive. In the case of the *Chronicle*, 50% of its 24 news stories that mentioned the NPP were positive while 25% apiece were negative and neutral. *Chronicle*'s 63 news stories that specifically mentioned the NDC were largely negative (58.7%), 28.6% neutral and only 12.7% positive.

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

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

towards ruling governments (rather than Rawlings' government) and *Chronicle* bias against Rawlings' NDC (rather than bias towards Kufuor's NPP per se).

Use of Qualitative Labels

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

*The Ghanaian Chronicle* made the most use of qualifiers in both periods of the study. Overall, 77% of its total coverage of 211 stories contained qualitative labels while only 37% of *Daily Graphic* stories for the entire study period (193 stories) used labels. Out of 111 political items *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published in 1993-1994, only 23.4% (26 stories) did not contain any qualitative labels. The 76.6% (85 stories) that contained such labels often used them in many multiples. While all four (4) items referring to the NPP contained labels, as many as 73.7% (28) of the 38 that referred to the NDC contained such descriptions. For the same period, 1993-1994, 39.7% (29) of the 73 items published by the *Daily Graphic* contained such labels while 60.3% (44 stories) had none. As regards *Daily Graphic* stories mentioning the NPP and the NDC, an equal percentage: 5.5% (4 stories apiece) used qualitative labels, although the NDC was referred to in twice as many stories as the NPP. Similarly, during the second period (2001-2002), out of *Chronicle*'s total of 100 items, 77%

made abundant use of qualitative labels while 35% (42 stories) of the *Daily Graphic*'s 120 contained such labels. Importantly, however, 65% (78 items) of total *Graphic* coverage for the period used no labels. Out of its 42 stories that used labels, 19% (8) referred to the NPP while 9.5% (4) mentioned the NDC. In *The Ghanaian Chronicle* of the same period, 19.5% (15) of stories with qualitative labels mentioned the NPP while 27.3% (21) referred to the NDC.

In some news stories of the first period, although *Chronicle* did not explicitly mention the NDC by name, enough references were made to identify it as the object of ridicule. For instance, *Chronicle* reports that Ghana's first Parliament has been "variously described as rubber stamp, Soviet style and even drab and uninventive" (Monday, March 8 – Sunday, March 14 1993, p. 8). And so in an article on the first Parliament of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, *Chronicle* describes some Members of Parliament as 'dangerous misfits', the situation as a 'mistake' and a 'misfortune' arising out of 'most controversial elections', which resulted in a 'banana parliament'. Seats in the First Parliament were predominantly taken up by the Progressive Alliance comprising the NDC (189), NCP (8), and EGLE (1) with two independent members after opposition parties boycotted the elections of 1992[7].

In an editorial that directly mentioned the NDC, *Chronicle* described it as having a 'lopsided parliament' whose executive is 'contemptuous of a Constitution', and referred to a 'recycled minister' who together had caused 'blunders' due to their 'inexperience' and thus generated

[7] In the parliamentary elections held on December 29 1992, the Progressive Alliance made up of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the National Convention Party (NCP) and the EGLE Party won 198 seats out of a total of 200, with the remaining 2 seats going to Independent candidates. Within the Progressive Alliance, the NDC won 189 seats, the NCP had 8, and the EGLE Party had one. Four political parties - the New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's National Convention (PNC), National Independent Party (NIP) and the People's Heritage Party (PHP) - boycotted the parliamentary elections, dissatisfied with the proposed election strategy and accusing the NDC of rigging the presidential elections held earlier.

'open disenchantment' among a people who have to swallow the 'unpalatable ... bitter pill' (October 4 1993). In another editorial (December 13 1993), it used such words as a 'lethargic Parliament', which is engaged in 'politricks' over 'highly contentious' issues and 'surreptitiously' passing 'ill-intentioned, obnoxious laws' that serve as a 'noose' to 'strangle' political opponents. In direct reference to the leaders of the NDC who also happen to be the leaders of the erstwhile PNDC and leaders/supporters of its predecessor June 4 (AFRC), the *Chronicle* in its editorial of April 18 1994 uses such language as people with 'populist ideas, gratifying bloodletting as the only alleviatory way'. To the newspaper, these people are engaged in 'slash and burn', the result of their 'farrago of ill-conceived ideas', describing them as people who endorse 'heinous and bloody military offensives'.

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

> One of the bitterest charges against the Rawlings regime had to do with their sense and acts of arbitrariness. They always saw things only from their perspective and did what convenienced them alone. ... Men like Akwasi Agyeman and Dr Tony Aidoo, both of the former ruling government, fell out of favour with a decent chunk of the electorate ... just because of acts like the one perpetrated by the Honourable Minister ... Zero tolerance for corruption must not be made an empty slogan like those we have heard for the last twenty years.

The paper concludes with an indirect reference to the (P) NDC (combining the PNDC and the NDC governments) of Ex-President Jerry Rawlings, which altogether ruled Ghana for 19 years. Another vivid example is provided by the newspaper's front-page story of Monday, September 10 2001 headlined: **"Minister in Blackmail Tango..."** in which it describes the two political parties as "vanquished NDC" and "victorious NPP".

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

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

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

> By the time the President hit the garden city (?), the motorcade had to slow down as he meandered his way through a mass of humanity with richly dressed men removing their shirts to clean his car, women carpeting the street with their cloths until the entourage finally arrived at Manhyia, the Otumfuo's residence.

Furthermore, through the frequent use of qualifiers, *Chronicle* sometimes succeeded in putting a spin on some of its straight news stories thereby making them more or less favourable or unfavourable than they otherwise would be. Though the sample provided relatively fewer examples of cases of spin, these demonstrated the newspaper's use of exaggerations through qualifiers. All examples of the use of spin are from 2002, which falls within the first administration of the NPP regime of President Kufuor. A "front-page other news story" of Tuesday, November 12 2002 headlined: **Kufuor Tells GIAC Delegates: "Be Blunt with Your Views"** begins:

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

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

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

The Wednesday, December 18 2002 front-page story titled: **"Owuraku Amofa Coming for NDC Congress"** spins around the Amofa-Rawlings confrontations and uses several qualitative labels to announce a simple issue of the possible return of Owuraku Amofa, a former Minister in Rawlings' NDC Government, from the United States for the impending NDC congress. The story also contains some comparisons between Owuraku Amofa and Nana Akufo Addo (Ghana's current Minister of Foreign Affairs and occupant of Amofa's former seat in Parliament) as well as some historical facts about events leading to Owuraku Amofa's exit from Ghana.

> It will be all surprises the array of personalities who will be converging in Accra to elect a flag bearer for Ghana's leading opposition party, besides the shocks that could culminate in *fufus*, *kenkeys* and *tuo zaafis* going waste after the votes have been counted and the battle lost and won. Blockbuster politician, Owuraku Amofa, the man who physically stood up to the tantrums of Mr Jerry John Rawlings on the eve of the Kufuor victory and flew out of the country unceremoniously, will be crash-landing at the Kotoka International Airport ... the swash buckling EGLE man will be leading a pack of US-based faithful to do what he Owuraku Amofa is good at – stirring controversy – and, ultimately 'putting sand into the gari of ex-President Rawlings' ... Owuraku Amofa lost in the 1996 parliamentary elections to Nana Akufo Addo in an electoral drama that involved an alleged attempt to spirit away ballot boxes and a resultant sabre-rattling between the two smooth talking, extrovert Okyeman lawyers. ... Peeved and angry, Owuraku Amofa, with tail tucked between his legs, vanished from the country amidst speculation, melodrama and controversy, as party people kept denying ...

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

Overall, none of the two regimes/parties - the NDC and the NPP – had an edge over the other in terms of the number of qualifiers from either the *Daily Graphic* or *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Although, during the second period, *Graphic* used more labels in stories that referred to the NPP than the NDC, in *The Ghanaian Chronicle* of the same period, the ruling NPP had fewer labels than the opposition NDC. Generally, however, *The Ghanaian*

*Chronicle* showed a lot of bias against the NDC in both periods of the study through the many negative and unfavourable qualifiers it used in reference to that party.

**Prominence of Political Stories**

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

Size/Length of Story

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

As regards lengths of news stories/items carried by the two newspapers in which the two main political parties were either mentioned or referred to, Table 9 provides some insights.

Table 9: Size/Length of Political Story/Item by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

| Political Party Mentioned | Story Size/Length (Page) | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N D C | Full | 0% | 0% | 5.3% | 8% |
| | Half to Full | 25% | 10% | 26.4% | 48% |
| | 1/3 to Half | 12.5% | 20% | 21.1% | 32% |
| | ¼ to1/3 | 25% | 1.0% | 7.9% | 8% |
| | 1/8 to ¼ | 25% | 40% | 18.5% | 4% |
| | Less than 1/8 | 12.5% | 20% | 21.1% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| N P P | Full | 0% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| | Half to Full | 25% | 36% | 25% | 15% |
| | 1/3 to Half | 0% | 8% | 0% | 35% |
| | ¼ to 1/3 | 75% | 44% | 50% | 20% |
| | 1/8 to ¼ | 0% | 12% | 0% | 20% |
| | Less than 1/8 | 0% | 0% | 25% | 5% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

Table 9 shows that during the first period of the study, political news stories/items tended to be generally shorter (less than a quarter-page in size) than the second period. Shorter stories constituted 37% of items analysed in 1993-1994 and 20.4% in 2001-2002. The two newspapers' coverage of the two political parties over the two study periods showed 74.2% lengthier stories measuring a quarter page and above while 25.8% were shorter in 1993-1994. In 2001-2002, 81.1% were lengthier and 18.9% shorter. Lengthier stories, some of which ran over a page[8] were more elaborate, expansive and often tackled issues reported from various angles and/or perspectives. Both newspapers carried more political stories with lengthier sizes (quarter-page and above) in 2001-2002 (when the NPP was in power) than in 1993-

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

- August 1 1994: "Kwesi Botchwey has Child with Canadian High Commissioner ..."
- February 20 – 21 2001: "Kufuor's Visit: What Happened ..."
- September 10 2001: "Minister in Blackmail Tango ..."
- August 30 2002: "Blay-Miezah's Billions: $950m Traced to Swiss-Dutch Banks ... PNDC Missed $50m in '84" (a story of about one-and-a-half pages).

1994 (when the NDC was in power). For *Chronicle*, it was 81% of lengthier stories in 2001-2002 and 61.2% in 1993-1994; and for *Graphic*, 78.4% lengthier stories in 2001-2002 and 65.8% in 1993-1994. Whereas *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more of the lengthier stories (81%) than the *Daily Graphic* (78.4%) in 2001-2002, the latter published more such stories (65.8%) in 1993-1994 than the former with 61.2%.

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

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

Story Placement

Placement of front-page stories distinguished mainly between "front-page main news story" and "front-page other news story", which were both straight news stories. Other categories were: stand-alone cartoons, photographs, letters or circulars, and editorials, which usually appeared on specific pages of the two newspapers[9]. Most front-page political items (47.5%) belonged to the category, "front-page other news" stories, which were more predominant than any other in both newspapers in all four years of the study. Slightly less than one third of all stories analysed (30%) fell within the "front-page main news" category. Editorials constituted 17.8% while cartoons and photocopies of letters, documents and circulars made up 4.7%. Straight news stories ("front-page main news story" and "front-page other news story"), therefore, had much higher percentages than all other categories.

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

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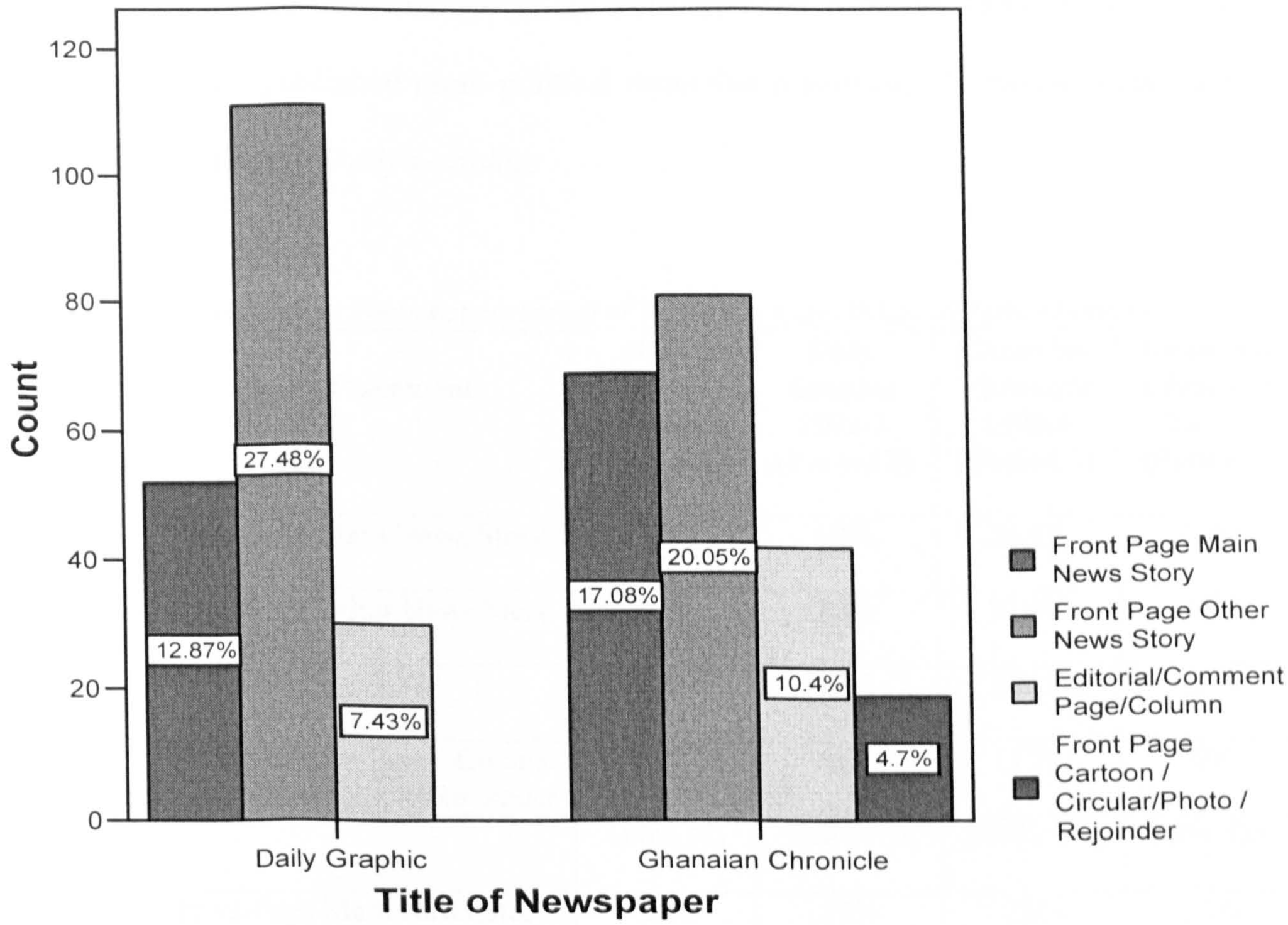
[9] In 1993 and 1994, *Ghanaian Chronicle* editorials frequently appeared on page 5 with the exception of its May 17-23 1993 edition in which the editorial was on page 6. However, in both 2001 and 2002, *Chronicle*'s editorial pages were most inconsistent vacillating among pages 2, 3, 4 and 5. For its part, *Daily Graphic*, which in 1993 was called *People's Daily Graphic*, referred to its editorial as "Comment" and published it on page 2. By 1994, the newspaper had reverted to its former name of *Daily Graphic*, renamed its "Comment" "Editorial" and published it on page 5. In both 2001 and 2002, *Graphic* editorial was consistently published on page 7.

**Chart 7: Story Placement by the Two Newspapers**




As regards specific details, whereas *Chronicle* did more "front-page main news stories" (57%) than *Graphic* with 43%, the latter did more in the "front-page other news" category (57.8%) than the former (42.2%). The two newspapers together published more front-page news stories during the second period of the study (82.3%) than the first (71.8%) although in the specific case of the *Daily Graphic*, more "front-page main news" stories (28.8%) were published in the first period than the second during which it published 25.8% in that category. *Chronicle* also published 58.3% of all editorials while *Graphic* published the remaining 41.7%.

Comparing newspapers and political parties on "story placement", it was observed that overall; the NDC was mentioned in more front-page stories, both in the "main news" and

"other news" categories, than the NPP. However, in the second period, *Graphic* published more front-page stories that referred to the NPP than the NDC as Table 10 shows. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more political items that mentioned the two political parties on its front-page than the *Daily Graphic*.

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Story Placement | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N D C | Front-Page Main News Story | 12.5% | 10% | 28.9% | 52% |
| | Front-Page Other News Story | 50% | 80% | 31.6% | 36% |
| | Editorial/Comment Page/Column | 37.5% | 10% | 26.3% | 12% |
| | Front-Page Cartoon, Circular Letter /Photograph/ Rejoinder | 0% | 0% | 13.2% | 0% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| N P P | Front-Page Main News Story | 25% | 32% | 25% | 20% |
| | Front-Page Other News Story | 0% | 60% | 75% | 50% |
| | Editorial/Comment Page/Column | 75% | 8% | 0% | 25% |
| | Front-Page Cartoon, Circular Letter /Photograph/ Rejoinder | 0% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

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

Story Enhancements

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

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Type of Story Enhancement | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **NDC** | Photographs | 25% | 0% | 31.6% | 64% |
| | Cartoons | 0% | 0% | 10.5% | 4% |
| | Photocopy of Letter, Circular, or Document | 0% | 0% | 2.6% | 4% |
| | None | 75% | 100% | 55.3% | 28% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| **NPP** | Photographs | 0% | 20% | 25% | 40% |
| | Cartoons | 0% | 0% | 25% | 5% |
| | Photocopy of Letter, Circular, or Document | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | None | 100% | 80% | 50% | 55% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

Cross-tabulating type of story enhancement with title of newspaper, period of publication and political party mentioned in the story as contained in Table 11 helped to direct the focus of story prominence since enhancements served to highlight stories. Table 11 shows that *The Ghanaian Chronicle* used more enhancements than the *Daily Graphic* or that *Graphic* used fewer enhancements, on the whole, than *Chronicle* at both periods of the study. Although

more enhancements were used in the second period by both newspapers, within newspapers there was not much change in their use between periods so far as it related to the same political party. Most enhancements in both newspapers accompanied stories that referred to the NDC during both study periods totalling 41.3% in 1993-1994, and 51.5% in 2001-2002. Conversely, only 25% (1993-1994) and 31.1% (2001-2002) of enhancements were used in stories that referred to the NPP. However, the fact that more enhancements were used in the second period suggests some level of projection of the NPP government.

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

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

**Prevailing Journalistic/Media Environment**

The level of media freedom and of expression, and government-media relationships were important components of this study. Looking closely at Ghanaian realities, it was expected

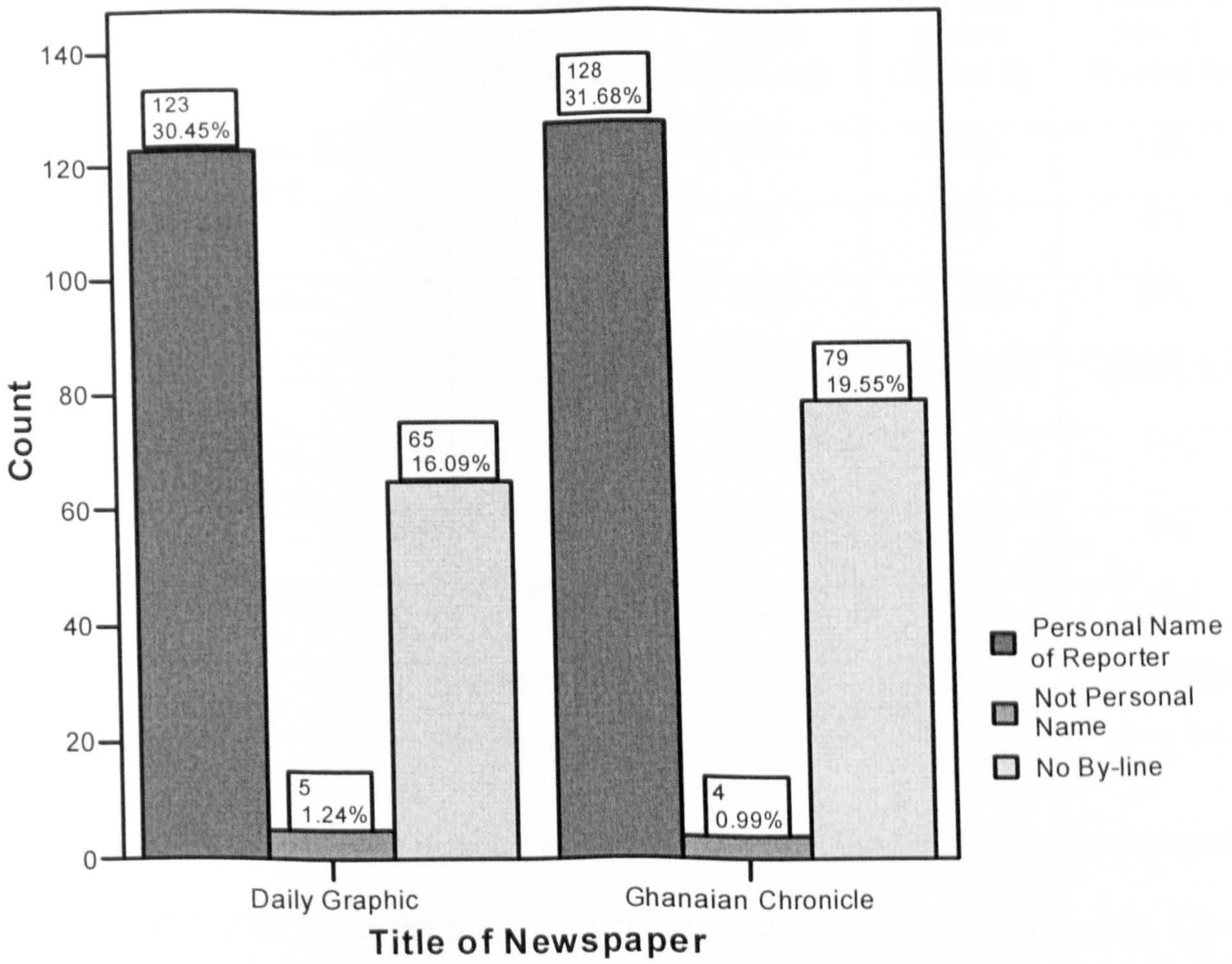
that Kufuor's NPP government would relate more positively with the media and thereby provide a more congenial and liberal media environment with greater access to information sources than Rawlings' NDC government. The environment within which journalists operated during the study period was examined through both document and content analyses. Content analysis examined the use of by-lines in news stories, and the event or occasion of coverage.

Use of Story By-lines

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

On the whole, 62.1% of political news stories studied bore the personal names of reporters as by-lines although as many as 35.6% had no by-lines. Non-personal name by-lines recorded only 2.2% of total coverage. Chart 8 illustrates the two newspapers' use of by-lines. Non-personal names included tags such as "Our Economic Desk/Staff", "Our Political Desk", "Our Political Reporter", "Graphic Reporter", or "Chronicle Reporter" and others such as "Our Swat Team", or "Deep-Throat Sources". The high percentage use of personal name by-lines indicates that reporters largely identified themselves with news stories they wrote thereby suggesting either an enabling media environment or boldness of journalists.

**Chart 8: Type of Story By-line Used by the Two Newspapers**




Since the use of by-lines was one crucial way of determining the prevailing media atmosphere, it was important to establish, through it, which of the two political administrations under study provided a more congenial atmosphere for media work. It was, indeed, important to find out under which regime personal names more frequently were used as by-lines in order to estimate how free or otherwise reporters/journalists felt. Consequently, the "use of by-lines" variable was cross-tabulated with the three key variables of the study: political party mentioned in the story, title of newspaper and the period of publication. Table 12 provides such details.

Table 12: Types of By-lines used in News Stories by Newspaper, Period of Publication and Political Party Mentioned

| Political Party Mentioned | Use of By-lines in News Story | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **N D C** | Personal Name of Reporter | 37.5% | 70% | 47.4% | 72% |
| | Not Personal Name | 12.5% | 0% | 5.3% | 4% |
| | No By-line | 50% | 30% | 47.4% | 24% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| **N P P** | Personal Name of Reporter | 0% | 88% | 50% | 55% |
| | Not Personal Name | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | No By-line | 100% | 12% | 50% | 45% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

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

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

the NPP. In both periods, therefore, it used fewer personal name by-lines in stories that mentioned the NPP and more in those mentioning the NDC.

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

Occasion or Event of Coverage

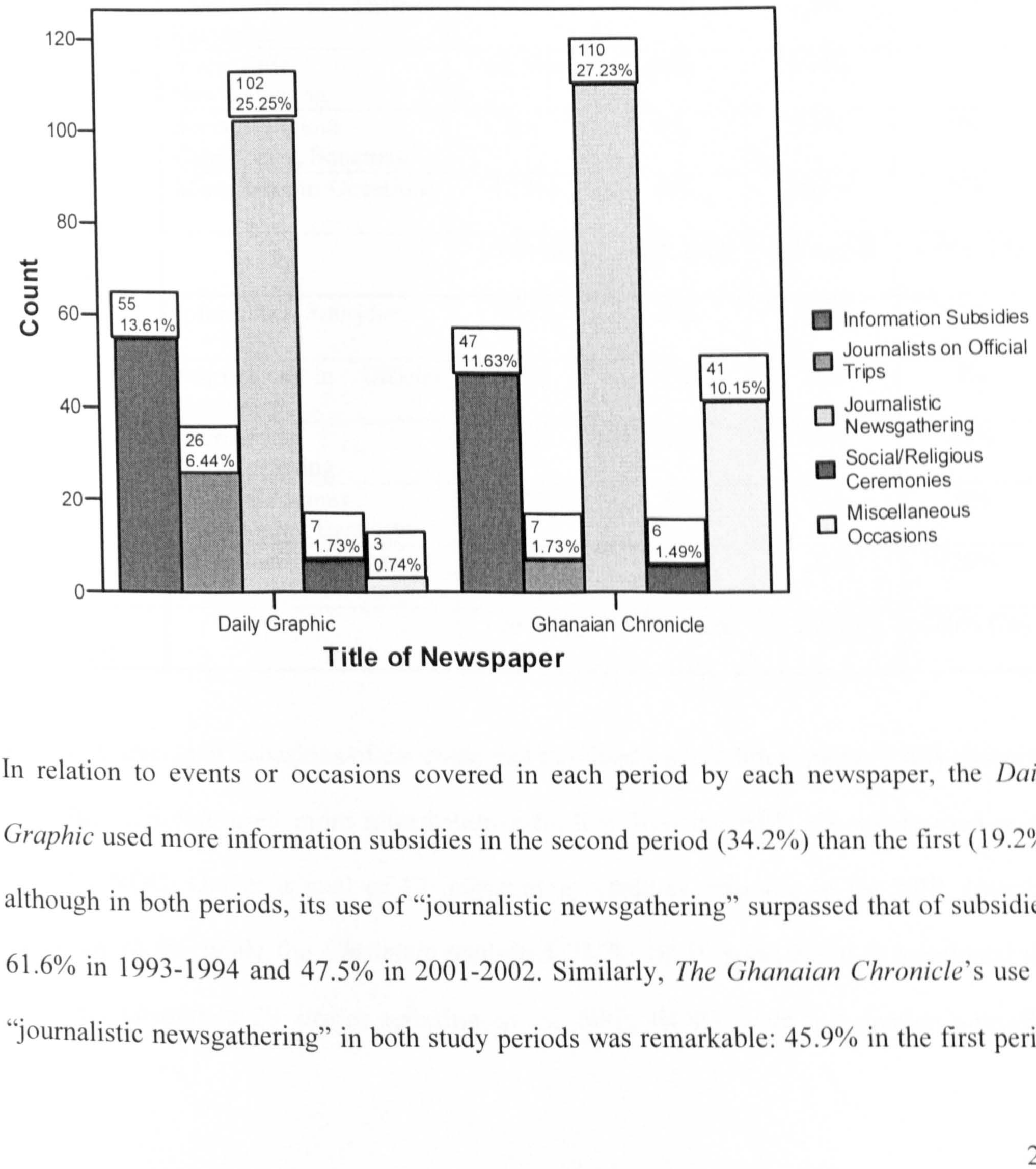
The study looked at the occasions or events featured in news stories to find out whether coverage was as a result of planned or unplanned events (Molotch & Lester, 1974), a distinction considered relevant in estimating the degree of independence or autonomy journalists have (Bennett & Livingston, 2003;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

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

entourage (8.2%), journalistic newsgathering (52.5%), social or religious events coverage (3.2%) and miscellaneous occasions (10.9%).

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

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




In relation to events or occasions covered in each period by each newspaper, the *Daily Graphic* used more information subsidies in the second period (34.2%) than the first (19.2%) although in both periods, its use of "journalistic newsgathering" surpassed that of subsidies: 61.6% in 1993-1994 and 47.5% in 2001-2002. Similarly, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s use of "journalistic newsgathering" in both study periods was remarkable: 45.9% in the first period

and 59% in the second thereby sharply contrasting with its use of "information subsidies" for the two periods: 22.5% in 1993-1994 and 22% in 2001-2002. This means that *Chronicle* used slightly more subsidies during the first than the second period, in contrast to *Graphic*, which used more in the second than the first.

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

| Political Party Mentioned | Occasion or Event of Coverage | *Daily Graphic* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Daily Graphic* 2001/2 (Period 2) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 1993/4 (Period 1) | *Ghanaian Chronicle* 2001/2 (Period 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDC | Information Subsidies | 12.5% | 40% | 21.1% | 24% |
| | Journalists in Official Entourage | 12.5% | 0% | 2.6% | 12% |
| | Journalistic Newsgathering | 62.5% | 60% | 44.7% | 56% |
| | Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets | 0% | 0% | 5.3% | 0% |
| | Miscellaneous Occasions | 12.5% | 0% | 26.3% | 8% |
| **Total** | | 100% (8) | 100% (10) | 100% (38) | 100% (25) |
| NPP | Information Subsidies | 25% | 48% | 25% | 15% |
| | Journalists in Official Entourage | 0% | 4% | 0% | 5% |
| | Journalistic Newsgathering | 75% | 40% | 50% | 60% |
| | Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets | 0% | 8% | 0% | 0% |
| | Miscellaneous Occasions | 0% | 0% | 25% | 20% |
| **Total** | | 100% (4) | 100% (25) | 100% (4) | 100% (20) |

As regards events or occasions of coverage that involved each political party, it was observed that while *Graphic* used more information subsidies from the NPP, *Chronicle* used more from the NDC. Out of a total of 17 information subsidies referring to the NPP, *Graphic* published 76.5% while the *Chronicle* published 73.7% of 19 subsidies that mentioned the NDC. Of *Graphic*'s 29 stories referring to the NPP, 44.8% were information subsidies

whereas of *Chronicle*'s 24, only 16.7% constituted subsidies from the NPP. Conversely, of *Graphic*'s total of 18 news stories referring to the NDC, only 27.8% constituted information subsidies. The greater percentage of 72.2% was from the newspaper's own journalistic newsgathering.

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

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

## Document Analyses

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

### *Different Government Attitudes towards the Media*

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

Table 14: Regime Types in Ghana and Their Relationships with the Mass Media

| **Dates** | **Regime Type** | **Regime Name** | **Leadership** | **Relationship with Media** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 03/1957-02/1966 | Civilian | CPP | Dr Kwame Nkrumah | Authoritarian |
| 02/1966-1969 | Military/Police | NLC | Gen. J.A. Ankrah & Gen. A.A. Afrifa | Authoritarian |
| 08/1969-01/1972 | Civilian | PP | Dr K.A. Busia | Libertarian |
| 01/1972-07/1978 | Military | NRC/SMC I | Gen. I. K. Acheampong | Authoritarian |
| 07/1978-06/1979 | Military | SMC II | Gen. F.W.K. Akuffo | Authoritarian |
| 06/1979-09/ 1979 | Military | AFRC | Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings | Authoritarian |
| 09/1979-12/1981 | Civilian | PNP | Dr Hilla Limann | Libertarian |
| 01/1982-01/1993 | Military | PNDC | Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings | Authoritarian |
| 01/1993-01/2001 | *Constitutional | NDC | Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings | Pseudo-Libertarian |
| 01/2001-to-date | Civilian | NPP | Mr J.A. Kufuor | Libertarian |

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

LEGEND

CPP – Convention People's Party
NLC – National Liberation Council
PP – Progress Party
NRC – National Redemption Council
SMC I – Supreme Military Council I
SMC II– Supreme Military Council II
AFRC – Armed Forces' Revolutionary Council
PNP – People's National Party
PNDC – Provisional National Defence Council
NDC - National Democratic Congress
NPP - New Patriotic Party

The relationship between the media and governments in Ghana has been tenuous and arduous and has varied depending on the governance style of the regime in power. According to Yankah (1997), tension between intellectuals (including journalists) and governments has been "worst during one-party, military, or constitutional dictatorships" (p. 32). All military regimes Ghana has had since independence in 1957 have tended to be authoritarian while the civilian regimes, with the exception of Nkrumah's government, have been largely liberal in spite of occasional slips (Anokwa, 1997). "The military regimes, which took control in 1966 and ruled for 20 of the next 26 years until 1992, were repressive and showed little tolerance for media pluralism and press freedom" (Karikari, 2000, p. 11).

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

*Constitutional and Legal Provisions for Political Reporting*

Ghana's 1992 Constitution, and some existing legal provisions that predate it, have laid down guidelines for political reporting meant to ensure fairness and equal access. These provisions include: 1) Article 55(11) and (12); 2) Article 163; 3) Article 21 (1)(f) (1992 Constitution);

4) NLCD 226 (9 (1) and (2)) (Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree); and 5) Section 19 of NMC Act (Act 449) of 1993. Specifically, each of these states as follows:

Article 55(11):

"The State shall provide fair opportunity to all political parties to present their programmes to the public by ensuring equal access to the state-owned media".

Article 55(12):

"All presidential candidates shall be given the same amount of time and space on the state-owned media to present their programmes to the people".

Article 163:

"All state-owned media shall afford fair opportunities and facilities for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions".

Article 21 (1)(f):

"All persons shall have the right to - …

(f) information, subject to such qualifications and laws as are necessary in a democratic society".

NLCD 226 (9) (1):

"In its public service broadcasting, the Corporation is expected to provide for-

(a) Government pronouncements…;

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

(c) Speeches expressing different points of view on matters of controversy;

(d) Matters of any kind (including religious services or ceremonies) representing the main stream of religious thought or belief in the country.

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

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

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

have sought to sharpen the knowledge of journalists and to provide them with the necessary skills to discharge their duties professionally.

*NMC Cases*

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

Table 15: NMC Cases Involving Politicians and Media Practitioners

| **Complainants' Political Party** | **NMC Politicians and Media Cases by Year** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **1993-1994** | **1995** | **2001** | **2002** | **2003** |
| PNDC/NDC | 11 | 14 | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| NPP | 0 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 8 |
| PCP | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Others | 3 | 1 | 12 | 5 | 4 |
| **Total** | **15** | **16** | **28** | **18** | **13** |

* 'Others' includes cases brought by officials of state institutions such as the ministries, military, police service, prisons service, judicial service, and the Serious Fraud Office.

The total number of cases rose to 94 in 2001 of which 28 involved politicians and other public office holders; and reduced to 50 in 2002 (18 by politicians) (see Appendices 5 & 6). In 2003, there was a further reduction of cases (47) of which 13 involved politicians. No cases were brought by politicians in the other registered political parties during the period.

*Court Cases*

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

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

*Parliamentary Debates*

These reports provide daily records of proceedings in Parliament. Access to them was facilitated by officials of the Publications Unit of the Public Affairs Department of

Parliament who were contracted to examine and pull out all copies containing discussions on the media and/or the NMC. The identified copies were purchased from Parliament for study. For 1993/1994 and 2001/2002, only 17 copies identified contained discussions on the media and the majority of these related to the NMC Bill/Act 1993 (Act 449); NMC Amendment Bill/Constitution of Ghana (Amendment) Act 1996 (Act 527); NMC Complaints Settlement Procedure Regulations, 1994 (L.I. 1587); and NMC Annual Reports.

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

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

*Sessional Addresses*

The 1992 Constitution mandates the President of Ghana to provide Parliament an account of the state of the nation once every year. These addresses, sometimes called 'Sessional

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

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

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

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

**Summary**

This chapter presented the findings of the study. It observed that more reports were published in the second than the first study period and that the privately owned *The Ghanaian Chronicle* published more political items than the state-owned *Daily Graphic* overall. As

regards coverage of the two political parties/regimes both while in government and in opposition, it was found that the *Daily Graphic* always suited the quality and amount of coverage to the ruling government/party while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* appeared to antagonise the NDC. Therefore, while the *Daily Graphic* showed bias for ruling parties/governments, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s bias was against the NDC but not necessarily in favour of the NPP and its government.

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

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

The next chapter discusses the above findings in relation to theory and literature. It examines and analyses the implications of these findings vis-à-vis the general Ghanaian media and political environment within the perspective of research questions advanced for the study.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# POLITICAL REPORTING IN GHANA WITHIN A GLOBAL CONTEXT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

## Introduction

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

## Nature, Type and Level of Reporting/Coverage

Studies have distinguished several types of journalistic reporting including public affairs news, protocol news, developmental news, interpretive reporting, and investigative reporting. Mwesige (2004, p. 87), for instance, referred to news about the activities of the President, government ministers and appointees as 'protocol news' mainly found in the state media particularly radio. While the present study did not explore types of reporting as studied by Mwesige (2004) and others beyond distinguishing between main news and editorials, it observed the extent of the two newspapers' coverage of such political actors. Classifications such as above would be superfluous given the study's obvious remit of studying coverage of politicians and their activities, which meant studying exactly what Mwesige (2004, p. 87)

called 'protocol news'. In this regard, the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle* were studied to explore how much of their reporting on Presidents, governments, ministers, political appointees and their activities focused on each of the two political regimes/parties. Indeed, overall coverage of these political actors constituted over three-quarters (75.3%) of total coverage: President and Vice-President (23.5%), Ministers of State (27%), and political party functionaries (24.8%). All other actors reported in political news stories including non-party state officials (directors of ministries and officials of state-owned corporations and boards, among others) had lower percentages.

Some types of reporting were evident. While the *Daily Graphic* appeared to engage in development journalism, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s approach to political news reporting was reminiscent of Tanzania's journalistic overhaul changing from "development journalism to the press as a vehicle for public information and government criticism" (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 13). The distinction between the two newspapers was accentuated by their reporting styles: conventional *Graphic* versus unconventional (or controversial?) *Chronicle*. The use of misplaced or wrong photographs of Ministers of State and other key politicians in news stories, which did not directly concern them, and the use of inappropriate and/or misleading headlines, amounted to what Mwesige (2004) referred to as "controversial reporting practices" (p. 91). There were also many cases of insults, innuendoes, libellous material, subterfuge, suspicious or undisclosed news sources, and some non-by-lined news stories[10]. While both newspapers sometimes used wrong photographs, carried news stories whose sources were not disclosed (over 11%) and published stories without by-lines (35.6%), much of the other practices related more to *The Ghanaian Chronicle* than to the *Daily Graphic*.

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[10] Samples of news stories and editorials of both *The Ghanaian Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic* for the two periods of the study are attached as Appendices 7 (Period 1) and 8 (Period 2). They provide examples of the two newspapers' different reporting styles including their use of qualitative labels, and images such as photographs, cartoons and document reprints in each study period.

*Chronicle*'s crusading posture resulted in more investigative journalistic pieces and public affairs news, which through its numerous qualitative labels, it managed to report combining satire and cynicism with some humour (entertainment). *Graphic*, on the other hand, did more of the straight news, conventional inverted pyramid style of reporting recalling what Mwesige (2004) referred to as "the traditional 5Ws and H reporting ... predominant" in Ugandan journalism (p. 87). It also did some interpretive reporting sometimes fitting into what Bokhorst-Heng (2002) termed "government's use of the press as its tutorial platform" (p. 564) to advocate its policies and actions, as was the case of the Singaporean press. The evidence of this use of the *Daily Graphic* lay mainly in the events/occasions of its political coverage under both regimes but more so under the NDC. It manifested in the fact that *Graphic* published more political stories from its reporters on official government trips (78.8%) than *Chronicle* reporters (21.2%). The use of information subsidies, more by the *Daily Graphic* (53.9%) than *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (46.1%), also explained why its news reports largely followed the conventional style.

Thus, the *Daily Graphic* reports appeared aligned with government interpretation and explanation of issues especially during the first period of the study when it had unrivalled access to the political establishment. Conversely, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* offered more critical perspectives on local politics and approached issues usually from a broad range of perspectives in both periods of the study. Through its use of single themes developed from several angles and also through the use of historical detail in some current stories, *Chronicle* sought to provide more information. This perhaps helped to deepen readers' understanding and appreciation of issues it covered in contrast to *Graphic* whose stories tended to be reported from conventional journalistic angles. Similarly, *Chronicle*'s abundant use of qualitative labels, contrasts, spin, and visuals – cartoons, photographs and font-size

manipulation – combined sensationalism with human interest and entertainment that sought to trivialise issues compared to *Graphic*'s serious approach to reporting. The two newspapers, therefore, manifested some degree of contrasts in the study including binary oppositions of depth/broad range versus shallowness; entertainment versus information provision; measured judgment versus sensationalism; and triviality versus substance in news presentation as others had documented (Franklin, 1997, p. 4; Ursell, 2001, p. 192).

***The Focus on Politics***

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

The interest in politics also manifested in the prominence given to some stories sometimes shown by their sheer lengths. Indeed, some *Chronicle* news stories covered more than one page in length. Sometimes, such stories were the only ones on the front-page or, where there were others, those others occupied very little space while the main stories took substantial portions of subsequent pages. The interest in politics was further illustrated by the percentage

of news stories on the front-page and in editorials that focused on politics as compared to other themes. More than a half (51%) of all news stories (straight news, government and opposition releases) on the front pages of editions analysed in the study were political (313 out of 613). Out of 174 editions (86 of the *Daily Graphic* and 88 of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*) with an equal number of editorials, 72 (41.4%) were political. Political editorials constituted nearly 35% (30 out of 86) of *Graphic* editorials and 47.7% (42 out of 88) of *Chronicle* editorials. These findings are consistent with what Haque (1986, p. 85) referred to as an "obsession with politics". The rather high percentage of news stories set in Accra (68.3%) could be explained by the fact that Ghana still runs a highly centralised political system despite attempts at decentralisation.

### *Application of Specific Journalistic Concepts*

#### Accuracy, Objectivity, Fairness, and Bias

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

audiences with their messages or news about their parties. Equal access therefore meant identical conditions for gaining entry into, or making news in, the two newspapers to present their political and other views thereby relating fairness to the degree of availability and accessibility of the two newspapers to political sources and actors whether in power or in opposition.

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

Studies show that concepts such as objectivity, fairness and bias are difficult to define although their clear, explicit and unambiguous definition makes for easier interpretation of findings. Holsti (1969) outlines the "most common weakness of studies using an *a priori* standard" by posing a couple of questions. "What constitutes "adequacy" in the coverage of local news? Or, how close to "equal time or space" must the media come to be considered "fair?" It is doubtful whether unbiased reporting of every controversial situation calls for

equal presentation or evaluation, as is sometimes assumed by indices of bias (p. 56)". Shoemaker and Reese (1996) note that since events drive news and "events don't always occur in balanced amounts", "then quantitative balance is not a good standard" (p. 44). They contend: "The problem with measuring bias is that there are no suitable references with which we can compare media content. A convincing case of bias requires an acceptable standard of fairness, but these are not easy to come by" (p. 44).

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

The study agreed with Holsti's (1969, p. 50) assertion that there are "more subtle, and probably more important, methods of slanting news" which do not receive as much attention

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

Inaccuracies and biases in political news coverage, in the study, presented in many ways. The *Daily Graphic* gave a greater amount of coverage to ruling governments and their parties than it gave to the opposition. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* gave a greater amount of coverage, albeit negative, to the NDC both in government and in opposition. The fact that *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s coverage contained more news unfavourable to the NDC than to the NPP during both periods of the study also showed bias although the *Daily Graphic* tried to steer clear of taking sides by publishing more neutral stories overall. Consequently, there was no doubt in the reader's mind as to which side *Chronicle* supported especially through its frequent use of value-laden qualitative labels through which it succeeded in mixing news and comment, facts and speculation praising or ridiculing as it deemed fit. Even in the case of *Graphic*, in spite of its apparent neutrality, its allegiance to ruling governments was

substantial. However, inaccuracies and biases shown in terms of news coverage over-representing one issue as compared to another such as attacks and defences or defections over others including acclaim and rallies as found by Benoit and Currie (2001) was not found in the study. Similarly, there was no preponderance of using particular sources as news either from government (ruling party officials) or opposition officials. The study did not find any appreciable reliance on any groups of politicians as principal news sources either in government or opposition.

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

including the "perceptions and prejudices of individual journalists" as well as constraints and conditions within which journalistic work is carried out, are equally important.

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

Partisan bias in reporting whose existence is challenged by Niven (2001) was present in the study, similar to what Papathanassopoulos (2001) found of Greek journalism. According to him, "the [Greek] printed press has remained obtrusively partisan, colourful, excessive, at

times cross-patronizing and in some cases laced with adjectives that in most western media would be considered incompatible with fairness" (p. 511). Colourful and excessive reporting through the use of qualitative labels (adjectives, adverbs and adverbial clauses) especially by *The Ghanaian Chronicle* pointed more towards negativism when they were used in reference to the NDC but to positivism in reference to the NPP. However, contrary to studies that found negative coverage of government and its officials (Niven, 2001; McKinney *et al.*, 1999; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996), there was not much evidence in the study to suggest negativity bias against government per se. In spite of the overt show of partisan bias (*Graphic* in favour of ruling governments and *Chronicle* against the NDC) as Patterson and Donsbach (1996) also found in the United States, not much negativity bias was detected in the two newspapers' reportage unlike as found in Patterson and Donsbach (1996) and in other studies including Niven (2001); Esser *et al.* (2001); and McKinney *et al.* (1999).

Nonetheless, the fact that the private newspaper (*The Ghanaian Chronicle*) carried more of the negative stories than the state-owned *Daily Graphic* appears consistent with findings of some studies focusing on negativity bias. It particularly supports Tettey's (2001) assertion that the private media appear to stretch the limits of adversarial politics and brings to mind Takougang's (1995) criticism that some of them sometimes publish "negative headlines and stories even though they may have been groundless" (p. 342). It would also appear to support the theory of self-censorship and political interference resulting from government ownership of some media (Mwesige, 2004, p.79) in addition to the idea of adversarial journalism observed to be characteristic of the private media (Tettey, 2001; Takougang, 1995). The totality of coverage, however, indicated a move towards positivism in political reporting as coverage of positive themes exceeded negative themes throughout the study. Coverage was more positive than negative since positive news exceeded negative news by nearly three to

one in the first period (out of 184 stories) and four to one in the second (out of a total of 220 stories). Besides, political coverage was generally more evenly spread among the three-dimensional categories: negative news (35.4%), neutral (32.7%) and positive news (31.9%). More importantly, about two in three (67.9%) of themes were positive in the first study period while in the second, this rose to nearly three in four (72.8%).

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

Whether bias is assessed using the distinction between equal and unequal coverage, or between fair and unfair coverage of the two regimes/parties, there are realistic indicators to

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

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

The Dumbing Down Thesis

According to Hargreaves (2003), dumbed down news media privilege sensation over significance, and celebrity over achievement. They sacrifice "accuracy for speed, purposeful

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

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

As regards other aspects of the thesis indicating that treatment of political issues has become more superficial and less well grounded in the facts of issues presented, though such detailed considerations of news reporting and media performance were beyond the scope of this

study, some of its findings are, nonetheless, insightful. Examples are mainly from the private newspaper: *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. During the first period of the study, 1993-1994 and particularly in 1993, *The Ghanaian Chronicle* made frequent use of guesses, rumours and speculations, which it reported as news (facts). This is demonstrated by the large number of un-sourced news stories it carried as well as its frequent use of question marks in headlines and of phrases such as follows:

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

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

Visualisation: The Use of Cartoons and Photographs

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

Consequently, unlike some *Daily Graphic* stories, there was little difficulty in identifying stories that *Chronicle* wanted to highlight as main news stories on its front-page and those that were only subsidiary. More importantly, the use of images such as cartoons and photocopies of documents was suggestive of media restrictions and low levels of journalistic freedom that prevailed in Ghana at the time with an uncertain media-political atmosphere after a long period of unconstitutional rule spanning between 1981 and 1992. Not only did those images legitimise the newspaper's stories at a time when it was practically impossible to independently verify many news stories, they also kept the newspaper's reporters relatively safer and more credible by allowing such images to speak for themselves.

*Chronicle*'s stand-alone political cartoons and photocopies of official letters and/or documents thus constituted bona fide political stories. They were, however, included in the study only when the images they carried and the silent statements they made were about Ghanaian politics, politicians and/or political activities and spoke of political events either in the newspaper, other media or in public domain.

**The Incumbency Factor**

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

Negrine (1994) argued that a state newspaper was more likely to be under pressure to follow political lines of reporting prescribed by governments. This stance is supported by studies

conducted by Murdock (1990) and Schudson (2000). While Schudson contends that the state-owned media serve as agents of state control and mobilise support for political elite interests, Murdock believes media owners have the capacity to regulate media output either directly or indirectly. According to Murdock, they interfere with media content directly by intervening in the daily operations of the media or indirectly by interventions such as setting goals, appointing favourites into managerial and editorial positions and manipulating the allocation of resources. Several political commentators and civil society groups in Ghana including the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) and the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) have discussed the incumbency factor in Ghanaian politics and political reporting as largely favouring ruling governments. *Graphic*'s reporting in the study provided support for such arguments in view of its bias towards political parties in power to which it gave large amounts of positive and favourable coverage. It appeared to act not only as the agent for mobilising support for the causes of the two governments, but also as their propaganda wing propagating government decisions and policies towards making such support realisable.

Examining indicators such as political parties most mentioned in news stories, lengths of stories, actors frequently covered and placement of news stories showed the edge *Graphic* gave to parties of ruling governments. For instance, while actors in stories that mentioned the NDC received the most mention overall, *Graphic* in the second period mentioned more NPP actors. Similarly, using themes, tone and direction of coverage as well as story enhancements strengthened the claim of positively covering those in power. However, *Chronicle*'s reportage provided evidence to the contrary given its obsession with negatively reporting the NDC both in power and out of power. By so doing, it gave the NDC much more coverage than the NPP overall. While *Graphic* recalled studies such as those done by Bokhorst-Heng (2002), Ramaprasad (2001/2003) and Mwesige (2004), *Chronicle* followed patterns drawn

by others such as Tettey (2001), and Gulyás (2003). Therefore, incumbency was an important factor in political reporting only when it related to coverage by the state-owned media (*Graphic*) but of little consequence in private media (*Chronicle*) reporting.

**Freedom of the Press and of Expression**

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

Ghana's Constitution and other statutes contain provisions such as national security, privacy, libel, obscenity and other laws through which governments could regulate media

content directly (Ampaw, 2004). For instance, Article 164 of the Constitution provides limitations on the rights and freedoms guaranteed under Chapters 5 and 12:

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

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

Though unlike Uganda, Ghana in 2001 repealed its criminal libel law and decriminalised speech, the irony is that part of Ghanaian journalism, as demonstrated by the *Daily Graphic*, appears to suffer from some limitations identified in Ugandan journalism as "self-censorship" and "lack of access to information" (Mwesige, 2004, p.79). However, there was

little evidence of "political interference" in Ghanaian journalism overall. Consequently, in comparison with studies such as those conducted by Mwesige (2004), Ramaprasad (2003), and Papathanassopoulos (2001) particularly in terms of limitations such as self-censorship, lack of access and political interference or intervention, the present study showed fewer limitations. The study seemed to suggest there was not much limitation on themes of political coverage, qualitative labels, actors or sources used in news stories judging by the array of themes and huge numbers of labels used; the coverage of actors from both sides of the political divide, and, especially, by the predominance of journalistic sources of news. This is consistent with Robbins' (1997, p. 125) observation that "the diversity of ownership and range of topics covered seems to speak well of official tolerance and openness both to an independent press and to the winds of democracy said to be blowing across the continent". The different ownership patterns of the two newspapers did not affect the extensive range of topics/themes covered.

Furthermore, an examination of the two periods of study showed improving relations between the media and political actors even if this was a function of regime change. While *Graphic*'s bias towards ruling governments could be interpreted as self-censorship, *Chronicle*'s use of un-sourced stories, rumours and speculations could be seen to demonstrate lack of access to the appropriate sources and actors of political news. This is understandable given the NDC government's refusal to admit private journalists into the Castle and to allow them on official government trips. It was only in these ways that some limitations were reflected in the two newspapers' reportage. For instance, the fact that *Daily Graphic* reporters' were often in select press teams on official government trips enabled it publish more political stories (78.8%) than *The Ghanaian Chronicle* (21.2%). This difference also reflected within newspapers across study periods.

While journalists on official trips produced 46.2% in 1993-1994 and 53.8% in 2001-2002 of *Graphic* political stories, for the same periods, they constituted 14.3% and 85.7% respectively of coverage by *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. Any other direction and/or control by the political, social or economic elites, if present, were more covert than overt as the study found a rather liberated press thus questioning Altschull's (1997, p. 259) suggestion that "the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interests of those who pay the bills". This, perhaps, was true to some extent of the *Daily Graphic* whose bias in favour of ruling governments could be so-explained but not so much of *The Ghanaian Chronicle*.

### *Types of Press System Evident in Coverage*

The type of journalism evident in the coverage of the two newspapers appeared to be a mixture of two dominant models tailored to suit both local Ghanaian needs and global expectations. The western liberal, social responsibility, or the Anglo-American model, on the one hand vied for pre-eminence with the Third World-relevant development journalism model, on the other. The situation mimicked Ramaprasad's (2003) observation that: "Tanzanian journalists have a unique way of perceiving their roles - a mixture of socialism and some accommodation of Western ideas of press freedom - but overall they still lean toward a collectivistic socialist model" (p. 13). It would appear African journalism is in limbo torn between African traditions and Western qualities ('Africanism' and 'Westernism') and is taking elements of both to construct its own unique type even if by so doing, journalism becomes muddled and confused. The study found development journalism traits usually associated with an authoritarian/socialist press ideology in the *Daily Graphic* while *The Ghanaian Chronicle* provided traits expressing freedom of the press associated with a liberal journalistic ideology (Ramaprasad, 2003).

Development journalism aims at: 1) advancing the national development agenda; 2) unifying the country; 3) providing cultural and intellectual fare; and 4) reflecting the views of the public. The western liberal model provides: 1) criticism of government and its policies; 2) support for political pluralism; 3) sensational reporting; 4) reportage that reflects the views of the wealthy and stirs up conflict in society (unwanted negative media traits) as found in Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2003, p. 21). However, there was no evidence of *Graphic*'s political coverage that suggested the provision of "cultural and intellectual fare" which distinguished it from *Chronicle* reporting. Also while some of *Chronicle*'s political news stories could stir up conflict in society, such outcome would only have been unintended since its news stories did not show a deliberate attempt at inciting conflict despite their frequent use of qualitative labels some of which sought to ridicule or tease key politicians. Furthermore, *Chronicle*, more so than *Graphic*, tried to reflect the views of the public particularly in the immediate aftermath of military rule with its "culture of silence" during the first period of the study when public opinion appeared muzzled. Consequently, although it operated mainly within the western liberal journalistic model, *Chronicle*'s news reports did not only reflect the views of the wealthy but also those of the "masses" (the public) particularly at a time when *Graphic* only appeared to propagate and disseminate official information.

None of the two newspapers closely followed the "objective, straightforward, informative reporting and culture in terms of its practices and its professionalism" (Papathanassopoulos, 2001, p. 506) preached by the model variously described as the western, liberal or social responsibility model, Anglo-American model or professional model (Mancini, 2000). Similarly, none of them operated within the concepts of journalistic distance, detachment and neutrality towards the object of reporting; objectivity; lack of partisanship; attachment

to accuracy and other truth criteria (McQuail, 2000; 1994, p.145) stressed by the model. Arguably, few journalists even within developed contexts could faithfully abide by the tenets of the western model, as the numerous accusations of media bias seem to imply. However, it is a question of degree and magnitude aggravated by contextual factors such as the political environment and press freedom regimes. In the same vein, not even the state-owned *Daily Graphic* operated entirely within the development journalism or communitarian concept of journalism in spite of its attempts at focusing on propagating governmental policies and ideals aimed at unifying and developing the country (Karikari, 2004). Indeed, there is much in the study to support Mwesige's (2004) assertion that "the fact that journalism practice in Africa closely mirrors western conceptions of the press is inescapable" (p. 77).

Political news reporting as seen through the two newspapers pointed to journalistic practices that were supportive of both the western liberal and the developmental models. The study found evidence of "western journalistic functions of information, analysis and interpretation and investigation of official claims" (Mwesige, 2004, p. 69) or the "so-called western journalistic functions of dissemination and interpretation" (Mwesige, 2004, p. 88). This was more evident in *The Ghanaian Chronicle* news reports, which sought to delve beyond such official claims and to examine issues from different perspectives than those of the *Daily Graphic*, which sought principally to disseminate information. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* tended to focus on single themes, which it developed from several perspectives or angles sometimes with no subsidiary themes using many qualitative labels and/or approaching the issue either from various angles or by recalling other developments relating to the story.

A good example of such use of single themes was the front-page main news story of October 18-24 1993 headlined: **"We Are at War"**, which used all the above techniques. The focus on single themes was, however, sometimes broken when the story dealt with exposing and ridiculing high-ranking politicians. An example was the front-page main news story of November 21-23 1994 headlined: **"The President Is 'Mad' ..."**[11] which carried several subsidiary themes stemming from the President's alleged rage at the reportage on his wife's one-month visit to the United States for a programme at the Johns Hopkins University. The main theme of the story was the President and his mother-in-law's rage at news reports. Subsidiary themes of the story were: political deceit, family feud, attack on media, lack of journalistic freedom, political sycophancy, and abuse of political office and/or ministerial position.

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

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[11] The two articles commented on in this paragraph, which show *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s use of contrasts between single themes and multiple themes, have been attached as part of Appendix 7.

Singaporean press (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002), it demonstrated a readiness to function as a proponent and tutor of government policy under both political regimes and in both periods of the study thereby subduing its governmental oversight responsibilities assigned by Ghana's 1992 Constitution (Article 162 (5)).

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

Ghanaian newspapers, including *Graphic*, appeared to show admiration for western ideas of journalism although overwhelmed by development journalism principles - especially in the case of *Graphic* - just like their colleagues in Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2003) and Uganda (Mwesige, 2004). Consequently, none of the two newspapers operated strictly within the requirements of either journalistic ideology: while *Graphic* leaned more towards the development concept, *Chronicle* tilted towards the western liberal ideology thus defying

strict classification in both cases. There was, indeed, a dominance of the western journalistic model with some amount of the developmental concept in reporting. Western journalistic functions of dissemination and interpretation, what Mwesige referred to as the disseminator roles of journalism were evident in both newspapers' reports with *Chronicle* doing more of the adversarial role by excessively criticising the NDC government, its officials and policies.

***Journalistic Arbiters in Ghana***

Journalism in Ghana is institutionally insulated and protected by constitutional provisions and mechanisms developed by journalists themselves. Unlike Uganda and Greece, which, according to Mwesige (2004) and Papathanassopoulos (2001) appeared not to have any such arbiters, Ghana has a functioning National Media Commission (NMC) and a Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) both of which intervene in matters concerning journalists and journalism. Besides, certain provisions of the 1992 Constitution, notably Articles 167, 168, 169 and 173, serve to arbitrate between journalists and the rest of society to reduce rancour and to strengthen the journalistic profession. This is a definite step ahead of the Ugandan situation where respondents called for "a peer-dominated 'media council' to arbitrate disputes between the press and public, as well as those between the press and state" (Mwesige, 2004, p. 80) and also of that of Greece. Papathanassopoulos (2001) reports of the absence of a professional code of conduct for Greek journalists and partly blames that for the absence of professionalism and neutrality in Greek journalism. According to him, "Greek journalists appear somewhat incapable of defining a consolidated and consensually acceptable body of ethical and professional principles which would apply to all journalists, regardless of the owners that employ them" (p. 513).

In contrast to the Greek situation, Ghana's GJA has a consensually acceptable code of ethics as well as guidelines and standards for various types of reporting including political coverage and advertising. Additionally, it has a respected Ethics Committee whose main function is to adjudicate over infringements on professionalism and approved conduct among journalists. Furthermore, the NMC's constitutional mandate includes insulating the media from governmental control; settling disputes between journalists and others; and ensuring the highest journalistic standards, among others (1992 Constitution of Ghana). It is, however, not certain how any changes in these countries' media environments along the lines suggested by both Papathanassopoulos (2001) and Mwesige (2004) could dramatically transform journalism beyond increasing journalistic freedoms as the situation in Ghana has shown.

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

Similarly, neither of the institutions has succeeded in infusing neutrality into Ghanaian journalists as demonstrated by the two newspapers in the study and their individual biases.

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

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

Pfetsch (2001, p. 64) indicates: "a message has chances of attracting media attention if its political content, the political position of the spokesperson, and the profile of the medium converge. Only against this background does it make sense that political spokespeople and journalists maintain precisely those social norms that stabilize their proximity, that the relationship is seen as being largely harmonious, and that political intentions are the maxims of public relations". Blumler and Gurevitch (1996) noted the important role political positions of sources play and discussed the necessity of developing a hierarchy of news sources from the highly placed to the lowly placed. However, considering the minimal use of key political sources – Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Ministers of State – in political news stories, it is doubtful whether many of these theories and suggestions advanced for enhancing political coverage actually work in the Ghanaian context.

Given the high incidence of independent journalistic newsgathering as the most important source of news reports in the study, it would appear what determined the chances of a particular political message to make it through the news gates to the front pages of the two newspapers in Ghana was access of journalists to politicians and activities they organised or events they undertook. Such access enhances the ability of journalists to gather newsworthy information to process into and subsequently publish as news rather than a dependence on information handouts or invitation to planned political events. The low-level use of information subsidies (handouts and planned or organised events' coverage), however, indicates an attempt at some level of media autonomy rather than dependence on major political actors and news sources.

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

Consequently, it was difficult finding support for Blumler and Gurevitch's (1996) contention that source (politician) - reporter (journalist) relationships tended to be shaped by a) mutual dependence (interdependence); b) competition (between politicians and between journalists);

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

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

Therefore, Blumler and Gurevitch's (1995) contention that only within the context of the structural conditions of the political and media systems of a country does political

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

By and large, what constituted news in the two newspapers was not so much a product of transactions or negotiations between journalists and their sources as reporters simply reporting from functions they attended. However, the appreciable incidence of unnamed or anonymous sources (11% of cases) would appear to conceal an attempt by journalists to protect certain political news sources. In this regard, negotiations and transactions between reporters and sources as suggested by Tuchman (1978; 1991), Schudson (2000/2005), Hallin (1986), Gans (1979), and Hall (1979) could be relevant. Since political sources including the President, Vice-President, Ministers of State, opposition leaders and spokespeople, Members of Parliament and political party officers accounted for just about a quarter of news stories, there were no truly recognisable legitimated sources of political news for any of the two newspapers under any regime.

It would appear the primary source of reality for news was what reporters/journalists saw or perceived as events happening around them much more than even interactions between them and sources quoted or referred to because of the predominance of journalistic sources of political news compared to political sources. On the occasions when information subsidies were used, news sources delivered those subsidies to journalists through planned and organised events such as press conferences, press releases, press statements and interviews. The study, however, did not investigate whether sources influenced information by withholding it, altering it, or providing/releasing it either fully or partially as Gandy (1982) suggested. Neither did it find evidence to support the assertion that they entered "into an exchange of value with journalists in which ... they [sources] reduce the costs of news work to increase their control over news content" (Gandy, 1982, p. 15). But given the fact that information subsidies constituted only about a quarter (25.2%) of events covered in news stories, not much of content could be attributed to planned information, publicity and news management by "specific source persons" (McQuail and Windahl, 1993, p.177).

Subsidies - press conferences, press interviews or briefings, press releases and statements, conference and/or workshop resolutions, and other statements made directly available to the media – did not constitute significant sources of newsworthy information for journalists of the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*. In other words, examining both sources of news, and occasions of news coverage revealed that not much of political news was generated by political spokespeople or public relations officers unlike in studies conducted elsewhere by Pfetsch (2001), and Esser *et al.* (2001) in which "spin doctors" played seminal roles. Although the presence or absence of the influence of public relations or politics on news stories could not be detected directly through content alone, combining sources of news with events or occasions of coverage provided some direction and leverage in this regard.

Similarly, the study found no evidence of newsmakers (politicians) "becoming particularly savvy about placing items on the media agenda" (Severin and Tankard, 1992, p. 224).

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

Atton and Wickenden (2005) indicate that, "the mainstream media's values and professional practices determine how news is sourced" (p. 348). Experiences gathered from the present study indicate that these values and professional practices are largely shaped and directed by the media environment, in turn determined by prevailing political realities. Consequently, Becker's (1967) model of the hierarchy of credibility has only limited applicability in the

Ghanaian society where its continual relevance depends much more on how the media rate a particular news source than on the hierarchical position of the source itself. As a result, increased scepticism of politicians and official information translates into less dependence on these sources for news as happened in the study, which showed less reliance on Gandy's (1982) information subsidies. Becker's assertion that "any tale told by those at the top intrinsically deserves to be regarded as the most credible account..." indicating "... credibility and the right to be heard are differentially distributed through the ranks of the system" (Becker, 1967, p. 241), therefore, has only limited relevance.

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

Contrary to Hall *et al.*'s (1978) theory of primary definition, the two newspapers did not over-access elite sources of information in spite of the usual pressure of deadlines and professional demands of objectivity in news reporting. Reporters rather depended much more on independent newsgathering than on those political elite news sources. In this regard, Hall *et al.*'s (1978) classification of the media as secondary definers of news needs to be revisited because, as Schlesinger and Tumber (1994) argue, to so consider the media is to emphasise

their passivity. Furthermore, Hall *et al.*'s (1978) corollary argument that by over-accessing elite news sources, the media would reiterate and perpetuate dominant ideologies did not find support in the study since elite institutions were not the primary definers of news. Obviously therefore, credibility, which is central to Hall *et al.*'s (1978) theory of primary definition should be de-linked from socio-political classifications and hierarchical developments of news sources despite the fact that societal elites usually have privileged access to the media. This is also, in spite of their positions of prominence, which ensure that journalists would more likely take "the frameworks for understanding events offered by such institutions as a starting point for their reports," (Manning, 2001, p. 15).

**Summary**

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

Important trends uncovered include adherence to journalistic norms of accuracy, objectivity and fairness irrespective of geographical context; local conditions; and differences in western and developing world journalism. The study showed concern for freedom of the press and of expression in both contexts, and ever-changing relationships between politicians and the media across cultures in sync with local socio-political and cultural conditions. The implication and interpretation of these findings for the present study are that Ghanaian journalism falls within the hazy interface between the western liberal and the developmental

concepts prevalent in newly democratic countries still evolving a model suited to local conditions. The literature from such countries shows a mixture of two dominant models tailored to suit both local needs and global expectations implying journalism in flux.

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

# CHAPTER EIGHT
# CONCLUSION

## Introduction

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

The study focused on the print media subgroup and only examined the electronic media insofar as they constituted sources of information/news for the two newspapers in the study. Secondly, while it took newspaper content studied as given, it went beyond this given content to determine who constituted the sources of information/news. By so doing, it attempted to

find out who really set the agenda, and how that determined the prominence given to those stories. It examined how consistently sources were used throughout the study in order to determine any "patterns of attention and emphasis that characterize some sources and not others" (Gandy, 1982, p. 9). Ultimately, this gave an indication of influence of some sources over content and also determined their relationship with reporters/journalists.

**Main Findings**

Coverage of the two newspapers followed distinctions identified between the state and private press in Ghana. Many studies have highlighted this state - private media dichotomy especially in the media's role and use during election campaigns (Ayee, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 1999/2001a & b; Ahiawordor, 2001; Smith & Temin, 2001). Ghana's state-private media dichotomy largely resonates with Tanzania as regards role perceptions (Ramaprasad, 2003). Whereas the state newspaper played development journalism roles, the private newspaper aligned itself to free press traditions. While *Chronicle* showed resilience, defiance and confrontation especially during the first study period, *Graphic* operated as the mouthpiece of Government epitomising self-censorship and conformity prevalent and characteristic of the PNDC era of media suppression and persecution. *Chronicle*'s adversarial reporting contrasted with *Graphic*'s propagandist posture throughout the study but more so during the first period. *Chronicle*'s interest in politics and total coverage showed that a previously tamed, deferential and non-intrusive press under state control could become bold, arrogant, disloyal and extremely intrusive under pluralism (see samples of *Graphic* and *Chronicle*'s coverage in Appendices 7 & 8). Whether described as mediatization of politics (McNair, 1999; Thompson, 1995) or politicisation of the media, Ghanaian journalism is excessively political.

The study found that measurement of indicators such as size, direction and tone of news stories; "placement of stories, number of biased remarks, number of pictures, and total column inches of stories" (Holsti, 1969, p. 50) suggested systematic bias of the two newspapers. Whereas *Graphic*'s bias was in favour of ruling administrations, *Chronicle*'s was not necessarily in favour of any of the two but particularly against the NDC as a political regime/party. The NDC's difficult media environment could explain the amount of coverage recorded in the first study period where fewer political news stories were published than the second period.

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

De-emphasising coverage of activities of key political actors and key political sources could be explained as a way of journalists asserting their independence from official/governmental news sources and actors in order to report what they believed to be newsworthy especially because official news sources and actors provided what was routine while the real news lay

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

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

*Political and Legislative Environment*

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

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

Similarly, although the picture that emerged from analyses of the use of by-lines did little to substantiate the theory of journalists' fear of some political regimes, further analysis, such as with sources, actors, the direction and tone of the news story did indicate something of the media climate. *Chronicle*, for instance, used more personal name by-lines in stories that

referred to the NDC (the supposedly feared regime) and fewer for the NPP in both periods[12]. *Chronicle*'s consistent use of fewer personal name by-lines in stories that referred to the NPP and more in those that referred to the NDC in both periods of the study gave an indication of some level of fearlessness the newspaper exhibited towards the NDC whether in power or out of power. Furthermore, through its frequent use of qualitative labels, *Chronicle*, particularly, sometimes succeeded in lightening the political atmosphere by putting a spin on some straight news stories and in using sarcasm to ridicule political actors.

By and large, the legal/constitutional and political regimes within which the Ghanaian newspapers operated, unlike in other places (such as the restrictive and oppressive one described by Mwesige, 2004), were conducive both to media pluralism and to freedom of expression including press/journalistic freedoms. As such, whereas it may be true of other contexts that: "Reporting the speech of a government minister in the traditional format (who said-what-when-where) is much safer than adopting an interpretive frame that tells that audience what the minister's speech really adds up to" (Mwesige, 2004, p. 87), it may not be entirely so of the Ghanaian context. *Chronicle*'s coverage, indeed, gave a contrary indication and *Graphic* asserted some independence. Besides, since both newspapers during both periods of the study, operated within Ghana's constitutional dispensation, none worked within profound changes as outlined by Hagan (1997), Malinkina and McLeod (2000), and Gulyás (2003) to produce dramatic outcomes.

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[12] The perception of the NDC by journalists in the second period of the study was largely influenced by its high-handed treatment of journalists when it was in power in the first period – a kind of a hangover effect from the first when the NDC was perceived as an autocratic civilian administration. The NPP, on the other hand, espoused free expression in opposition and practised it in government to the extent that it actually expunged the criminal libel law from the statute books in 2001.

It was obvious from the wide variety of themes covered and particularly from the use of qualitative labels in political stories that journalists of the two newspapers were not constrained. Although the study did not specifically check for amounts of interpretive or investigative reporting as distinct from protocol reporting, as did Mwesige (2004), newspaper reports showed that Ghanaian journalists exercised their freedom even under the difficult conditions of the NDC administration. *Chronicle*'s political coverage is proof of this. They appeared to work with a conceptualisation of independent journalism operationalised within a combination of the western liberal/social responsibility, and development journalism models, combining aspects of the two as appropriate to the Ghanaian context. This would appear to suggest an increasing convergence of the western and developmental journalism models aimed at creating a unique journalistic model. However, given the closeness of Ghanaian journalistic practices to the western liberal model, and the fact that the latter appears to increase in popularity and usage, what Kasoma (1996) called a "tragedy" might continue to be so for some time.

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

The two newspapers exhibited the dilemma between independence from government (libertarianism) and collaboration with government (development journalism) as found by various studies into African journalism including Ebo (1994) and Dixon (1997). Freely intermixing facts and comments (as *Chronicle* often did) suggested an attempt at not adopting "the neutral and objective model of journalism" (Papathanassopoulos, 2001, p. 508) characteristic of libertarianism. However, *Chronicle*'s intermixing of facts with comments and/or speculation did not hamper its ability to perform its watchdog role of monitoring

power. The study, indeed, found some commitment to the watchdog role prescribed by the 1992 Constitution just as was found among American and German journalists (Pfetsch, 2001). The fact that reporters of the two newspapers depended much more on their own journalistic newsgathering skills than on official political news sources indicated some level of investigative journalism, which usually went with the watchdog role.

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

***Media and Politics***

Ghana's hybrid political system - between the models of Great Britain and the United States - dictates a certain hybridisation of politico-media interaction system capable of combining elements of the two political communication systems described by Pfetsch (2001). A blend of "media-oriented news-making strategies of the presidential system and the politically

motivated and focused style of a "representative system of government" (Pfetsch, 2001, p. 50) indeed requires a unique political-media interface presently non-existent in Ghana. Needed is an approach that combines the American style of attracting media attention and focus (marketing philosophy) with a politically motivated focus.

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

There appeared to be conflict between politics and the media manifested principally in the quality of coverage through the use of qualifiers some of which not only showed provocation and disrespect but also suspicion and mistrust. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) noted the

central role of media coverage in political success in modern democratic and information societies as a result of which "reporters find themselves enmeshed in the action" (Esser *et al.*, 2001, p. 25) of politicians especially during political campaigning. Both the fear of losing journalistic autonomy and the reality of getting "enmeshed in the action" dictate a different political-media relationship capable of allaying the fear of journalists while advancing political activity. The NPP's media-friendly approach is an indication of openness of governance or that government is providing more information to satisfy the publicity criterion of democracy, which might be a useful step forward. In Saward's (1994, p. 17) words: "There must be a constant and formal process of public notification of decisions, options, arguments, issues and outcomes".

### *Theoretical Perspectives*

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

political system through information, discussion, and debate; enlightening the public to make it capable of self-government; safeguarding the rights of individuals by serving as watchdogs on government; and providing entertainment (through use of qualifiers and cartoons).

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

With current emphases on press freedom and individual rights, tenets of the developmental concept also contrast with Ghanaian realities. Consequently, not even the state-owned *Graphic* operated strictly within this model. Besides, neither of the two newspapers showed overbearing official control and/or guidance throughout the study. Given the newness of Ghana's democracy and media pluralism vis-à-vis the complexity of its political and media history, it is premature to theorise a typology especially without a clear definition of media

system type. Therefore, despite the longevity of the four theories of the press, spanning half a century, and generating debates aimed at revising and extending them to reflect and match various social systems (McQuail, 2000), they require a rethink. Dramatic changes that have occurred over time within the media (through information and communication technologies), and politics (particularly in Eastern Europe, and parts of Africa), have challenged their relevance (Altschull, 1984; McQuail, 2000). As Mancini (2000) found in Italy, the complexity of Ghana's socio-political and media systems require journalism models that reflect these complexities.

Furthermore, though the study sought to explain coverage by the sociology of news using Schudson's (2000) social organisation of news work approach, not all factors contained within that framework were examined. It examined coverage as the result of gatekeeping engineered by source-reporter relationships, explained within social organisation of news work and Gieber and Johnson's (1961) three-typology relational models, which provide three alternative source-reporter roles that describe the degree of interaction and independence between reporters and news sources. Within this latter perspective, there was largely a separation reflecting different/separate source-reporter roles. This contrasted with the study's expectation that source-reporter relations would sit within the partially assimilated role option. Essentially, their interactions failed to achieve overlapping frames of reference for the two communicators – reporters and political news sources – between whom there was little co-operation found (as shown in the overwhelming dependence on journalistic sources of news and less so on subsidies) that might have enabled them to achieve their individual communication roles as Gieber and Johnson (1961) had described.

Having situated relations between Ghanaian political news sources and mass media within Gieber and Johnson's (1961) separate source-reporter roles, they could not be placed in either negotiations/mutual exchanges (Tuchman, 1978/1991; Schudson, 2000/2005; Hallin, 1986) or manipulations (Gandy, 1982; el-Nawawy & Kelly, 2001). At best, what was evident was a relationship of mutual mistrust and suspicion shown in *Graphic* by excessive reporting of governments usually from "official script" and in *Chronicle* by critical and value-laden reportage. In the case of political news sources, mistrust and suspicion of journalists showed in access restrictions and fewer "information subsidies" to journalists. Therefore, despite the importance of official sources of information (Fishman, 1980; Gandy, 1982; McQuail, 2000), the study found little reliance on such sources perhaps because the Ghanaian media have learnt to do without traditionally unco-operative and hostile officialdom. This indicates differences between the west and developing countries regarding relationships between reporters and news sources thereby illustrating the impracticality of transplanting western ideas/models in dissimilar environments. There is need for some adjustment, alteration or modification of such concepts to reflect, particularly, the emerging democratic conditions of developing contexts such as Ghana where history, tradition and modernity still combine in undefined proportions to affect relations between politics and the media.

Overall, none of the theoretical approaches examined, on their own, fully explained dimensions explored in the study, as Schudson (2000) had previously warned, thus justifying the eclecticism involved. Because the political economy approach has largely been discussed in relation to liberal developed economies, hypotheses developed and explanations derived have mostly centred on the west rendering them irrelevant to newly emergent economies/democracies such as Ghana. Though the Ghanaian media operate under freedoms similar to western media they do so within undeveloped markets where corporate capital is

too rudimentary to make any chain ownership or conglomerate meaningful. Furthermore, state stranglehold on the media ceased to exist with the repeal of PNDCL 211 in 1992, liberalisation of the airwaves, and media pluralism (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). This has drastically reduced the ability of both the state and the market to limit free expression and/or decide what news is.

**Conclusion**

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

Both quantity/amount and quality of coverage were dependent on the prevailing political and legislative/constitutional regime, which appeared to contradict Ericson *et al.*'s (1989) observation that frequent interactions between reporters and news sources, ultimately influenced published stories. While not discounting any such interactions in the Ghanaian context, their impact on political news coverage was not overly visible in the two

newspapers' reports. Total coverage for the NDC was phenomenal during both study periods. Admittedly, *Graphic* demonstrated its reverence for ruling governments, and *Chronicle* showed its pursuit of the NDC, both situations resulting in large amounts of coverage expectedly positive in *Graphic* and negative in *Chronicle*. However, such coverage was more responsive to the socio-political environment than to source-reporter relationships. The study, by finding minimal use of official news sources, showed that unlike McQuail and Windahl (1993), news was not "sought out and constructed in a bargaining relationship in which the work interests of participants, some of the goals of the original source and the assumed interests of the audience all play a part" (p. 164). Consequently, relations between political sources and news reporters could not be said to have constituted cardinal determinants of political news.

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

Carpini (2000), calls for "new perspectives on and theories of the press in a democratic society that take account of the dramatically changing media environment" (p. 78).

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## Appendix 1: Analytical Categories

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

1. Newspaper:

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

2. Date of Issue:

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

3. Type of Story/Article/Item:

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

4. Theme/Subject of Coverage:

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

5. Direction of Story:

This looked at the general orientation of the story and measured whether it was positive; negative; or neutral. Included in the positive news items were those about international co-operation and support, communications or cordial working relations with the opposition, government and opposition moving towards entente, nation-building drives, peace talks, reconciliation and humanitarian considerations. The story was negative when it concerned occurrences such as internal conflicts and struggles, international/border conflicts, tension, disorganisation, crime, corruption, confrontations, strikes, boycotts, disaster, etc or something counter-productive. It was neutral when its subject was neither negative nor positive.

6. Tone of Story:

This examined the discourse of the story/item by recording the types of qualitative labels, or words used to denote civility or belligerence. It measured whether the general tone of the story was favourable/friendly/conciliatory; exhortation/encouraging; unfavourable/adversarial; admonition/instructional; or neutral to the political actor, party or issue concerned. It was favourable when more civil words were used, or when the general tone suggested a betterment of relations in people's lives. It was unfavourable when there was a belligerent tone as inferred from the words, or labels used, or when confrontational tones were inferred. [Note: "Tone" and "Direction" were assessed only from the perspectives of the story actors involved as to whether those stories were favourable and positive or otherwise to them. It should be noted, however, that these two categories can be problematic especially in relation to the criterion of reliability. Care must, therefore, be taken during coding and a good explanation provided to facilitate understanding and replication].

7. Coverage:

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

8. Placement:

This measured the page and location on the page where the news item was displayed in the newspaper. It was either on the front-page, or the editorial. And on the front-page, it measured the exact location to denote prominence with which the story was displayed. It was classified as the "main news story" if it was by size and prominence

larger than all other stories on the page. Otherwise, the story was coded as "front-page other news story". Placement also checked for stand-alone photographs, letters, cartoons, etc. found on the front-page of the newspaper.

9. Story Enhancements:

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

10. Story Size:

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

11. Attribution/Source/Dateline:

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

12. By-Line:

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

13. Event/Occasion:

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

14. Actor(s) in the Story:

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

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

15. Story Setting:

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

16. Qualitative Labels:

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

17. Political Party Mentioned or Referred to:

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

## Appendix 2: Definition/Explanation of Thematic Labels

Presidential/Vice-Presidential/Ministerial Activities

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

Governmental Responsibility

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

Political Party Matters

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

International/Foreign Politics

Include African unity/integration and development; political/military interference; invasion or mercenary activities.

Finance/Economics, Trade/Business/Investments

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

Infrastructure/Environment/Utility/Service Provision

Include sanitation issues, water, electricity, infrastructure development and provision of other utilities/amenities.

Conflict, Demonstrations/Strikes, Defence and Security

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

Media Pluralism

Includes media-related reportage such as non-interference in media operations; access to information; repeal of libel/seditious laws; threats/attacks on the media; press freedom; and media performance.

Support/Awards/Recognition for Excellence

Includes support/awards for women/farmers/workers, celebration of life/culture; jubilation at political change; and moral exhortation by religious/spiritual leaders.

Constitutional Matters

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

Human Rights

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

Employment/Labour Issues

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

Socio-Cultural Matters

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

Other Themes

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

Presidential Actors/Sources

Comprise the President; Vice-President; First Lady and their offices.

Political Party Officials

Comprise national; regional; and district political party officers; Members of Parliament; Government/Opposition Spokespersons; Opposition Leaders; other elected/appointed officers and accredited members of political parties.

Foreign/International Officials

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

Non-Party State Officials

Include directors of ministries; national/local election officers; military, police, paramilitary personnel.

Socio-Cultural Personalities

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

Business People/Professional Representatives

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

Anonymous/Journalistic/Media Actors/Sources

Comprise journalists attending functions; anonymous/unnamed actors/sources, Ghana News Agency, other media, newspaper's own editorial/commentary; public or leaked documents.

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Information Subsidies

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

Journalists in Official Entourage

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

Journalistic Newsgathering

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

Social/Religious Ceremony, Banquets/Dinners

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

Miscellaneous Occasions

Include public/civil society officials' reflections on governance/government/parliament, and unknown/undisclosed occasions.

## Appendix 3: Coding Schedule

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

1. Date – Month – Year

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |

2. Newspaper

1 Daily Graphic
2 The Ghanaian Chronicle

3. No. of Stories on Front-Page .....

4. Story Headline

.....
.....
.....

5. Brief Summary of Story

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Type of Story/Article/Item

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

7. Story By-line

1 Personal Name
2 Not Personal Name
3 No By-line

8. Story Placement

1 Front-Page Main News Story
2 Front-Page Other News Story
3 Editorial/Comment Page
4 Front-page Cartoon, Letter, etc.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | Main Theme/Subject of Coverage | 1 | Presidential Activities |
| | | 2 | Vice-Presidential Activities |
| | | 3. | Government Responsibilities |
| | | 4. | Political Party Activities/Matters |
| | | 5 | International/Foreign Politics |
| | | 6. | Finance/Economics/Trade/Investments |
| | | 7. | Infrastructure, Service Provision, etc |
| | | 8. | Health, Education and Sports |
| | | 9. | Ministerial Activities |
| | | 10. | Conflict, Demonstrations, Security, etc |
| | | 11. | Media Pluralism |
| | | 12. | Support, Award, Recognition, etc |
| | | 13. | Constitutional Matters |
| | | 14. | Human Rights |
| | | 15. | Employment and Labour Issues |
| | | 16. | Socio-Cultural Matters |
| | | 17. | Fundraising/Donations, etc |
| | | 18. | Other Themes (please specify) |
| 10. | Sources of News | 1 | President/Vice-President (and their officers) |
| | | 2 | Ministers of State (and their officers) |
| | | 3 | Political Party Officers/Sources |
| | | 4 | Non-Party State Officials |
| | | 5 | Socio-Cultural Personalities |
| | | 6 | Foreign Sources |
| | | 7 | Journalistic/Media Sources |
| | | 8 | TUC/Labour Movement Officials |
| | | 9 | NGO/Civil Society |
| | | 10 | Other Sources |
| 11. | Political Party Mentioned | 1. | NPP |
| | | 2. | NDC |
| | | 3. | Both NPP & NDC |
| | | 4. | NDC/PNDC |
| | | 5. | Other Political Parties |
| | | 6. | All Political Parties |
| | | 7. | None Mentioned |
| | | 8. | NDC-NCP-EGLE Alliance |
| | | 9. | PNDC |
| | | 10. | AFRC |
| 12. | Event/Occasion | 1 | Information Subsidies |
| | | 2 | Journalists in Official Entourage |
| | | 3 | Journalistic Newsgathering |
| | | 4 | Social/Religious Ceremonies, Banquets |
| | | 5 | Miscellaneous Occasions |
| | | 6 | Other Occasions (Specify) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | Main Story Actors | 1. | President/Vice-President (and their offices) |
| | | 2. | Ministers of State |
| | | 3. | Political Party Officers |
| | | 4. | Foreign/International Officials |
| | | 5. | Non-Party State Officials |
| | | 6. | Socio-Cultural Personalities |
| | | 7. | Businesspeople/Professionals |
| | | 8. | Anonymous/Journalistic Actors |
| | | 9. | Labour Movement Officers |
| | | 10. | Pressure Groups |
| | | 11. | Others |
| 14. | Story Setting | 1 | Rural Ghana |
| | | 2 | Urban Ghana |
| | | 3 | National Capital |
| | | 4 | District Capital |
| | | 5 | Regional Capital |
| | | 6 | Outside Ghana |
| | | 7 | Other Setting (Specify) |
| | | 8 | Not Specified/Undisclosed |
| | | 9 | Multiple Settings |
| 15. | Story Size/Length | 1 | Full page |
| | | 2 | Between full page and half page |
| | | 3 | Half page |
| | | 4 | Between half and one-third page |
| | | 5 | One-third page |
| | | 6 | Between one-third and quarter page |
| | | 7 | Quarter page |
| | | 8 | Between quarter and one-eighth page |
| | | 9 | One-eighth page |
| | | 10 | Less than one-eighth page |
| 16. | Type of Story Enhancement | 1 | Photographs |
| | | 2 | Cartoons |
| | | 3 | Photocopy of Letter/Circular/Document |
| | | 4 | None |

17. Size/Length of Enhancements

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

18. Caption of Enhancement

..... ..... .....
.....

19. Orientation/Direction of Story

1 Positive News
2 Negative News
3 Neutral

20. Tone of Story

1 Favourable/Friendly/Conciliatory
2 Unfavourable/Adversarial/Stern
3 Neutral
4 Exhortation/Encouraging/Urging
5 Admonition/Instructional
6 Other

21. List of Qualitative Labels

1
2
3
4
5

**Appendix 4: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (August 1993 – December 1994)**

## SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

| CASE NO. | COMPLAINANT | DATE RECEIVED | SUBSTANCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) | Not Provided | Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) Vs. *The Independent* |
| 2 | Dr Robert Dodoo | - | Dr Robert Dodoo Vs. *News Spark* |
| 3 | Ms. Francisca Issaka | | Ms. Francisca Issaka Vs. *The Guide* |
| 5 | Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State) | | Mr John Bawa (Secretary, Council of State) Vs. *The Independent* |
| 8 | Dr Farouk Braimah (Dep. Minister of Environment) | | Mr Mike Anane (Editor, *TheTriumph*) Vs. Dr Farouk Braimah (Dep. Minister of Environment) |
| 11 | Mr Vincent Assiseh (NDC Press Secretary) | | Mr Vincent Assiseh (NDC Press Secretary) Vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* |
| 14 | Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) | | Dr Tony Aidoo (NDPC) Vs. *Ghanaian Chronicle* |
| 15 | Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff) | | Col. S. B. Baryeh (Chief of Staff) Vs. *Ghanaian Voice* |
| 19 | Mr Henry Woode (PRO, Ministry of Information) | | Mr Henry Woode (PRO, Ministry of Information) Vs. *The Statesman* |
| 21 | Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP) | | Mr. B. K. Nketiah (General Secretary PCP) Vs. GBC |
| 27 | WO1 (Rtd) Adjei Boadi | | WO1 (Rtd) Adjei Boadi Vs. *Weekly Insight* |
| 31 | Dr Ato Quarshie (MP, KEEA) | | Dr Ato Quarshie (MP, KEEA) Vs. Mr Kofi Coomson |
| 32 | Mr Kwamena Ahwoi | | The Free Press Vs. Mr Kwamena Ahwoi |
| 33 | Alhaji Dramani Yakubu, The Chief Justice, Mr I. K. Abban | | Alhaji Dramani Yakubu, The Chief Justice, Mr I. K. Abban Vs. *Free Press* |
| 34 | Mr Justice Philip Edward Archer (Chief Justice) | | Mr Justice Philip Edward Archer (Chief Justice) Vs *The Pioneer* |

**Appendix 5: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (2001)**

## SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

| CASE NO. | COMPLAINANT /PARTIES | DATE RECEIVED | SUBSTANCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Hon E. T. Mensah (NDC MP & Minister) Vs *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 16/1/01 | Re: Mars hooting spreads – *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, Vol 1 No. 21 |
| 26 | Hon E. T. Mensah (NDC MP & Minister) Vs *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 22/2/01 | Re: E. T. Mensah Dirty Tricks Unfold |
| 35 | Ghana Armed Forces Vs *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 19/3/01 | Re: Akafia's bounced cheque scandal |
| 36 | Greater Accra Co-ordinating Council Vs. Radio Stations | 19/3/01 | Concession about the random broadcast of sensitive security information by radio stations |
| 40 | NDC Vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 27/3/01 | Re: Is Atta-Mills now finding his discordant voice? |
| 43 | Mr Kwame Pianim Vs *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 30/3/01 | Complaint against Mr Kofi Coomson and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s persistent mis-reporting calculated to portray me as a double-dealing and an untrustworthy person |
| 44 | Dr J. Ofori-Atta Vs *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 30/3/01 | Re: *The Ghanaian Chronicle*'s wicked and malicious publication to injure my reputation |
| 52 | Mr Vincent Assiseh Vs. Nana Kofi Coomson | 9/4/01 | Complaint against Kofi Coomson of *The Ghanaian Chronicle* |
| 53 | Mr Vincent Assiseh Vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 9/4/01 | Re: FBI, IRS Hunt $20 million Quality Grain Loot |
| 73 | Mrs Victoria Addy Vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 14/5/01 | Re: Fat Cat boards sap Ghanair |
| 77 | BNI (S. J. Afari) Vs *TV3* | 18/5/01 | Protest to NMC about *TV3* |
| 85 | Ministry of Food & Agric (F. Appeagyei) Vs *Ghana Palaver* | 4/6/01 | Re: Publication of libellous story about the Hon. Minister of Food & Agric in the *Ghana Palaver* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 98 | Hon. S. C. Buor Karikari (NPP MP) Vs *Free Press* | 21/6/01 | Rejoinder to *Free Press* on MP commends Amansie West District Assembly |
| 101 | Ghana Free Zones Board Vs. *The Free Press* | 29/6/01 | Complaint against *Free Press* to publish rejoinder |
| 109 | Ms Sherry Aryeetey Vs. *The Evening News* | 18/7/01 | Matters subjudice |
| 115 | Mr Victor Selormey vs. *The Dispatch* | 27/7/01 | Complaint against the *Dispatch* |
| 134 | Mr Frank Asante (PR) Local Government vs. *Ghana Palaver & Ghanaian Voice* | 23/8/01 | Are Kufuor's appointments free & fair ...? |
| 151 | Nana Ato Dadzie vs. *The Evening News* | 12/9/01 | Complaint against *Evening News* publication |
| 155 | Erious Fraud Office vs. *Free Press* | 25/9/01 | Complaint against *Free Press* story 'Trouble brews at Hohoe hospital' |
| 156 | Ghana Armed Forces vs. *The Ghanaian Democrat* | 28/9/01 | *Democrat*'s anti-military stand |
| 162 | Ministry of Defence vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 11/10/01 | Re: Soldiers leave man with broken head |
| 166 | Ministry of Defence vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 22/10/01 | Re: Fear grips Damongo residents |
| 168 | Hon. Ben Bukari vs. *Free Press* | 24/10/01 | Complaint against *Free Press* publication |
| 170 | Hon. Yaw Osafo Marfo vs. *Weekly Insight* | 25/10/01 | Complaint against Mr Kwesi Pratt, editor of the *Weekly Insight* |
| 184 | Min. of Info & Pres. Affairs vs. the *Ghanaian Voice* | 22/11/01 | Complaint against *Ghanaian Voice* publication |
| 187 | Vice President Alhaji Aliu Mahama vs. Hon Steve Akorli | 26/11/01 | ***Re: Complaint by Vice President Aliu Mahama |
| 188 | Ministry of Defence vs. *The Ghanaian Democrat* | 3/12/01 | ***Publication of military stories by the 'Ghanaian Voice' |
| 196 | Dr Kofi Konadu Apraku (Minister of Trade & Industry) vs. *The Ghanaian Chronicle* | 21/12/01 | Protest against harassment from *The Ghanaian Chronicle* |

**Appendix 6: Complaints/Cases before the NMC (2002)**

## SUMMARY OF CASES INVOLVING MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

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

# Appendix 7:

## Samples of Copies of the Two Newspapers of the First Study Period (1993-1994)

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

Text cut off in original

GHANAIAN

# The Chronicle

THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

"Shall mortal man be more just than God?"

George Padmore Research Library On African Affairs

— INSIDE —

★ PNDC deals SGMC to South African ...m — Page 6/7

★ ...orld cocoa output falls — Page 8

★ Trouble looms at ...MES — Page 12

★ ...ul Ansah back — Page 3

## Fourth Republic

# DANGER AHEAD!

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

By Victor Carrillace Antwi

A UNIVERSITY don has warned of grave dangers ahead as Ghanaians enter the fourth republic.

He said the country hovers on the brink of executive dictatorship with the National Democratic Congress-controlled legislature kow-towing to the whims of the executive.

Speaking in an exclusive interview with the GHANAIAN CHRONICLE in Accra last Thursday, Dr Kwadwo Tutu of the Economics Department, University of Ghana, Legon, said it was worrisome to think that the executive president, who happens to be the current head of state, would find little or no difficulty in carrying out any policy, whether good or bad.

His reason was that the majority NDC parliamentarians would lack the moral courage to question a president who, by virtue of his political affiliation, controls their destiny.

On how that would affect national stability, the don noted:

The danger is not imaginary. Sections of the Constitution can only be repealed or amended by a two-thirds majority of parliament. From the results of the parliamentary election, the NDC controls far more than two-thirds of the house.

He said the other danger is that constitutional provisions for human rights and other issues that may be inimical to the policies and programmes of the NDC would be amended in the government's favour, or outrightly repealed.

They will also be able to appoint their favourites to the judiciary, thereby placing hurdles in the way of justice, especially for the poor and critical.

Mr Samuel B Antwi, a former Nkrumah aide, corroborated the sentiments of Mr Tutu.

Mr Antwi, who is now into agriculture, saw the relationship of the executive and the legislature as that of a father and his children.

He believed that the legislators will lack the courage to question the policies of the executive to whose influence most of them owe their election.

Asking who would dare question his father publicly under Ghanaian culture, Mr Antwi stressed that most of the NDC parliamentarians were lucky to have been elected at all.

"Why?" he queried rhetorically. "It is because most of them are hardly known by the electorate."

Mr Antwi went on: "Ask the members of the electorate whether they really voted.

*Continued on page 12*

# Voters Reject NDC-NCP-Egle 'Trinity'

*By Victor Antwi, Kofi Opare Addo, Kow Freiku and Roland Adotei Addo*

AGAINST the background of a boycott by the opposition parties, the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) on December 29 carried out its promise to hold the parliamentary election that will pave way for the inauguaration of the fourth republic on January 7, 1993.

Contending for places in the parliament of the Republic were the National Democratic Congress (NCD), the National Convention Party (NCP) and the Egle Party.

For the first time in Ghana's political experience, elections lost their significance and appeal as electoral officials and materials waited for hours at polling stations for reluctant voters to come and cast their votes.

From all over the country, hesitant voters trickled into the stations to perform their constitutional mandate, contrary to the near-pandemonium situation witnessed in the November 3 presidential election.

Whereas voting began as early as 7.00 a.m. reports from the 10 regions of the country indicate that an average of 150 voters, out of 1,000 had cast their votes as at 1.00 p.m.

*A bored electoral officer (arrowed) asleep at post last week while waiting for reluctant voters.*

From Obuasi, the Ghana News Agency reported that a survey of seven polling stations in the town showed that only 399, out of 5,614 registered voters, had exercised their franchise by that time.

The report recorded Mr. Frank Heizer, presiding officer of the Magistrate Court Grade One polling station as having said that only 162 out of 1,364 had voted in the station, by the same time - against 750 for the same time and place in the presidential election.

The picture was no different in Accra.

At the Gaskia Cinema polling station in the Ablekuma Central constituency, one of those with the heaviest concentration of voters, a presiding officer, Mr George Owoo, told the GHANAIAN CHRONICLE that only four booklets (of 50 each) had been completed by 4.15 p.m.

Another presiding officer said only 150 out of 780 had voted at the same time.

At the Charity Home Care polling station in the Ayawaso East constituency, only

*Continued on page 12*

# S. Africans To Run State Gold Mines

THE Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) is reported to have transferred the ownership, direction and running of the State Gold Mining Corporation (SGMC) to a South African mining house, Gold Fields of South Africa.

The deal, our EEC correspondent John Owusu writes, followed months of high-level closed-door talks and paper work between a combined team of SGMC, Ghana Mineral Commission and Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources and Gold Fields (see details on centre pages).

In line with the PNDC's privatisation programme, the arrangement is expected to unburden the government's treasury of the perennial problem of raising annually, millions of cedis and foreign exchange to subsidize the beleaguered SGMC.

It will also put the cash-strapped mining company fully on steam and alter significantly the traditional direct state involvement in the local gold mining industry.

The enthused South Africans however, kept mum on the details of the transaction which is believed to run into millions of dollars.

Transferring the SGMC to Gold Fields will give the latter the legal option to acquire "controlling shares" in Tarkwa and Prestea goldfields.

It also vests Gold Fields with the responsibility of managing, technically, two underground mines on behalf of the Ghana government.

To Godfred Sarpong, chief executive of Europe-based investment group, Hope Africa, the mere fact that Gold Fields, a giant of an international mining conglomerate, is soon to invest millions of dollars in Ghana symbolically endorses the fact that under Rawlings, the economy has taken a giant stride and that there is need for continuity.

The GHANAIAN Chronicle
INDEPENDENT



# Trouble Looms At NEW TIMES

FOLLOWING shortly after the recent massive re-organisation of the Graphic Corporation, the long hand of the Information Ministry is set to zero in on the WEEKLY SPECTATOR, the golden hen of the New Times Corporation (NTC), GHANAIAN CHRONICLE Intelligence has learnt.

Already, the paper has been off the newsstands for a month, with the official reason that NTC newsprint suppliers, Gates Ltd., have cut back supplies to only 30 reams per week until an outstanding debt of 508,000 U.S. dollars is settled.

The SPECTATOR uses 20 reams per week, while the GHANAIAN TIMES uses four per day.

Authoritative sources at the NTC, however said that the Information Ministry is using the opportunity to muzzle the more objective SPECTATOR.

The ministry is yet to approve the NTC's decision to purchase newsprint from the open market, said the source.

The delay has so far cost the NTC some 20 million cedis in profits and indications are that the corportion's coffers would further plummet as the TIMES' straight jacket, pro-government stance continues to turn away readers.

Word from the grapevine said plans were underway to transfer "Spectator's" journalists to the ministry and the regions.

The CHRONICLE can reveal that TIMES' image has nose-dived so much that Editor Christian Aggrey has flatly refused a Ministry of Information directive to sell the paper at ¢100 per copy.

Even at 50 cedis, the paper records a daily readership of not more than 30,000 nationwide.

## DANGER AHEAD!

*Continued from page 1*

for those men and women. I tell you, most people voted for the umbrella, which is the symbol of the NDC, and not for those taking refuge under it. What can they offer the unemployed, the homeless and the destitute, any way?"

Under the above scenario, he said the only option open to Ghanaians is to pray fervently for national cohesion and for "good forces to counter the evil forces that will be released in the fourth republic."

A top civil servant, who is also a technocrat, said the results of the parliamentary election confirm the worst fears of political analysts and students of democracy.

To him, "this is the beginning of one-party rule. It will lead to dictatorship; and who knows what would follow?"

An NDC parliamentarian who asked for anonymity, said the chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), Flt-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, had performed creditably under PNDC rule and would do even better under civilian rule.

# THIS SPORTING LIFE
## With KOFI OPARE-ADDO

## WHAT A YEAR FOR COACHES

SO Otto Pfister still rolls on notwithstanding and probably self-importantly too as the national team Black Stars gleefully steps into stride and recovery after defeating the Algerians.

Understandably, Otto can guaff a beer or two to see off a year in which he became perhaps the most harried personality in Ghana Sports. If only the depth of his talent was equal to that of his will then Otto will certainly go places. But if his will and talents do not match up, then he can be sure that his career in Ghana will end in 1993. That's a new year wish for you. His problem is that he is working at a fire when every soul behind that Ghana's soccer image which was nose-diving could only be salvaged by an imported knowledge. But the success of Leo Martial, and Sunday Ibrahim unfortunately laced with his own failures in Senegal 92 and Burundi has thrown him into the hands of the critics.

Otto you are not alone, for this year is the anus horriblus (bad year) for most coaches, except a few like the affable Gavrilla whose non-conformist ideas has changed Hearts from their conservative thinking and acting. By his hands and mind Joe Odoi has found his form and his place in the Black Stars after four years, while Benard Whyte has suddenly had the twilight on his career postponed.

Coach Arday gave Africa and Ghana their first Olympic medal in soccer in Barcelona, but had his job at Kotoko read away on T.V. a couple of days after his team had run out of ideas and pace against an inspired but relegated Voradep side (whose Mawuse Dake discovered suddenly that who feels relegation knows relegation better, and not the one who proposes it). Then there is a certain Mr Sarpong who constantly falls but has had enough strength and will to dust himself up and start all over again. He left Dawu for Kotoko for his typical reasons which has always been personal. He needs the patience of Jones Attuquayefio of Goldfields whose talent is being forcibly swept into the pits of Obuasi by his British boss who I guess wants to turn Goldfields into something like Norwich or Blackburn Rovers. Maybe somebody should have written a footnote into his appointment letter that Hearts and Kotoko are the ordained custodians of our league (Cup), which becomes Peugeot League next year.

Perhaps the most harrowing of all was B.A. United's George Arthur complain about his team manager, Mr Boateng. The man also employee of the VRA for one reason or another failed to connect George's hotel with power in time. George complained and Boateng was sacked!

But above all, Kotoko kept their league little as well as their record for being impatient with coaches they sacked three this season Kyenkyenhene, Arday, and Asobi Boateng. Well that has not stopped Malik Jubir from coming back to his employers.

Some things will never change, a coach's job for instance. If Isaac Newton had seen football in his days the nature of a coach's job would have caught his attention for another constant.

## NDC-NCP-EGLE 'TRINITY'

*Continued from page 1*

79 had voted out of 777 as at 12.30 p.m.

Voters were equally virtually absent from the polling stations in Ho in the Volta Region. Only 300 voters, out of the registered 1,405, had performed their constitutional responsibility by mid-day.

From Kumasi, data on hand indicate that the poor turn-out of voters was a common feature at almost all the polling stations.

This was in spite of alleged threats from certain quarters that those who did not vote would be beaten up.

The records show that people went about their businesses as if no election was on, while market women noted their preparedness to forefeit their stalls rather than vote against their conscience.

Speaking at the New Year School in Legon on Friday, a political analyst saw the poor voter-turn-out as a general rejection of the NDC-NCP-Egle trinity.

The speaker, who wanted anonymity, said Ghanaians could not be fooled by "a veneer of healthy competition" among the three parties as "even an upstart knows they belong to the same political stable."

Not so Dr S. Afari-Gyan, of INEC head office, Accra who saw in the parliamentary election an "amazing orderliness."

Speaking to the CHRONICLE in his office barely minutes after the election last week, Dr Afari-Gyan described all suggestions that the low turn-out was the electorate's means of voicing their disillusionment over the handling of the results of the presidential election as being "too simplistic."

Most people who have voiced their feelings to the CHRONICLE through telephone calls, writing and word of mouth contact, however stressed that the whole election could have been shelved for obvious reasons.

At least, it would have saved the PNDC, INEC and Ghanaians in general the embarrassment of the thought of a government in haste to escape its shadow," a security personnel intimated.

# CHIEF DETAINED FOR NO CRIME

From Kow Freiku, Kumasi.

STRONGMAN of Ashanti, Nana Yaw Boakye, has returned quietly to his Brahabebome residence where he was picked by armed security men and detained at the BNI head quarters for 12 days last month.

There is enough evidence that no charge could be established against Nana Boakye, who is also the chief of Abenase near Ejisu in Ashanti, after the 12-hour-long hullabaloo which surrounded his arrest on December 6 and that his subsequent detention at the BNI for 12 days (December 6 - 18) was for no cause.

It was a scenario created to show him "where power lies". But for his insistence that he be tried before a law court upon a charge or commit suicide alongside threats of hunger strike, 72-year-old Nana Yaw Boakye would have been detained in-communicado.

Nana Boakye told the CHRONICLE in an interview shortly after his release on December 19 that his arrest was an attempt to kidnap him and might have led to his possible disappearance.

None of the people picked that day in Kumasi would have come back if "I had not grown wild" and insisted on my right of freedom. No torture, no intimidation, but he hated the BNI and its food. It is a comfortable place for wrongdoers, not him, a respecter of the law, he said.

The BNI established no crime against Nana Boakye. The police administrator could not substantiate his arrest and when the need arose that the BNI get in touch with the Kumasi Police, there was no charge either. The Ashanti Police Commander, Mr. W.K. Aboah, had confided in Nana that he knew nothing about his arrest.

Nana had exhibited "bravery" to the admiration of all democrats in Kumasi on the day of his arrest. He chose not "to respect the crown" of trigger happy policemen who attempted to "pick" him under the pretext that the IGP wanted to see him at that time (3.00 a.m.). He said in defying that order, he "respected freedom and justice and not freedom and nonsense".

His defiance in not honouring this invitation without a proper authority compelled them to change their ploy to a search on Nana.

Though no search warrant was produced, which Nana saw as a "hidden motive" for their invitation, he allowed them to conduct an extensive search, but after first having subjected them (a team of three policemen) to a thorough bodily search.

Nana Yaw Boakye says, "I respected the leader, Chief Supt. Wemegah. Also, I did not search him." But their search established nothing concrete against him. The search team, according to Nana, trembled when he invited them to search his underground vault and consequently refused to make a complete search of the house.

No charge after 12 days in detention? An expensive arrest, eh? Firing of warning shots, helicopters hovering over Nana's residence and a waiting airforce plane to whisk Nana, among others, away and yet no charge. But what charge could there be when the only questions asked were: Who did you vote for in the presidential elections? What is your occupation? What is in your name that makes you so popular? Did you know anything about the burning of an NDC man at Adukrom Nima in Kumasi?

## GCB RAISES RATES

GHANA Commercial Bank has with effect from January 1, 1993 increased its borrowing rates by over 18 per cent to attract more deposits from the money in circulation outside the banking system.

A release from the GCB last week said savings deposit rate had been increased from 15 per cent to 18 per cent while time deposit rates had gone up from between 17 per cent and 18 per cent to 22 per cent.

Other incentives aimed at encouraging savings include negotiable rates for call money and other financial instruments, including certificates of deposit.

The bank's lending rates have also been varied to promote export, agriculture and manufacturing.

Export trade loans and overdrafts now attract 20 per cent, Agric loans 23 per cent and other loans 29 per cent.

IT isn't the person who is broken that falls — but the person who lies down.
— *Anon*

PACKAGED AND PUBLISHED BY GHANAIAN CHRONICLE P.O. Box 16369 AIRPORT ACCRA. TEL: 227789/224187 TELEX: 2694 FAX: 226573 U.K OFFICE: 10 CRUSOE RD. MITCHAM, SURREY, CRA 2EF. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF NANA KOFI COOMSON
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper Licence No.ISD/184/6/8/90 Kumasi Office: No. B14, 1st Floor, Asafo Market, P.O.Box 476, UST. Tel: (051) 2835.

George Padmore Research Library
On African Affairs
06 JUL 1993

5-11 July

GHANAIAN
# The Chronicle
THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

*A false balance is abomination to the LORD, but a just weight is his delight. (PROVERBS 11:1)* Vol. 2 No. 44 Weekending JULY 11, 1993, UK £0.50 Germany DM 2.00 ¢150.00

Kofi Coomson Returns with Exclusives From Europe *Next week*

THE REDCO DEBACLE *page 10*

Prof Ansah to be laid to Rest July 31st. More Details *page 9*

# DEFUNCT CDRs GET 3 BILLION CEDIS

## As specifics of killer budget are revealed

STORY BY AUDREY GADZEKPO

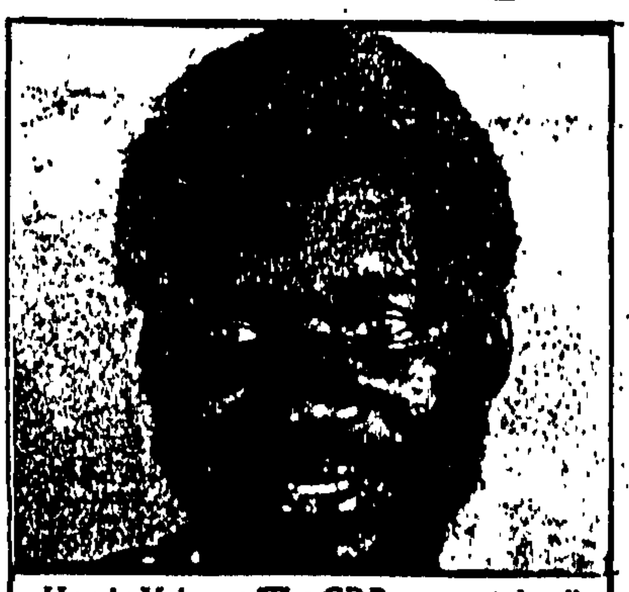
**As Ghanaians buckle under the huge increase in the price of petrol, which Kwesi Botchwey said was necessitated by the serious cash-flow problem plaguing the nation, a mind-boggling ¢3,110,145,885 (more than 3 billion cedis) was appropriated to the CDR (Committee for the Defence of the Revolution) Secretariat, an organisation outlawed under the Constitution. CDR colleague, the Civil Defence Organisation (CDO), also defunct under the constitution, was allocated ¢225,031,422 (over 200 million cedis).**

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

The huge infusion of cash into the coffers of the two revolutionary organs seems designed to assure their survival even under a constitutional government, at the expense of other sectors of the economy. The total monies allocated to the CDRs and the CDOs far exceed the amount appropriated to some of the nation's top teaching hospitals. Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital for example has less than two billion cedis (1,691,783,016) with which to work; Police Hospital, a mere ¢741, 218,247 (less than a million) and Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the country's top, albeit cash-strapped healing centre, got just over 3 billion cedis.

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

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



*Huudu Yahaya: 'The CDRs are not dead'*

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

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

# SOAP WARS....

## Unilever vrs. Local Soapmakers

BY KWAKU SAKYI-ADDO

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

**The indigenous companies, are Ameen Sangaree Soap manufacturers, Oils and Fats Ltd. and Appiah-Menkah Complex Ltd.**

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

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

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

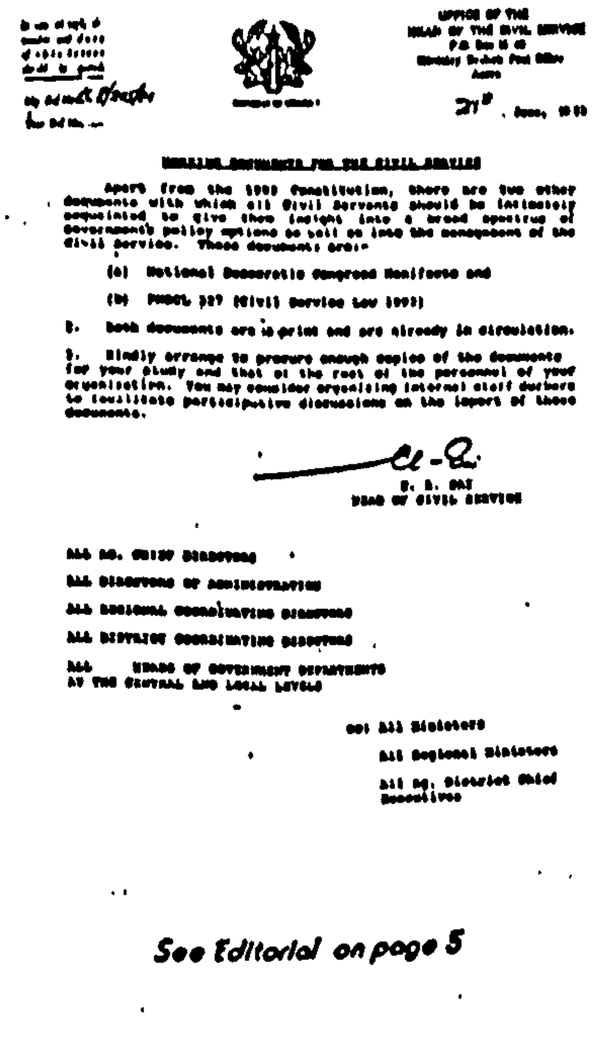
Far from it. To the contrary, the agreement (paragraph one of section four) bars "the Distributor," as defined by Unilever, from buying or selling "any goods of a kind and description similar to those sold by the giant transnational.

In addition, the distributor must not be interested, directly or indirectly, whether as "principal, agent, promoter, director, partner, employee, shareholder or whatever nomenclature of any private company" which trades in any products similar to those of Unilever's.

The implications? If one man signs the LDA, his wife, children below the age of 21, driver, watchman, house-helps and other dependents must not even think about

Cont'd on page 12

DANGER!



OFFICE OF THE HEAD OF THE CIVIL SERVICE
P.O. Box M 45
Ministry Branch Post Office
Accra

21st June, 1993

REGULAR DOCUMENTS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE

Apart from the 1992 Constitution, there are two other documents with which all Civil Servants should be intimately acquainted to give them insight into a broad spectrum of Government policy options as well as into the consequences of the Civil Service. These documents are:-

(a) National Democratic Congress Manifesto and

(b) PNDCL 327 (Civil Service Law 1993)

2. Both documents are in print and are already in circulation.

3. Kindly arrange to procure enough copies of the documents for your study and that of the rest of the personnel of your organisation. You may consider organising internal staff durbars to facilitate participative discussions on the import of these documents.

E. A. OSEI
HEAD OF CIVIL SERVICE

All Ag. Chief Directors
All Directors of Administration
All Regional Coordinating Directors
All District Coordinating Directors
All Heads of Government Departments at the Central and Local Levels

cc: All Ministers
All Regional Ministers
All Ag. District Chief Executives

See Editorial on page 5

The Ghanaian Chronicle
P.O.BOX 16369 AIRPORT ACCRA

## EDITORIAL

# Creeping Dictatorship

A circular from the Head of the Civil Service has left some of the old folks here at 'The Chronicle' with an eerie feeling of Deja Vu (the feeling you get when you think you've lived through a particular experience that you are currently experiencing). The tone of the circular, signed by Mr. E.A. Sai and titled "Working Documents for the Civil Service," suggests looming danger ahead for lovers of democracy.

"Apart from the 1992 Constitution, there are two other documents which ALL civil servants should be intimately acquainted with...," notes the circular. Those two documents are the Civil Service Law 1993 (PNDCL 327) and the National Democratic Congress Manifesto.

We at 'The Chronicle' have no quarrel with the civil service wanting its staff to become familiar with its laws. But it baffles us to think that some misguided zealot insists that all civil servants become familiar with the NDC manifesto?

The offending circular was sent to all assistant chief directors, all directors of administration, all regional coordinating directors, all district coordinating directors and all heads of government departments at the central and local levels. These heads were "kindly" asked to arrange to "procure enough copies of the documents for your study and that of the rest of the personnel of your organization." It was suggested (by the circular) that "internal staff durbars to facilitate participative discussions on the import of these documents" be organised. We read that as meaning "we want you to brainwash your staff to become fervent NDC adherents with no choice but to support the party which we have foisted on you."

We are no rocket scientists, but even the simpletons among us can draw strong parallels between a certain dictatorial regime which required that all government officials be card-carrying members of the CPP.

Why should civil servants be "implored" to read the NDC manifesto? Are all government workers in the USA mandated and implored to study the Democratic constitution just because President Bill Clinton and his administration happen to be in power?

One of the Cardinal and guiding principles of any Civil Service organisation is its impartiality. The Civil Service is supposed to be devoid of all political leanings so as to ensure "continuity" in its work. "Country broke, country no broke, the civil service dey." The same civil service machinery which served Kutu Acheampong, has to be oiled and ready to go come June 4th, or come the short experiment with Dr. Hilla Limann, or come PNDC and its sequel which now governs us.

It smacks of creeping dictatorship that civil servants have to be familiar with the manifesto of a particular ruling party, whether they subscribe or believe in the principles of that party or not. It would interest us to know what the penalty is for non compliance with this order. What happens if NPP, PNC, PHP, NIP or Independents in the civil service refuse to procure copies of the NDC manifesto? Will they be considered ill-informed to carry out their task and therefore asked to proceed on indefinite leave? Or will they be denied promotion? What comes next? Will prospective civil servants be required to prove knowledge of the NDC manifesto in order that they be employed? Will the NDC manifesto be required reading in our classrooms because like the Constitution the 'akatamanso' manifesto is a document that students ought to be "intimately acquainted with?"

And by the way, how much do these NDC manifestos cost and who does the money from these forced sales go to?

### Like a Thief in the Night

We have brought for your delightful consumption a snippet of one of twenty or so PNDC laws which were sneaked in at the seventh hour before the coming into effect of the constitution-guided Fourth Republic. Our front page story on the arbitrary 1993 budget which was promulgated on January 5, 1993, two days before the swearing in of our fourth president, his Excellency President Flt. Lt. (Rtd.) Jerry John Rawlings, is but an example of how binding decisions were nicodemously rammed down our throats when we were busy queueing up for seats at the stadium to watch the colourful inauguration.

Interestingly, on the dawn of a new Republic which has duly elected representatives in Parliament to debate on such issues as the budget, it was found necessary to fashion a hasty package and to allocate a nebulous organisation such as the CDR secretariat and an erstwhile PNDC apparatus, colossal sums of money with which to keep in place their unconstitutional machineries. We wonder how our honourable Members of Parliament will vote on CDR and PNDC monies if they ever get round to debating the budget. We are six months into the killer budget and not a squeak is being heard from our otherwise vocal Parliamentarians on the issue.

## AT CLOSE RANGE

By Audrey Gadzekpo

# ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION ATOP THE HILL

About those stone-breakers and garbage dumpers I promised to write about two issues ago (I don't want to be accused of being bought off), won't somebody please do something about the situation?

You see, I have always been a great admirer of MaCarthy Hill, the subject of my concern. No, I don't live there, I live on the opposite side of town, but still, I grew up imagining that life on the hill was cosier than life below. Apparently, I was wrong. A few weeks ago, my admiration turned to pity when some MaCarthy hillers approached me about some of their gripes. Folks at Teshie Nungua think they have problems, but wait till you hear what they are doing to MaCarthy Hill. It's as though all of a sudden, AMA and Water and Sewerage and the stone-breakers union (is there such a thing?) have conspired to make life a living hell for MaCarthy Hill residents.

The plush residential area which used to be home to such flamboyant pleasure seekers as the late Ackah Blay Miezah is being rapidly defaced. If you will, imagine a young pretty faced woman who has been ravished by disease, say small-pox, so that where once there was smooth rich skin, now deep pock marks have laid claim on her face, robbing her of any semblance of beauty. That is what is happening to MaCarthy Hill. Where once lovely houses dotted rich open land, now amidst the lovely homes, deep holes dot the landscape. The deep holes of which I speak were bored by stone-breakers looking to make a little money from hewing stones with which to feed a nearby quarry.

But they are more than a passing nuisance. Residents say all day, weekends included, these stone-breakers are at work, digging and carting away stone. At times they load the stones into what appear to be official vehicles eg. one such vehicle which was recently spotted, a Mercedes Benz ATMA truck with registration Number GVC 9485. Sometimes the situation turns ludicrous. In one section of the area, the Chinese National Construction Company, on contract with Water and Sewerage Corporation to build a reservoir, finds that each time they backfill land at the reservoir site, the stone-breakers are waiting in line to un-fill it right back by carting off the stones. Meanwhile, Water and Sewerage, which is aware of the problem, seems not in a hurry to do much to save the situation.

For an area prone to earthquakes, having gaping holes all over can prove very dangerous. And as though that were not enough, along comes AMA to dump on them. For some inexplicable reason, AMA decided that a residential area, the area within Mallam-Macarthy Hill, would make an ideal spot to build a landfill. The result of such ill-conceived zoning is that residents in that area have a cacophony of horrid smells each time fresh garbage is dumped. What's more, the garbage brings along swarms of flies that swoop on the area like locust.

The residents association has written copious letters to the powers that be about the situation, but to no avail. Everyone seems to be stone-deaf to their pleas.

But I remain an optimist, even if Macarthy hillers have lost hope. May I remind hillers of little faith that in this our Fourth Republic we now have a whole ministry and a minister of environment whose designation castes her as the protector of our dear land, air, sea, what have you. What have you to fear?

# NKRUMAHISTS WANT UNITY

BY NANA KOBINA NKETSIA & NANA OKUTWER BEKOE

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

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

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

Those of us alive today, particularly the surviving founding fathers and elders of the family regard the anniversary as a very solemn occasion. The solemnity is marked by the fact that all of us must have been wailing in our hearts over the disastrous fate of the great family, whose extinction appears imminent unless we collectively and courageously take a positive stand to salvage the sinking family. We must bow down our heads in shame as we observe the 44th anniversary so disintegrated and so devastated.

It is unfortunate that we should let the inordinate ambitious and hollow pride of a few fakes destroy the solid foundation upon which the CPP was founded. Doubtless, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the departed founding fathers and stalwarts, who sacrificed everything to form and nurture the indomitable party would be cursing us in their graves and posterity shall point accusing finger at us if we should supervise the extinction of the CPP.

It is our fervent hope, that we shall, once again, make history on this momentous occasion by resolving to forget the past and rekindle the spirit of togetherness, unity and brotherliness which have always been the basic characteristics of the CPP family. A few weeks ago, precisely on the 21st anniversary of the death of our illustrious leader Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, we had the opportunity to dilate on the sad state of affairs within the family which led to the serious and unproductive fragmentation and incalculable harm it had done to the people of this country in particular and Africa in general.

We appeal to all the living PG's, elders, founding fathers, splinter groups and all concerned to close their ranks and settle for a united front without any preconditions.

As we observe this solemn occasion it behoves us to resolve considering the turbulent time we are all experiencing as consequences to our inability to unite to resist any subtle and hostile attempts and temptations by the fakes that may tend to set us again on the path to total destruction.

There is victory for us.

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Near British Council, Accra.

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GHANAIAN

# The Chronicle

UMKONTO-WE SIZWE — SPEAR OF THE NATION

Vol. 3 No.6 Weekending OCTOBER 24, 1993, UK£0.50 Germany DM 2.00 ¢150.00

18-24 Oct

JUSTICE TAYLOR Brings His Hammer Down On Enemies Of The Constitution — Page 3

DR. KWADWO TUTU Analyses The Sale Of Government Shares In Ashanti Goldfields Corporation — Page 6 & 7

The Story Of A Patients Sad Experience At Korle-Bu Continues — Page 6 & 7

THE ABC BEER POISON THREAT The Other Story — Page 8

## The Abrasive Gen. Quainoo Crosses Swords With Dr. Abdallah As They Declare...

# "WE ARE AT WAR"

Quainoo: Culture is like war.

Abdallah: Culture is not Ecomog

BY KWAKU SAKYI-ADDO

The fat General has drawn his rusted sword from its worn sheath. The bearded man of letters has responded with a rattle of his northern whisk. General Arnold Quainoo, the old soldier who refuses to fade, and Dr. Mohammed Ben Abdallah, the genteel Chairman of the National Commission on Culture, are at war as they stand eyeball to eyeball in what looks like a war between gunpowder and literature.

You can almost hear him bellowing: "You must be ruthless! For, culture is like war. You go there to win, not to lose!" That must be the theme the Buffalo Soldier seems to be operating with, as he toddles about the enlightened corridors of the National Commission on Culture. But Dr. Abdallah, his brief stature notwithstanding, is not cowering in the face of his 250-pound adversary.

Tempers flared in the boardroom of the Commission last Wednesday at a meeting of the NCC board, as Dr. Abdallah and other board members openly challenged General Quainoo's jurisdiction over the commission.

The abrasive General, not used to being questioned by "other ranks", told them he would remain at the commission whether they liked it or not, because he took his instructions direct from the President, rather than the board.

Film-maker Kwaw Ansah, for instance, is reported to have queried General Quainoo as to why he had not discussed with the board a report he wrote on the commission before he submitted it to the President. The General erupted with fury, insisting that he was not accountable to the board. The board members responded in a chorus of disagreement around the oval table, that their role on the board had been insulted. They also found General Quainoo's general manner too abrasive and militaristic.

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

Other board members at the meeting included sculptor and painter Saka Acquaye, Professor Kwame Arhin of the Instite of African Studies, Professor Patrick Twumasi, a Unesco consultant, Mrs. Barbara Baeta-Enchill of Flair Catering, Nana Brefo Boateng of NCC and Nana Ama Serwah from Sunyani. The only person at the meeting who seemed, subtly, to lean towards the General was his kind – a certain Col Amuzu, an ex-serviceman.

The confrontation became so intense that at some point Quainoo who was chairing the meeting, had to call time-out. Yet, after the official session had ended, General Quainoo and Dr. Abdallah found a fresh battle-ground under the Commission's shady nim trees where they are reported to have openly chastised each other. "It was embarrassing," said our source.

In another development, Dr. Abdallah has written an eight-page letter, copied to everyone from the President to the chief of the International Theatre Institute complaining basically that General Quainoo is a pain in the seat of the commission.

Dr. Abdallah, in the letter, questioned the General's decision to transfer Mr. John Darkey, NCC's Director of Programmes, to head a non-existent PANAFEST Secretariat in Cape Coast.

Cont'd on page 12

# POLICEMAN KILLS SOLDIER

## ... AND TENSION MOUNTS

*By Kwesi Pratt, Guest Writer*

Soldiers at the Gondar Barracks are threatening hell over the death of Lance Coporal Brazil Couch, described by the police as an armed robber.

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

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

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

"We will not allow policemen to just continue shooting soldiers by heart. If they don't take steps to stop them we will stop them ourselves. They should know that we also have guns," said a Warrant Officer.

As a result of the agitation for investigation into the killings, the Ghana Armed Forces has set up its own Board of Enquiry into the incident and it is expected to submit its report as quickly as possible to abate the anger of the soldiers.

Police sources said the officer who led the Striking Force on the operation may be moved to a new duty station as a means of protecting him against angry colleagues of L/Cpl Couch.

The anger of the soldiers is fueled by the fact that in 1988 an Airforce Officer was also shot to death by the police for allegedly being an armed robber.

Flt. Lt Kwafo, a flight engineer was shot near the residence of Dr. Kwame Safo Adu, leading member of the New Patriotic Party

Cont'd on page 12

The GHANAIAN Chronicle

UPHOLD TRUTH AND JUSTICE



# "WE ARE AT WAR"

*Cont'd from page 1*

Mr. Darkey's transfer is suspected to be a punishment stemming from Mr. Darkey's open questioning of the General's style of dealing with the commission.

"I am certainly worried about this development and others which have happened since you assumed temporary oversight responsibility over the National Commission on Culture," wrote Abdallah.

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

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

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

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

# POLICEMAN KILLS SOLDIER

*Cont'd from page 1*

(NPP) who was allegedly hnbouring Professor Albert Adu Boahen after his famous Danquah-Busia Memorial Lectures.

Family sources are reading politics into the whole affair and the claim is that L/Cpl Couch is the second relative of a former PNDC secretary now turned dissident to be killed under dubious circumstances.

The first was said to be a member of the Forces Reserve Battalion (FRB).

L/Cpl Couch is a native of Aflao and is expected to be buried later this week.

# "STOLEN VERDICT" VENDOR STOLEN?

*By Kofi Opare-Addo*

GILBERT Opoku-Ware, a 28 year old vendor is reported missing from his Accra home. According to a relative, Gilbert who was a Vendor of 'Stolen Verdict' was being sought by the Bureau of National Investigations.

# THIS SPORTING LIFE

BY KOFI OPARE - ADDO

## MY NEIGHBOR's FATTED C

HOW would you feel if your next door neighbor is more successful, resourceful, and better and widely acknowledged than you. Would you work yourself into a snit, tattle (loose talk) on him like some people do, or would you sit back and find out what it is that makes him successful?

Or would you look across the wall into his house and pout your lips, the way the old folks did it when their neighbor's son passed his Hall (Middle School Leaving Certificate), or even won an Elder Dempster award to study in the U.K, or would you be delighted for him?

I have swung across these moods since last Friday when Nigeria qualified for next year's World Cup finals in the United States. There was no better way for Nigerians to tell us that they were superior by beating us at the final junior World Cup, and then later on slog on to the finals of the Senior World Cup before us. Now Nigerian football (and not us) has arrived and there is every indication that they will not let it slip by.

Instead of leering at their success I would imagine that we would sit and reflect on the implications it has for us.

Like us, they fussed and hollered when their head coach Clement Westerhoff did not produce results, and threatened to scalp him. But unlike us when they realised that he had something to offer, they had patience for him to allow him travel the distance. So Westerhoff enjoyed continuity and utilized it to a good effect. For the period that he has been at the Nigerian bench, not less than five managers have shown up at our bench.

Again, unlike us, Nigeria do not fuss too much about their footballers plying their trade abroad. So they have over fifty (50) professionals all over Europe. The difference between their professionals and ours is that most of them play with some of the in Europe, and they do not hesitate to when the need arises.

Unlike us they have always stuck to a that the best way to play their game is for and single-mindedness.

But that did not mean that the avera footballer has no skill and finds himself because he has benefitted from the high en For them no team could be considered pint (swoof) and so they deal with each oppo their might and heart. Think about Ye Finidi, Okocha, Elaho, Rufai and many ot me if they are ordinary footballers. We under the illusion that we are more skillful Cameroon/Algeria and others have been Cup it was because we did not want to be th were there by accident. It is as if God hims football on our shores. Cameroon has bee times and is going to be there for the third one become lucky three times, while anoth unlucky?

Whoever strewn this land with so mu skill has done us a great disservice. We thought our talents alone stand us in good on short notices. As Brazil have found out, fl ceased to be the magic wand twenty-three And in our case because we do not have develop the tactics of our game, our organ very so often ends up in a mass of confusio

Even the most basic function of a organization of a league, is done on a prin and error. Every year new reasons are fo ideas which eventually do not work.

Unlike us Nigeria and perhaps Came show anywhere to play; Malaysia, Korea, Today we are the relics from Greek Modern times have parked us for researc say) is not a Nigerian, but we forget that he Ghanaian.

# INTERPLAST, KOTOKO TIE THE KI

INTERPLAST Limited of Accra, last two weeks gave a head start to Champion Club Kumasi Asante Kotoko in the new professional league next year.

The company which is the leading manufacturer of PVC pipes in the country has signed an agreement to sponsor Asante Kotoko for a period of three years beginning next year.

Mr Haysaam Fakhry Director of the company told The Chronicle that his company will over the period provide Kotoko with several sets of jerseys, and other equipment for training and matches.

the package also includes cash bonuses for they win the league championship and, t Players who win SWAG awards will also rec cash bonuses.

Mr Fakhry said his company chose Ko for their track record as the most successful country. He said the idea which will entitle wear Interplast's logo will cost several mil meant for the domestic league only.

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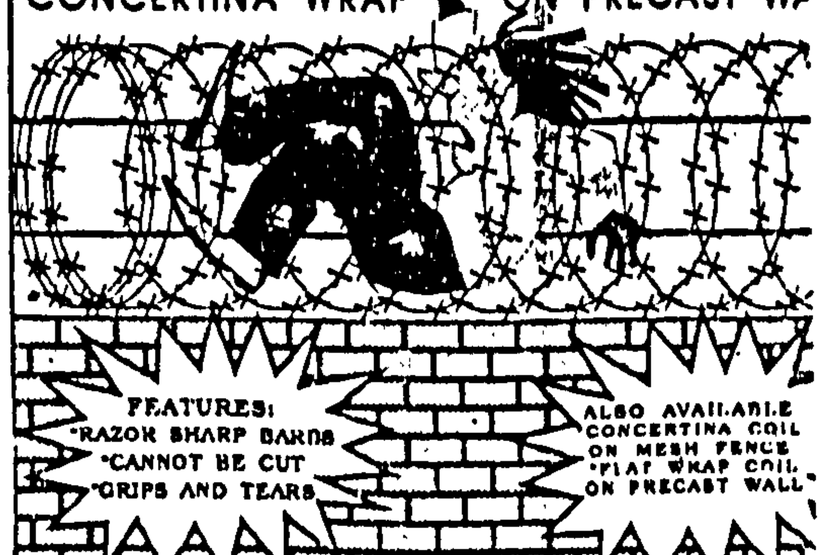

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Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper, Kumasi Office: No.B14, 1st Floor, Asafo Market, P.O. Box 476, UST. Tel: (051) 2835

GHANAIAN
# The Chronicle

UMKONTO WE SIZWE — SPEAR OF THE NATIO

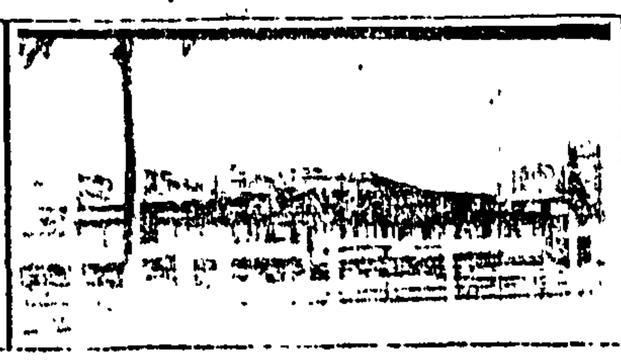
VOL. 4 NO. 109 MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21 - WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1994 UK£ 0.75p GERMANY DM2.00 ¢200

David Amank

Amankwa Is
Post after rapi
maid-servant
okay? Send
view to The E

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

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



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

# THE PRESIDENT IS 'MAD'

Spio-Garbrah

Nana Konadu

## *His Mother-In-Law also explodes*

*By*
*Nana Kofi Coomson*
*Editor-In-Chief*

**THE PRESIDENT FLT. LT. Jerry Rawlings (rtd) is reported to be 'mad' at the fallout from his beloved wife's visit in the United States.**

He is said to be also angry about the 'white-washed' specially tailored happy news dispatches that were being fed him ostensibly from Spio-Garbrah's outfit while the negative developments - specifically the statement of denunciation from the John Hopkins University President - were hidden from him.

A short letter from Mr. William C. Richardson to the furious Ghanaians who were besieging the school authorities in the US explained that Mrs Rawlings was not being accorded any special honour or respect because of her participation in the one-month long programme on Philanthrophy at the University.

The School which was jammed with telephone calls several weeks before the 'illustrious student' arrived had letters including one from radical Human rights activist Mr. Charles Bincy which revealed the real agenda of the DWM to bemused university officials.

But what is drawing the presidential angst is the embarrassing falsehoods and gaffes in one of the university's journals, the JHU GAZETTE in which the First Lady was not exactly truthful with allusions about her organisation, the 31st December Women's Movement. She claimed among other things that the DWM had taught more than one million women to read and write.

She is also credited with another falsehood about traditional Ghanaian customs, when she claimed that widows in today's Ghana have pepper put in their eyes so that they cannot see. Earlier, she had told CNN that the 31st DWM started by mortgaging the property of members to raise cash to help children and women.

The fuming President has already sent for a copy of the journal and is reported to be especially angry with Tony Aidoo and Spio for not shielding her.

The flared tempers appear to have ignited frayed nerves within the President's circle too. His mother-in-law Mrs. Felicia Konadu Agyeman also flew into uncontrollable rage last Friday and tore into her other son-in-law, Mr. Haruna Attah, editor of THE STATESMAN last Friday accusing him of being a disgraceful man.

Over in Washington the First Lady, already mellowed by repeated harranguing and demonstrations from Ghanaians in the US was startled when a senior official of the United States Information Service (USIS) Ms Janet Quaresopome refused to be flattened by her during a formal introduction ceremony at the embassy.

'I beg your pardon, maa'm', I never worked with the PNDC. I was with the GHANAIAN TIMES', Janet reportedly said when Mrs. Rawlings attempted to tag her as another one of the people who used to be with the PNDC.

The President's rage is being felt among his political friends. Hardest hit is Mr. Enoch Teye Mensah, Minister of Sports who is expecting the First Lady to be a special guest of honour at a political funeral of his mother-in-law on November 26 at Big Ada. The fear is that the President might not allow his wife to go to Ada after all, and this might wreck their "show".

In the most sickening show of political sycophancy, E.T. Mensah and his live-in-girl friend Ms. Vida Aryeetey have even draped the casket of the 98-year-old mother of Vida, Madam Blewo in NDC colours complete with pictures of Jerry Rawlings.

NDC attires have already been made for the 100 odd ushers, fufu pounders and couriers who are bound for Ada this Saturday where the body of Madam Blewo who was blind for the last 10 years of her life will be airlifted for burial. Sources close to the Heavy drinking Minister for Interior and close pal of the E.T. household Mr. Osei-Wusu told Yours Truly that even the funeral invitations are on State Protocol cards in clear abuse of protocol.

By Saturday, Mr. Haruna Attah, the intellectual powerhouse and editor of the STATESMAN was still speechless with the shock attack on him by his mother-in-law following his paper's reportage on the First Lady's trip.

The report which was filed by the paper's US stringer debunked Mrs. Rawling's claim in THE GAZETTE that her mother is from the Royal family among others.

*Continued on back page*

## You Are Fre To Broadcas

THE FORMER NATIONAL Energy Ad
Dr. Charles Wereko Brobbey has revealed
there is no law in the country inhibiting
establishment of private Radio and Tele
stations.

Dr. Brobbey, a leading member of the N
a columnist of the "Chronicle" noted that Gha
had been hoodwinked into believing that e
laws endorse state monopoly of the electronic

The assertion which was made in the d
column in the "Chronicle" today (page 5),
that SMC Decree 71 of 1977, allows
establishment of private commercial broad
stations under the control of the Ghana Fre
and Control Board. Explaining the reason f
ignorance of this existing provision, the
Energy Advisor laid the blame squarely at th
steps of Ghanaians "Our failure to fight
rights is part of the endemic disease of n
wanting to risk or sacrifice, he intimated.

On why no private radio stations ha
established in the country since the inception
4th Republic, Dr. Brobbey did not mince
"The government does not want us to have
doing everything in its power to resist tha
lamented at the timid acquiescence of Ghan
what he described as "this sabotage", and, wo
why we were all waiting for the passage of leg
before making a move.

# FINANCE MINISTER ACCUSES COUNCIL OF STATE

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER for Finance and Economic Planning, Mr. Victor Selormey has blamed the high budget deficit and government expenditure on official pressure on the ministry.**

Mr Selormey who recently proclaimed that there is no poverty in Ghana singled out the Council of State for blame for always putting pressure on his ministry to satisfy certain interests

"There are serious pressures which the Ministry is sometimes not able to resist"

The bulky Selormey did not see wisdom in some pressure groups and communities
the ministry for development projects in thei

The Minister who was speaking at
the AGM Annual General Meeting last
the situation where at the beginning of

*Continued on*

*"Be angry but sin not...: - (Psalm 4:4)*

The Ghanaian Chronicle

THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21 - WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1994

# THE PRESIDENT IS 'MAD'

*Continued from page 1*

She railed at Haruna in the presence of her grandchildren and her own daughter Mrs Haruna Attah who subsequently broke into tears and gathered her wailing children away from the savage attack on the editor.

Mr. Attah did not utter a word throughout the tirade according to unimpeachable CHRONICLE sources who accompanied the woman to the Labadi residence of the editor.

Haruna's wife, also a journalist, is the youngest of her parent's children. She shares the same mother and same father with the First Lady.

# FINANCE MINISTER ACCUSES COUNCIL OF STATE

*Continued from page 1*

ministry had to cough out money outside the budget to enable the Ministry of Education (MOE) to engage 10,000 teachers. He said this had to be done because of the constitutional provision that enjoined the MOE to provide schools in every community.

Mr. Selormey further stated that his Ministry could also not overturn demands by the Ministries of Roads and Highways and Works and Housing for the rehabilitation of roads and houses. "We have to rehabilitate them or we loose them".

The Deputy Minister expressed regret that this has reached a situation where "we have been unable to programme properly for those essential expenditures and once these things are done, they become so burdensome that sometimes those who are put in charge deem it a necessity to undertake these expenditures not because they want to spend, but because if they don't the consequences would be more diring.

But Mr. Kwami Pianim, an Economic Consultant and the main speaker of the day dismissed the Minister's explanation, describing as chaotic, the usual practise of the government recruiting workers outside the budget.

Mr. Pianin said the low income range between Ghana and the Ivory Coast for instance is due to the leakage of Ghana's income to foreign countries.

The economic consultant pointed out that the revolution has ended and that Ghanaians can no longer look on while government continues to spend uncontrollably. - *By Amos Safo*

# UST STUDENTS CALL FOR COMPROMISE

*From Sebastian R. K. Freiku, Kumasi*

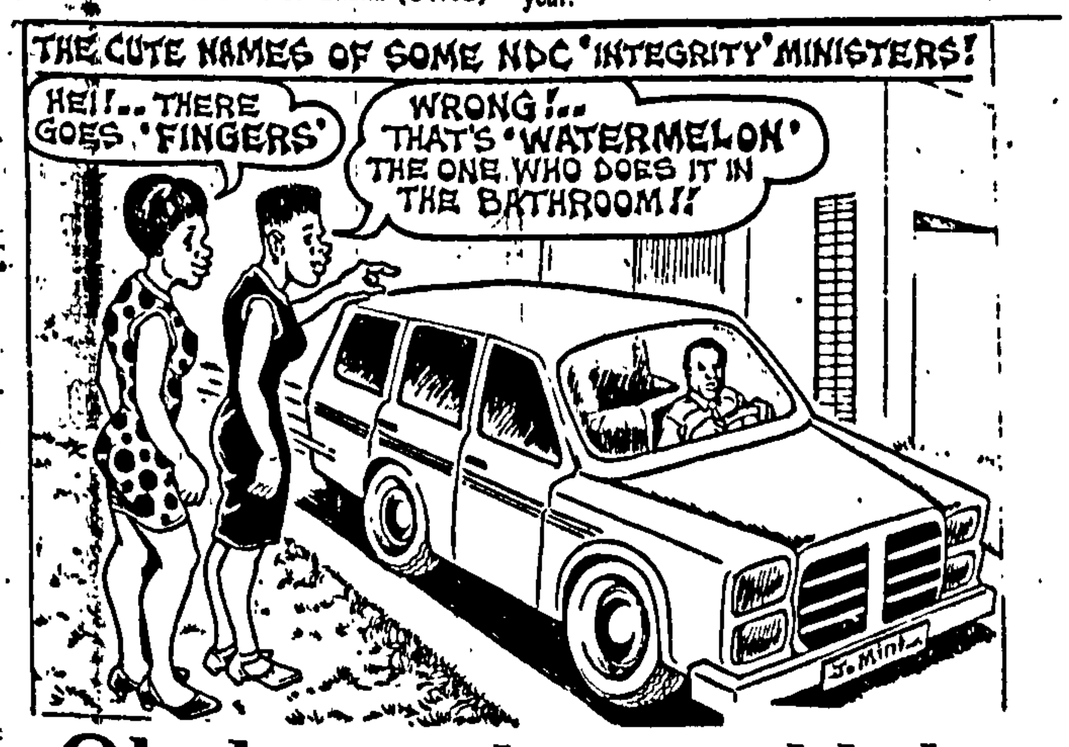
CONCERNED STUDENTS of the University of Science and Technology (UST) have called on the government to consider suggestions from well-meaning bodies towards finding a pragmatic and lasting solution to the current impasse between the government and the lecturers of the country's universities.

A petition presented to the President through the Regional Minister in Kumasi last Friday urged the government to treat the current negotiations with the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) with the urgency it requires and in the spirit of compromise.

The petition, signed by Worlanyo Ocloo and Alfred Asamoah on behalf of the concerned students, stated that the nation would not gain by the current state of affairs.

It was explained further, however, that continuous stay of students at home would not jeopardise the current educational reforms programme but also put severe strain on students, parents and university authorities as well.

The students petitioned the President against the background of the disruption of the 1994/95 academic year.




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

*Continued from page 3*

angling for the job of Ambassador to South Africa where he will retire into the bosom of his wife and lead a normal life again in peace -away from the glare of the Ghanaians. He needs a clearance of his alleged guilt in the murder of the judges act for the South African government to give the Ghana government a green light. The Ghana government can put his name forward, but Mandela can say No, we don't want anything to do with a man associated with murder. A clean Bill of health from a London court would have been just the right kind of Diploma he would have needed to complete his CV. And then South Africa would have been his. As it is, the slot is still unoccupied with a big RESERVED mark on it. I hear Awoonor is jumping up and down for it - after cleaning up New York and wrecking whatever is left of his ignoble image during his tenure there.

So where does it leave Kojo T after his initial set back in London? Is this the paen to Kojo's paen, and how will Kojo's epithet read?

# TALKING SPORTS

with Karl Tufuoh

# WORLD BOXING OR WORLD BOGUS COUNCI

THE DECISION BY the World Boxing Council (WBC) not to sanction anymore fights in the American State of California, because the electorate of that state had overwhelmingly voted to stop state support (in terms of education, medical care, etc) for illegal immigrants (of which Mexicans constitute about 70 per cent) is the clearest indication that the WBC is being run by a coalition of Mexican bigwigs. Once again boxing has shown that it is simply the equivalent of Mafia in sports.

Only GOD knows the reasons why that decision was taken. The claim by the hierarchy of this particular boxing controlling body that the vote was a form of racism, was as legally sound as saying that oil and water mix. This clearly is another case in the list of bungling that this organisation has been able to conjure up since its inception in 1963. This is not to say that the other "alphabet boys" (WBA, IBF, WBO, IBC, WBF) have been immune from mistakes, but rather to say that as the most widely organised body, such trivial incidents should have been perpetuated by the infant bodies such as the IBC and WBF.

Many boxers have had cause to complain (particularly our own Azumah Nelson) about the scoring by judges in fights against Mexican opponents whenever they are fighting for WBC titles.

The most famous case of blatant robbery was the WBC welterweight title fight between Pernell Whitaker and Jose Suleiman's "darling boy" Julio Cesar Chavez. With the exception of Don King, Jose Suleiman and two of the three judges, 99 per cent of those who watched the fight knew that Whitaker had won the fight instead of the outrageous draw that was declared.

You can also talk about the rematch between Chavez and American Frankie Randall, where it was clear to all that Chavez refused to continue, yet the score cards were totted up (after deducting a point from Randall for an accidental [illegible] declared the winner.

Azumah Nelson's eight [illegible] Suarez and Mario Azabache [illegible] are two clear cases as well. The Mexicans were "feeding" on points, according to the judges, until the "Terrible Ghanaian" knocked them out.

The list is endless as to the manner in which the WBC, WBA and the other alphabet boys manipulate their rankings.

The WBC was praised to the hilt particularly by African countries, when it took the decision to expel South African boxers from taking part in its championship fights as a result of apartheid.

Now that body can be accused of practicing "apartheid" simply because the people of a particular state are refusing to use their hard earned money to look after illegal immigrants.

The WBC has never had credibility with some countries because of the link with the shadowy Don King. Now there is a possibility that it will lose more as a result of this ridiculous decision.

Whoever advised Ike 'Bazooka' Quartey t the WBA's version for the welterweight title d a lot of good. Quartey would probably be still w for a title chance if he had not decided to look else Remember how long it took Azumah Nelson t crack at the WBC's world featherweight title w was obvious that he more than deserved a chanc title?

Is the WBC to tell the world that if the othe in the USA also voted to stop state funding of immigrants, it would ban championship fights United States? I bet not, otherwise it would go and hand over its leadership in boxing to it organisation.

Dear readers we are talking about immigrants, not legal immigrants. Every count the right to protect its citizens and use its resour their benefits and if the citizenry says illegal, rem the word is illegal, immigrants are not welcome it.

When Italian refugees were being refuse into the United States, why didn't the WBC say banning the state of Florida, California and But when it concerns the illegal immigrants (rem Mexicans are by far in the majority) they p sanction on California.

The WBC is digging a grave for itself by im these sanctions against California. Much as it the state hard, it will only give the WBA and t the chance to shut the WBC. If and when they sanctions they probably would have lost a ground to them.

## HOW THE MIGHTY HAVE FALLI

When league action, resumes on Tuesday 22) all eyes will focus on the two fallen giants, of Oak and Asante Kotoko.

Following their reversals against Goldfiel Nkoreo United respectively the ex giants of will lock horns at the Accra Stadium w knowledge that another defeat will set the alarm ringing and supporters crying out for heads to

At the Kumasi Stadium, Cornerstone will h Wonder Club, Great Olympics, whilst the champions Goldfields, take on Real Tamale Un the Len Clay Stadium. Middle league champion: United take on Nana Butler's Dwarfs at the Coro Park. At the Nkawkaw Park Okwahu United wil with Afienya United whilst big spending Ghapol rivals of Afienya, will take on Dawu Youngster Tema Municipal Park.

## SOCCER QUIZ NO. 05

Which Dutch International Star declined t for his national team, a couple of months prior t '94.

## ANSWER TO QUIZ NO. 04

1. Rev. Osei Kofi
2. Quattara Aboubacar

# GET UP GFA

*By Kobina Andoh Amoakwa*

TO BE FOREWARNED, is to be forearmed, an old adage goes. Being cautious as a result of prior warning is a necessary procedure in all administration set ups and sports, specifically soccer can be no exception.

There have been tonnes of warnings to the GFA to haste slowly in all its activities. Majority of such warnings have been out of a [illegible] concern and not malice as the GFA usually purports.

We have, however, been witnesses to countless occasions where the GFA and its sector ministry have bungled issues that would have been prevented and to which they had received ample warning.

My lengthy prologue is just to again warn Nana Butler's GFA about an ominous cloud that hangs over the Ghanaian soccer horizon.

Reports on the 2-1 victory in Banjul clearly indicate that the Stars' major bane, goal scoring, reared its ugly head again with numerous chances being thrown to the wind.

What I am inferring at, is the fact that the country has footballers of better striking ability than those paraded in Banjul. This is not to belittle any of the gallant players who were in Banjul. But I believe that for Gambia to scare us, is no issue to off.

The problem with Ghana soccer is th inaccuracies and inefficiencies of the present ar GFAs have crept into the mode of selection of n players so much so that majority of our nations are lying fallow in Europe.

Ghanaian soccer fanatics, are sometime so n in their perception of issues and this is what give to the present GFA for instance, to deliberately (or is it refers?) to try and solve problems that inevitable aspect of players recalcitrance for im We might cite Prince Polley, Tony or Abedi cases. Have we however bothered to analyse thi on the international level? I am of the conviction Ruud Gullit were a Ghanaian he would have ostracised from our society by now. For a national team captain to withdraw, from his weeks before a World Cup tournament is unpardo

If the current GFA expects to leave office w blemish then they must immediately insti reconciliatory gesture that will bring a warm relati between all the players of the national team: P former and future. This is a necessary obligation

PACKED AND PUBLISHED BY "GHANAIAN CHRONICLE", P.O. BOX 16369, AIRPORT-ACCRA. TEL 22 77 80 / 027-553-550 TELEX: 2694 FAX: 22 65 73
U.K. OFFICE, 10 CRUSOE RD. MITCHAM, SURREY, CRA 21F. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: NANA KOFI COOMSON
*Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper, ISSN No. 9855 1677, Kumasi Office: No. B14, 1st Floor, Asafo Market, P.O. Box 4775, Kumasi. Tel: (051) 2372*

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On African Affairs

*This nation has come a long way, and we will not compromise the principles which have brought us so far and which we will carry into the future.*

*Constitutional rule will bring new adjustments. But I have no doubt that I can count on your continued support in the pursuit of economic and social justice for our people.*

*— Chairman Jerry John Rawlings (President-elect) Address to security forces at El-Wak Stadium on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the 31st December Revolution.*

The People's Daily Graphic

*Biological diversity has provided organisms that have ensured humanity with the very basis of civilisation in the form of crops, domestic animals, a wide variety of industrial products, and many important medicines.*

*The loss of such organisms through the destruction of their natural habitat means that their ability to serve humanity is lost.*

*It must be noted that by the time an organism is recognised as endangered, it is often too late to save it.*

*—GREEN FORUM FOR DEVELOPMENT*

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1993. No. 13095. PRICE: ¢100.00

# PRESIDENT-ELECT, VICE TO BE SWORN IN ... On Jan 7

• *Flt-Lt. Rawlings*

**THE President-elect, Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, will be sworn-in by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice P. Archer, at the Independence Square, Accra on January 7.**

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

According to an official statement released in Accra on Saturday the ceremony, to be witnessed by representatives from about 78 countries, as well as those of international organisations, will be the highlight of the inauguration of the Fourth Republic.

The statement said a cross-section of chiefs and people from all over the country and Members of Parliament will be present at the ceremony.

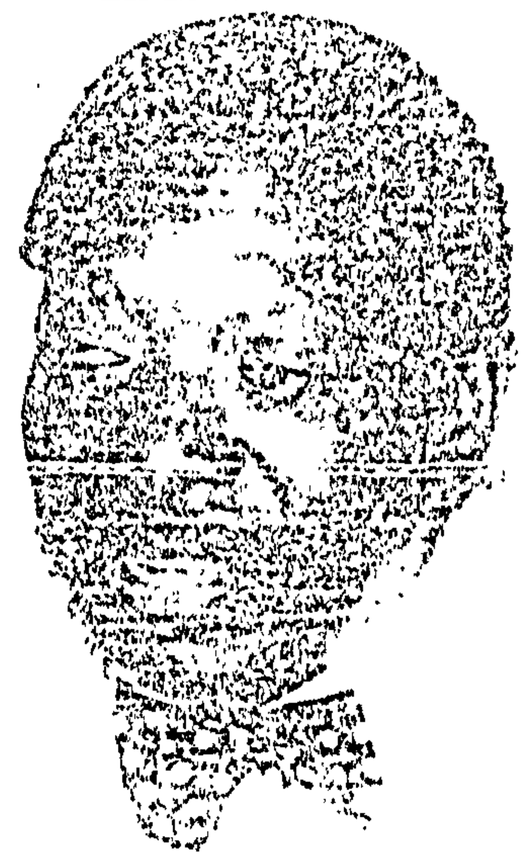
It said earlier in the day, Parliament will meet to elect a Speaker and two Deputy Speakers.

The Speaker will be sworn-in by the Chief Justice after which he would in turn swear-in his deputies and the 200 members of Parliament-elect.

The statement said the sitting of the House for Parliament will move to the Independence Square for the swearing-in ceremony of the President and Vice-President.

The inauguration will be rounded off with a fireworks display in the evening.

Meanwhile, the statement announced that the reception and the ceremony for PNDC awards, scheduled to have taken place at the forecourt of the State House on Tuesday, January 5, has been put off.



• *K. N. Arkaah*

## ¢740m Released To District Assemblies For Salary Arrears

*From Tim Dzamboe, Kadjebi*

**THE government has released a total of ¢740,438,037.33 to the district assemblies for the payment of accumulated salary arrears of workers of erstwhile district councils.**

A total of ¢410,558,107.13 has also been disbursed to district assemblies which were able to pay their workers full salaries during the period as a compensation package.

Mr Kwamena Ahwoi, Secretary for Local Government announced this when he commissioned an assembly hall and office complex and a district secretary's bungalow at Kadjebi in the Volta Region on Wednesday, December 30.

He said the district resourcing plan under the decentralisation programme for newly created districts and 65 old councils is on course, adding that a total of ¢2.2 billion has so far been spent on the infrastructural development of district capitals.

These comprise the completion of 28 bungalows for district secretaries with 19 others at various stages of construction, the completion of 30 junior staff quarters in 15 districts with 26 similar quarters under construction; 10 new office blocks/assembly halls have been completed with seven others under construction.

Other projects are 26 office blocks rehabilitated with three others on-going, 34 old government bungalows/rest houses rehabilitated and the furnishing of 44 bungalows for district secretaries and district co-ordinating directors.

Mr Ahwoi announced that under the district assemblies common fund designed to promote a secure and reliable financial base for the assemblies, central government transfers to the assemblies would be brighter in the Fourth Republic.

He said resourcing of the fund has been constitutionally set up at a mini-

(Contd. on Pg. 8/9)

## 'Give Thrust, Meaning To ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Protocols'

*By Abigail Bonsu*

**THE government of the Fourth Republic has been called upon as a matter of urgency, to Act in concert with other members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to give thrust and meaning to the community's trade liberalisation protocols.**

Mr John Atta-Nyamekye, first vice-president of the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI) who made the call at the University of Ghana, Legon, near Accra at the weekend said additionally the country must pay its contribution to the trade compensation fund of ECOWAS.

Mr Atta-Nyamekye was contributing to the topic *"economic development in Ghana; the priorities,"* at the 44th Annual New Year School taking place at the university. The school has the theme *"Ghana, the Fourth Republic"*.

He said these measures are necessary to ensure free trade between member countries and said as a result of their absence, even product samples of Ghanaian manufacturers sent to prospective buyers in the sub-region, sometimes get seized by the authorities.

He identified salt which is produced only in Ghana and Senegal within the community and which is abundant in the country, as one commodity, the full exploitation of which could have filled a yawning gap as an export commodity to other ECOWAS countries especially to Nigeria which currently imports all her salt requirements from Spain and Brazil.

He noted that the salt industry has been one area under the Minerals Code that has not been explored to its full capacity and attributed this to political indiscipline and excesses which together have deprived the country of a good economic venture.

Mr Atta-Nyamekye said to help harness the huge potential of salt, the government must withdraw the task force, which has been made to replace the interim management committee for a proper

• (Contd. on Pg. 8/9)

## Workers Must Ensure That Industrial Peace Prevails In Fourth Republic— Phillips

*By Abigail Bonsu*

**MR J. V. L. Phillips, Chairman of the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO), has advised workers to endeavour to continue with the industrial peace existing in the country in the Fourth Republic.**

He underlined that industrial peace is very essential for the country's growth and further urged organised labour to continue to use the existing machinery to prevent and resolve disputes which may arise at the labour front.

Mr Phillips, a former chairman of the Ghana Employers Association, gave the advice when he chaired a symposium on *The Labour Movement and National Aspirations* at the 44th Annual New Year School currently going on at the University of Ghana, Legon, near Accra on Friday.

He noted, however, that industrial peace alone cannot help promote the desired growth unless there is political stability and called on all to help the government to remain stable and to operate democratically.

Mr Phillips stressed on the need for fair wages, satisfactory working conditions and the necessary assistance to be given to all employers of labour to ensure the continued existence of such organisations in the Fourth Republic.

The VALCO chairman said under the Fourth Republic, it would be expedient for the government to continue to make full use of advisory boards and to hold consultations with the labour movement on issues concerning labour in the country and indicated that the establishment of the Salary Review Commission without consultation with the Trades Union Congress (TUC), is not a pleasant development.

In her presentation on the same topic, Professor Miranda Greenstreet, Di-

□ Contd on Pg. 8/9

## NDC Wins 190 Seats, According To Final Results

**THE National Democratic Congress (NDC) has won 95 per cent of seats in Parliament, according to the final results of last Tuesday's Parliamentary election released in Accra on Saturday by the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC).**

INEC said the NDC won 190 seats, 22 of which were on unopposed basis.

The National Convention Party (NCP) won seven seats (3.5 per cent) and Egle Party one seat (0.5 per cent). Two Independent candidates also won seats representing one per cent.

A total of 429 candidates from the three parties and 12 independent candidates contested 178 seats of the 200 Parliamentary seats.

The three contesting parties supported the Chairman of the PNDC Flt.-Lt Jerry John Rawlings' successful bid for the presidency during the November 3 presidential election.

Four opposition parties—the New Patriotic Party, the People's National Convention, National Independence Party and the People's Heritage Party—boycotted the polls because of alleged rigging of the presidential poll.

The Parliamentary election on December 29 is the final phase of the PNDC's programme to return the country to constitutional rule.

A new government will be sworn in on January 7.

The rest of the election results are as follows:

(Contd. on Pg. 8/9)

# ¢740m Released

(Contd from P.1)

mum of five per cent of total national revenue with the projection that each assembly will receive nine times the ceded revenue that it received in 1992.

Mr Ahwoi, therefore, urged district assemblies and the National Association of Local Authorities of Ghana to take appropriate steps to ensure that dealing with the common fund is fully implemented not later than six months after the installation of parliament.

He also stressed the need for parliament to be bold to continue the policies of the PNDC in the local government sector for the realisation of full benefits of the decentralisation programme.

Dr Francis Agble, Regional Secretary, commended the people of Kadjebi District for upholding a peaceful atmosphere which had facilitated the achievement of meaningful developments so far.

Dr Agble also commended Messrs Defiat Development Company of Ho for the joint initiative with the district assembly in starting the assembly hall and office complex project.

In a welcoming address, Ms Patience Ameku, District Secretary, said there had been tremendous improvement in the development of the district, adding that many more schools and health posts have been built through self-help.

She added that the central government has also provided electricity and invested in the improvement of the road network in the district.

# WVI-sponsored Projects C'ssioned

THE chief and people of Kwahu Jamase Number Two in the Eastern Region have constructed two bore-holes fitted with hand-pumps and two improved pit toilets at a total cost of ¢8.5 million.

The World Vision International (WVI) Ghana, provided materials, machinery and technical assistance, while the people provided communal labour.

Nana Twum Barimah, Chief of the town, announced this during the commissioning of the projects at a harvest in aid of a health post for the town.

He said the completion of the projects had improved the sanitation and the health needs of the people.

Nana Barimah appealed to WVI for further assistance towards the completion of two more improved toilet and a health post estimated at a total cost of ¢7.5 million.

The chief said the people were contributing ¢1,000 a man and ¢500 a woman towards the projects.

Mr Emmanuel Oppong, WVI Health Education and Community Participation Manager, commended the people for their communal spirit and co-operation which had led to the early completion of the projects.

He said the health needs of Ghanaians were indispensable in all human development and advised them to keep their environments clean and also maintain the projects regularly to improve their standard of living.

Mr Oppong assured them of WVI assistance to complete the other projects.

The Obohene, Nana Yeboah Afari Boagyan II, who commissioned the projects, commended WVI for their assistance which would improve the health needs of people in the rural areas.

He urged the people to pay their contributions promptly for the early completion of the other projects.

Over ¢200,000 was realised at the function.—GNA.

# 4 Police Officers To Study In India

*The High Commission of India in Accra on Saturday held a press confab to announce plans to send four Ghanaian police officers to India for a ten-week training course in New Delhi.*

*The course will be in the field of information technology, police applications, crime records management and finger-print science with the use of computers.*

*The training programme is being organised by the Indian Government under the Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation (ITEC) and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP).*

*Mr Dilgit Singh Panun, Indian High Commissioner in Ghana and the IGP, Mr J. Y. Kwofie addressed the ceremony.*

*The four police officers (right) are; Mr Samuel Larley, Mr Kwame Barima-Akyampong, Mr Bright Oduro and Mr Richmond Nii Ashley Lomo Boi-bi-Boi, all Assistant Superintendents of Police.*

*The IGP addressing the officers. With him is Mr Singh.*

*Picture by Ebo Hanson.*

# Headmasters Donate To Education Office

*Headmasters and headteachers in the Bosomtwe/Atwima/Kwanwoma District of the Ashanti Region have through their association presented office furniture worth ¢250,000 to the district education office for distribution to circuit offices in the district, at a ceremony at Aputuogya at the weekend.*

*The furniture included office desks, chairs and trays.*

*Speaking to the Graphic at the ceremony, Mr F. V. Amoako-Bempah, chairman of the association explained that the furniture was provided from their share of a sale of a truck which was an asset of the association before their separation from the Ejisu-Juabeng District.*

*Mr J. K. Amoah, district education officer received the items on behalf of the district.*

*Mr Amoako-Bempah and Mr Amoah in a handshake after the presentation ceremony.*

*Picture by Sam*

# Head Of State Party For Chi

THE 1992 annual Head of State party for children in the Eastern Region was held at the SOS Children's Village at Asiakwa last Friday.

The party was attended by 23 children of the SOS Children's Village and more than 700 children from Asiakwa and surrounding villages, Kibi and Koforidua.

In a speech, Mr Fred Ohene-Kena, Eastern

# NDC Wins 190 Seats, According To Final Results

(Contd. from P. 1)

NORTHERN REGION

Kumbungu (elected) NDC: Alhassan Musah 7,486
NCP: Ibrahim Karimu Mohammed 787
Egle: Abukari Zakari 96

Nanton (elected) NDC: Alhassan Yakubu 4,564
NCP: Mrs Imoru Salamatu 808
Egle: Mohammed Mahey Fuseini 40

UPPER EAST REGION

Nabdam (elected) NDC: Danxi Paul Kpal 2,945
NCP: Vincent Atoore 1,079
Independent: Azure Wilfred Yanga 367

Bongo 10,912 (elected) NDC: Ganga Akayori Azitariga
NCP: Ayanga Joseph Leo 1,279

Zebilla (elected) NDC: Cletus Apul Avoka 9,059
NCP: Awellimbilla Joseph Millo 3,983

VOLTA REGION

Ho Central NDC: Kofi Attor 20,009 (elected)
NCP: Vincent Kofi Darkyo-Menah 4,858
Egle: Anthony Kwame Awudo Addo 607

North Dayi 31,008 (elected) NDC: Stephen George Obimpeh
NCP: Aculey Ben Yawo Ofori 876
Egle: Ofori Atta DAvid 755

South Dayi (Dr) 9,930 (elected) NDC: Alexander Ransford Ababio
NCP: Richmond R. P. Nfodwo (Dr) 931
Egle: Patrice S. Salomey 82

UPPER WEST REGION

Wa Central (elected) NDC: Mumuni Abudu Seidu 15,413
NCP: Mahama Abubakari Gado 3,609
Egle: Nnabali Abu Haruna 232

Nadawli North East NDC: A.S.K. Bagbin 8,525 (elected)
NCP: Andrews Dakora Faaye 1,578

Lawra/Nandom (elected) NDC: Kon Moyir Kufah 11,545
NCP: Mark Sumaila Dramani 1,019

ASHANTI REGION

Manhyia (elected) NDC: William Kweku Asante 4,657
Egle: Imoru Danyankrah 1,443

Old Tafo Suame NDC: Nuhu Ibrahim 2,864 (elected)
NCP: Osafondu Kwaku Amankwa 1,754
Egle: Nana Kwasi Afful Kingsley 939

Asokwa East (elected) NDC: Mohammed Moro 5,688
NCP: Osumanu Baba Yaya 3,137
Egle: Kennedy Addai 802

Effiduase/Asokore NDC: Samuel Asirifi Adjei 3,791 (elected)
Egle: Kwame Nkansah 564

Mampong (elected) NDC: Dr George Akosa 4,957
NCP: Samuel Kofi Boamah 1,209

Ejura-Sekyedumase NDC: Peter Boakye Ansah 19,627 (elected)
NCP: Mohammed Bawa Braimah 1,922

Offinso North NDC: Kwame Boakye Emmanuel 8,541 (elected)
NCP: Osei Hyiaman 1,478

Offinso South NDC: Kenneth Anno Amponsah Yiadom 6,527 (elected)
Egle: Ohenoba Kofi Asamoah 1,354

Atwima Nwabiagya NDC: Yaw Bampoh 7,352 (elected)
Independent: Baffour Osei Wusu 2,745

Bosomtwe NDC: Josephine Afua Addai-Mensah 6,916 (elected)
Egle: Yaw Addai Boadu 677

Atwima Kwanwoma NDC: Sampson Adu Gyamfi 5,325 (elected)
Egle: Robert Ben Asomaning 554

Ejisu Juabeng NDC: Mohammed Boakye-Agyekum 8,394 (elected)
Egle: Kwaku Agalas Derchie 1,695

Fomena NDC: Nana Odame Kusi 2,316 (elected)
NCP: Scotah James Kobina 1,362

Obuasi NDC: Peter Kenneth Owusu 6,966 (elected)
NCP: Michael Godwyl Thompson 2,609
Egle: Joseph K. Botchwey 441

Adansi Asokwa NDC: John Gyasi 4,232 (elected)
NCP: Abass Akwasi Antwi 452

Afigya Sekyere East NDC: Pius M. G. Griffiths 13,358 (elected)
Egle: Daniel K.Amofo 670

Afigya Sekyere West NDC: Beatrice Aboagye (Mrs) 3,236 (elected)

Bekwai NDC: Agyeman Badu Ampofo 231
NCP: Oduro Ofrikyi 6,682 (elected)
Egle: Charles Fofie 363

(Puduo Nana) 2,126

Odotobri NDC: George Adu Mensah 5,736 (elected)
NCP: Maxwell Mensah Ebenezer 690
Egle: Veronica Rita Akosua 994

CENTRAL REGION

Ajumako-Enyan-Esiam NDC: Joseph Kweku Enos 10,210 (elected)
NCP: Bennett Kobina Musah Biney 4,601
Egle: F. K. Lokko 336

Gomoa West NDC: Mrs Ama Benyiwa-Doe 10,411 (elected)
NCP: Mensah Osa 2,956

Abura-Asebu-Kwamankesa NCP: Vincent K. Turkson 2,807
NDC: Cecilia Akua Edu (Mrs) 8,751 (elected)
Egle: John Kweku Arthur 1,627

Asikuma-Odoben Brakwa NCP: Jacob Emmanuel Oppong 4,855
NDC: Ebenezer Kobena Fosu 7,541 (elected)

Upper Denkyira NDC: Kwaku Addai-Gyambraa 11,481 (elected)
NCP: Agatha Awuah 2,483

Awutu Senya NCP: Danny William Osardu 5,329
NDC: James Eric Nkrumah 6,183 (elected)
Egle: Martin Quayson Abboy 120

Assin South NDC: Kobina Okyere 7,862 (elected)
NCP: Yaw Kwarteng Sekyi 304
Egle: Paul Ernest Kotain 190

Assin North NCP: Francis K. Edzil 1,627
NDC: Abraham Fokuo 9,118 (elected)

Agona West NDC: John Oscar Bimpong 6,697
NCP: Charles Obeng-Inkoom 4,160
Egle: Rose Takyi 946

Agona East NDC: Kojo Acquah Yankah 4,935 (elected)
NCP: James Kweku Mensah 2,093
Egle: John Yaw Dodoo 607

Gomoa 7,341 (elected) NDC: Francis Kow Bortsie-Ansah
NCP: Thomas Kweku Aubyin 4,480

• *To Be Continued*

# Donation To Lo

*From Samuel Kyei-Boateng, Akyem Oda*

THE Akyem Oda branch of Church of Pentecost, on New Year's day, donated items worth ¢180,000 and ¢20,000 cash to the Oda Government Hospital.

The items included two wall clocks, assorted soap, milo, sugar, biscuits, tinned fish, rice, loaves of bread,

# Missing

Kwaku Asapaa Dankwa, 7, resident at B558/6, Abossey Okai, Accra who hails from Worawora is reported missing since last December 16.

Anyone who has information about his whereabouts should report to the Kaneshie Police or any police station or to the News Editor, Graphic.

Daily Graphic
GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER
THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1994. No. 13424. PRICE: ¢150.00

# NPP TO BOYCOTT '96 POLLS

## . . . Over non-issuance of ID cards?

THE New Patriotic Party (NPP) said yesterday it would not go to the polls in 1996 if the government did not issue voters identification cards to Ghanaians before that date.

At a rally to appraise the 1994 Budget in Accra, Dr Nyaho Tamakloe and Mr Kwesi Lamptey, leading members of the party, called on the government to tell the nation the estimated cost of issuing the identification cards which it had earlier described as an "expensive project".

According to them, the introduction of the identification cards would allay fears held by the party of the likelihood of the elections being rigged should the country use only the voters register.

Dr Tamakloe and Mr Lamptey said a firm decision would have to be taken on this issue to enable the country to seek foreign assistance if the need arose.

"No identification card, no election," Mr Kwesi Lamptey said.

Nana Akuffo Addo, another leading member, called on the government to desist from any acts of interference that could create suspicion in the minds of the Togolese authorities.

He deplored the current accusations and counter-accusations being levelled against each other by the two countries which, he said, had only led to the massacre of Ghanaians in Togo.

Nana Addo expressed concern at the possibility of the Volta Region being turned into a "battle-ground" should a confrontation arise between Ghana and Togo.

Ghana, he said, wanted peace and security.

Dr Jones Ofori-Atta, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the NPP, said the government, by the 1994 Budget, had failed Ghanaians, particularly the rural folk and the urban poor.

He said the hike in petrol and kerosene prices and the tax slap on consumables would adversely affect the majority of Ghanaians who are already on the poverty line.

The budget has spelled trouble for the nation, he said, adding that it was no improvement on the 1993 Budget.

Dr Ofori-Atta mentioned the increase in the minimum wage to ¢790 and said monthly incomes of ¢30,000 should not be taxed.

He blamed the high rate of inflation on high government expenditure and accused it of being responsible for

★ Contd.on Pg. 8/9

# Youth stone police again

*From Samuel Sarpong, Akropong-Akuapem*

RAMPAGING youth for the second time running, pelted the police with stones at Adukrom during curfew hours last Tuesday night.

The youth, who mounted road blocks in parts of the town to prevent the police deployment in the area, dented a police Land Rover with registration number GP 572.

A police armoured vehicle despatched to the area had to fire on the people before they dispersed.

Five persons have, meanwhile, been arrested for their alleged involvement in the mob action and for breaking the curfew.

They are John Asare Kwabi, Kwasi Asare, Kwasi Bediako, Kwame Henaku and Emmanuel Addo.

According to Mr Salami Issaka, Divisional Crime Officer for Akropong, the suspects would be arraigned before the Akropong Circuit Court today.

Akropong, Abiriw and other surrounding towns are under a dusk-to-dawn curfew following clashes in the area over a piece of land.

Meanwhile, two Members of Parliament have called on the government to institute an immediate enquiry into the recent factional violence between the people of Akropong and Abiriw in the Akuapem North District, reports Debrah Fynn.

The two, Messrs Fuzzy Torbay and Richie Agyemfra-Kumi, members of Okere and Akropong constituencies respectively, made the call in separate statements at yesterday's sitting of Parliament.

In his statement, Mr Torbay who refrained from narrating the incident for fear of opening "more sores", however appealed to the factions to restrain themselves and let peace prevail.

Mr Torbay, who is a citizen of Abiriw, also used the occasion to deny allegations that he led the attack against the people of Akropong.

He described the allegations as mere concoctions and fabrications, adding that "I have always had the best of relations with my Akropong siblings."

Mr Torbay further appealed to the Adontenman Council of Aburi to use its influence and invite all traditional authorities in the area to a meeting to find a lasting solution to the conflict.

On his part, Mr Kumi, who is also a native of Akropong, appealed to all concerned citizens of Akuapem to

• Contd.on Pg. 8/9

# Police stop clash

*From E. A. Andam, Nyanyano*

A CONTINGENT of policemen drawn from the Panthers Unit in Accra, the Swedru Division and Winneba on Monday averted an imminent violent clash between the chiefs and people of Kasoa and Nyanyano.

The chiefs and people of the two towns have for some time now been litigating over the legitimate ownership of approximately one mile stretch of land between Kasoa and Nyanyano.

The case first went to court and was judged in favour of Nyanyano but following an appeal by the chief and people of Kasoa, a High Court has put an injunction on the land.

According to Mallam Seidu Yusif, Chief of Kasoa, who briefed the Deputy Central Regional Minister, Mr H. Q. Jehu-Appiah at one of the separate meetings held with the chiefs and people of the two towns, the people of Nyanyano have persistently flouted the injunction order placed by the High Court and are developing the disputed land at a very fast pace.

He said he accordingly tasked the youth of Kasoa to arrest anybody found working on the disputed land and bring them to his palace for questioning.

Nana Obeng Wiabo V, Chief of Nyanyano on his part told the Deputy Regional Minister that for some time now the people of Kasoa have been molesting his people when they work on their lands around their common boundary with Kasoa.

He said on four occasions some of his people were subjected to severe beatings. Some of them were detained at the palace of the Kasoa chief.

According to Nana Wiabo, he and his elders have lodged several complaints with the police and even petitioned the Cen-

★ Contd.on Pg. 8/9

# President receives surgeons

*•The executive committee members of the West Africa College of Surgeons yesterday called on President Jerry John Rawlings at the Castle, Osu.*

*They discussed issues centered on health delivery in the sub-region.*

*Also present at the meeting were Dr (Mrs) Mary Grant, member of the Council of State and Commodore Steve Obimpeh, Minister of Health. (Full story on pages 8/9).*

# 'Domestic slaves' rescued

*From Abdul Aziz, Namoo*

SIX teenage girls recruited from the Northern Region last week to undergo domestic slavery in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, have been rescued by immigration officials at the Namoo border post in the Upper East Region.

The Ghanaian recruitment agent, Madam Lamisi Shaibu has also been arrested.

The fathers of the girls, Mr Salifu Tinbilla, Bukari Yambilla and Salifu Iddisa are currently being interrogated by the Bolgatanga Police for consenting to the recruitment contract.

Mr Akanbole Anaba, immigration officer of the Namoo post said Madam Shaibu has long been noticed for frequenting the border area with one or two young girls with the usual explanation that they were going to join their mothers in Burkina Faso.

However on January 21, the suspicion of the immigration officers was aroused when Madam Shaibu came with the six young girls aged between 10 and 12 years.

Mr Anaba said when Madam Shaibu's explanation that the six girls as usual were joining

Contd on Pg. 8/9

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GHANA'S MINING AND ENVIRONMENT GUIDELINES (PROCEEDINGS)

Ghana's Mining and Environmental Guidelines, based on the consultative approach, have been completed and are contained in the Proceedings from The National Seminar on the Environmental Guidelines to regulate Mining Activities in Ghana.

The Proceedings are in five parts:
Ghana's Mining Environment (General)
Aspects of the Proposed Guidelines
General Environmental Issues
Case Studies
Mining Environmental Guidelines for Ghana.

This book is essential for anyone interested in sustainable development, particularly in the mining industry. The selling price is ¢5,000 .
Please contact the Minerals Commission, Environmental Protection Council and University Bookshops for your copy.

# Help for hole-in-heart patient

*Master Richard Amaning, a Hole-In-Heart patient of New Achimota Presby JSS yesterday received a cash donation of ¢510,000 from the Ga District GES at a ceremony at the school in Accra.*

*The cash which was realised after an appeal, launched to enable master Amaning to undergo surgery at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, was presented by Ms Florence Daaku, Ga District Director of Education.*

*• Ms Daaku (2nd right) presenting the cash to Master Amaning. With him are the parents, Chief Inspector Edward Christian Amaning and Mrs Cecilia Amaning.*

# Surgeons call on President

THE executive committee members of the West Africa College of Surgeons yesterday called on President Jerry John Rawlings at the Castle, Osu and held discussion with him on health delivery in the sub-region.

Among issues discussed were the effect of the economic difficulties facing West African countries on their health delivery systems and measures to retain medical personnel.

The college is holding its 34th annual conference at the Accra International Conference Centre.

Among those present were Dr Mary Grant, Member of the Council of State and Commodore Steve Obimpeh, Minister of Health.

President Rawlings spoke about the advances made in the field of medicine and expressed regret that West African countries could not keep abreast because of economic difficulties.

Sometimes poverty made it impossible for people to afford a cure for simple diseases, he said, adding that this problem was compounded by the exodus of medical personnel to the developed countries.

President Rawlings suggested that a way to curb the exodus was to review the training of medical personnel either by reviewing the syllabuses or making their training community-oriented.

Responding to the suggestion, two surgeons from Nigeria said some medical schools in that country had adopted the community-oriented approach and it was working.

The President of the college, Professor Charles Ghartey, said it had become apparent that countries in the sub-region should pool their resources in the use of certain facilities.

For example, Ghana's cardio-thoracic and plastic surgery centres could be used by other countries instead of sending their patients to Europe and the United States.

Prof Ghartey announced moves to integrate Anglophone and Francophone colleges of surgeons to form a West African Health Organisation and that progress had been made in this direction.

Professor Olajide Ajayi, a member of the executive, said in his contribution that health care was so expensive that no poor country could have a good health delivery system.

"Without resources, without money, no country can give its citizens good medical attention. That is the basic truth."

Even though rich countries devote so much to health delivery, Prof Ajayi said they still had problems. A large number of their people did not have access to good medical care.

He, therefore, appealed to governments in the sub-region to give due recognition to medical personnel by giving them adequate remuneration and honouring them with national awards.

Prof Ajayi said although financial rewards were important, they are not the ultimate. In the medical profession honour, respect and recognition are treasured, he added. — GNA

# Threats of boycott

* Contd. from P. 1

what he termed the current "free fall of the cedi".

Though unemployment was a thorny issue, it was not addressed by the budget, Dr Ofori-Atta lamented, and called on the unemployed in the country to take action to force the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning to address their plight.

Dr Ofori-Atta touched on a number of issues, including the Auditor-General's Report and the sacking of hawkers from the streets of Accra.

On the Auditor-General's Report, he said there was evidence that monies that should have gone into the Consolidated Fund had disappeared due to the inefficiency of the NDC Government.

Professor Albert Adu Boahen, NPP Presidential Candidate, said Dr Kwesi Botchwey should resign after failing to address the country's economic problems.

He questioned the appointments of 30 per cent of members of the district assemblies and called for the definition of the interested parties the President is supposed to liaise with for such appointment.

Mr Peter Ala Adjetey, Chairman of the Greater Accra Regional branch of the party, who chaired the function, enumerated the successes chalked by the party in legal tussles with the government and said the party would continue to take constitutional matters to the Supreme Court for interpretation.

# Clash

• Contd. from P. 1

tral Regional Administration.

He said in the early hours of last Monday, reports reached him that two of his people who had gone to work on the disputed land had been arrested and sent to the Kasoa palace after severe beatings.

A third person who was driving from Nyanyano to Accra was dragged out of his car, beaten and sent to the Kasoa chief.

Nana Wimbo said looking at the seriousness of the issue he caused the Asafo drums to be beaten and his people responded and attempted to liberate their kinsmen.

Police sources said hundreds of people — men and women, who started trooping from Nyanyano to Kasoa in batches of — 20s were heavily armed with guns, clubs, tomahawks, petrol and matches.

They said but for the equally heavily armed Panther Group which arrived timely from Accra, havoc and disaster would have been visited on Kasoa.

# Youth stone police

• Contd. from P. 1

lot tempers calm down in their quest to ensure peace in the area.

He reminded the people in the district that the greatest challenge they face is development to enable them achieve increased living standards.

Mr Kumi said this can be done through unity, tolerance, co-operation and co-existence and not through clashes of that nature.

He, therefore appealed to all citizens to bury their differences and seek the interest of the district and the nation as a whole.

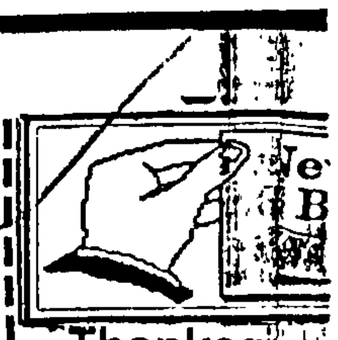
## Akyeampong not expelled

THE University of Ghana, Legon has explained that Mr Angelo Ekow Oguah Akyeampong, a BA Part I Student has not been expelled as we inadvertently published yesterday.

A statement issued by the university and signed by Mr T. A. Ofori-Manto, Senior Assistant Registrar said Mr Akyeampong has been debarred from university examination for two years.

In a related development, Mr Akyeampong in the company of Mr Isaac Osei Bonsu (Jnr), a law student, came to the Editorial Department in Accra to protest against the report and demanded an apology and correction.

The error is very much regretted.



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# 'Ensu

# foods

*By Ato Aidoo*

FOOD and drug industries in the co try have been advised to adopt new q ity control and efficient manufactur methods to ensure the acceptability Ghanaian products on the internatio market.

Ms Alice Hayford, Research Officer of the Research Institute (FRI) who gave the advice seminar in Accra yesterday therefore stressed the for the adoption of the Hazard Analysis Critical Con Points (HACCP) concept to ensure increased and q tative production.

The HACCP concept is a systematic approac measuring the validity, safety and quality in the pro of production to ensure consumer satisfaction. It developed 20 years ago in Europe but yet to b operational in developing countries.

The seminar, themed: "Quality Assurance in Food and Drug Industries in Ghana" was organ the FRI for quality controllers, production mana factory engineers and other related personne food and drug industries.

Ms Hayford said the liberalised economic env ment has paved way for the importation of cheap inferior products into the country and that they benefit when manufacturing industries adopt disciplinary methods to ensure profitable operatio

She said the HACCP concept not only ensu itability and maximum use of resources but contri to environmental cleanliness and good protection products.

She gave the assurance that the FRI is willin

## Daily Graphic EDITORIAL

# THINK TWICE, NPP

*POLITICS can be aptly said to be both an obligation and business which ought to be pursued with all seriousness and honesty.*

*Even when politics is perceived to be a game, it must still be taken seriously for its rules that make it a contest of either win or lose.*

*The New Patriotic Party (NPP) is reported to have said yesterday that it would not contest the 1996 parliamentary and presidential elections unless voters identification cards are issued to all Ghanaians. We are compelled to say that the NPP is not only taking politics seriously but also trying to bend the hand of the government and nation to do what is not economically feasible within the time available.*

*It cannot be denied that a number of well-meaning Ghanaians interested in a genuine pluralistic democratic process as well as some Members of Parliament and the President have at one time or the other expressed their feelings about the absence of a vibrant political opposition group from Parliament, where national policies and programmes are given legality.*

*This concern underlined the relief when the New Patriotic Party announced its desire to do business with the government as a result of which some economists behind the party were present in Parliament when Dr Kwesi Botchwey, Minister of Finance and Economic Planning presented the 1994 Budget and Government Economic Policy to the august House.*

*The NPP's latest threat is therefore very unfortunate and unhealthy for the future of pluralistic democracy in this country.*

*As we stated, immediately the political parties which took part in the November 3, 1992 presidential election announced their decision to boycott the parliamentary election, such decisions are very dysfunctional and only distort the frame of democracy in so far as some segments of the populace are directly or indirectly discouraged from exercising their franchise.*

*The leadership of the NPP knows that such threats of boycott and boycotts are not the most meaningful ways of forcing governments to act in a certain manner.*

*Between the government party and NPP, there is agreement about the fact that a citizenship identification card would be the most reliable way to ensure the validity of free and fair elections. The problem however is where to get the funds.*

*It has been asserted elsewhere that opposition parties have to understand that in a representative system, it is not incumbent upon the government to accept criticisms by the opposition since this is no part of democratic theory and that any opposition group which wants the government to accept its criticisms and change its policy as a result must rely on a change in public opinion.*

*Opposition criticisms must therefore be responsible and well-informed. It is our hope that the NPP is only barking and that it would not bite.*

*The NPP definitely needs to reconsider its stand otherwise it would be contributing to the destruction of democracy in the country by persistently denying its followers, supporters and members representation in the highest law-making body of the land, Parliament.*

# TO HAVE OR NOT TO HAVE SEX

Women & Society

*with Mavis Quaicoe*

ALL too often peer pressure and the urge to experiment have propelled teenagers into having sex.

Many teenagers erroneously believe they cannot get pregnant the first time or when they have sex occasionally.

In a survey on Teenage Pregnancy and Substance Abuse and some contributing factors in the Ablekuman sub-district of Accra, the class of 1994 medical students of the University of Ghana Medical School found that most teenage girls said they went in for boyfriends for financial reasons, sexual satisfaction future partnership, for company or simply in yielding to peer pressure.

In interviews with some teenage girls in Accra, majority of them said they engaged in sexual relationships in order to be accepted by their peers.

One of them said "I had my first experience during the long vacation after form three when I was then 15 years".

She explained that she was more or less forced to give in to her boyfriend at the time because "my friends used to call me "anti-so" (anti-social) and were always making fun of me."

Another girl said "I also tried it because my friends said I was stupid because I had never had sex". Another group of girls interviewed however felt so long as they would one day have such a relationship there was nothing wrong with their having sex early in life.

A typical example is a young pregnant girl of about 19 years who dropped out of school at the age of 12. She says "I first had sex when I was 13 and had my first child at 15. At the moment I have two children. I like the children because a woman needs to have children. Children are gifts from God so you cannot stop them from coming."

Generally however, most of the girls interviewed expressed regret about engaging in early sex because they believe some of their partners took advantage of their naivety to exploit them while others were sorry they gave in to peer pressure.

The issue of adolescent sexuality is not peculiar to Ghana but is a global phenomenon. According to the IPPF 1992/93 Annual Report, in some African countries such as Botswana and Liberia, more than 75 per cent of unmarried women had had sex. In Nigeria, it is reported that about one million babies are born every year to teenage mothers.

And in the US, there are about 114 teenage pregnancies per 1,000 teenage women while over 600,000 unintended pregnancies a year end in more than 400,000 abortions

According to the IPPF Report, a survey in the US found out that adolescents are having sex earlier than before — 18 per cent of girls were having intercourse before the age of 14.

To overcome the problem of teenage sexuality, the traditional Ghanaian society has had a way of preparing young people for adult life and help them lead responsible family lives.

Puberty rites were therefore performed to teach the youth sound morals before marriage. They were taught during this period, a healthy attitude towards human sexuality and other family values.

Unfortunately, the Ghanaian society is witnessing changes in established values on sexual behaviours. Besides, many of the traditional systems of preparation for adult sexual life have begun to break down, thus making it difficult to install these values in adolescents.

In addition, the problem of teenagers reaching menarche (first menstruation of an adolescent girl) at an earlier age has also played an important role in teenage sexual relationships.

The World Health Organisation and the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), Europe Region, in overviews also suggest that the declining age of menarche is a contributing factor in the increase in adolescent pregnancies.

This phenomenon is explained by the improved nutrition, good environment and health care that prevails.

In the wake of the AIDS epidemic the youth, especially females, are particularly vulnerable. According to the AIDS Control Programme Report 1991, cumulative laboratory returns as at December 31 showed 3,140 cases with 74 per cent of the cases in the 20-30 year group and 73 per cent of all cases being females.

Likewise, the cumulative laboratory returns on HIV sero-positive stood at 5,769 cases as at the end of that year with 72 per cent of the cases in the 20-39 year group. Here also, 68 per cent were female.

In most cases, adolescent girls who drop out of school do so as a result of pregnancy. Statistics also show that school drop-out rates in the country are higher for girls than boys.

In the face of these mounting problems what can be done to help? Ideally teenagers need to stay out of sexual relationships until they are responsible enough to understand the implications of their actions. Current realities around the world indicate an increase in adolescent sexuality.

In view of this it would be useful to draw adolescents, teachers and parents into discussions about teenage sexuality. Adults, especially parents would have to educate their teenage children on human sexuality.

Although our culture does not allow an open discussion on sex because it is believed to be too sensitive, an issue society can no longer gloss over the realities of teenage sexuality.

Adults have to shed their inhibitions and address the information needs of adolescents to help them make informed choices.

Unfortunately, many adults believe that by giving teenagers information about sex and contraception, they will promote sexual activity. But in reality, withholding information only promotes ignorance, with predictably tragic consequences.

Teenagers should be encouraged to discuss their main reproductive health needs. Use could also be made of the various media available to inform and educate them — pop songs, television and radio programmes.

In Vanuatu, in the South Pacific for instance it is reported that the Family Health Unit produced a radio programme to encourage young people to use condoms. The refrain throughout the programme was "no condom, no sex", sung to the tune of Bob Marley's "No woman, No Cry".

Educational programmes could be designed along such lines to entertain as well as educate adolescents.

# Law on puberty rites needed

*OUR Central Regional Editor KOJO SAM, interviewed Nana Ama Serwaah, Krontihemaa of Duayaw Nkwanta Traditional area in the Brong-Ahafo Region and a member of the National Commission on Culture, on her impressions about the 1994 New Year School with particular reference to its theme — "Population and Development".*

*Below are excerpts from the interview.*

**Daily Graphic: Nana, would you kindly explain why you decided to participate in this year's school?**

**Nana Serwaah:** I was motivated to attend this school because I believe that as a queenmother, I have to be alert to issues pertaining to national development and since the New Year School was designed to discuss a very important national topic of population and how it relates to development I decided to participate.

**D/G: As a queenmother, would you support all that has been discussed at the School that there is the need to control population growth in Ghana?**

**N/S:** I am totally in support of the idea because if we do not reduce our population growth, the country is bound to suffer in future. One way of doing this is to use the puberty system. If you talk about puberty, people often describe it as very odd and it sounds funny to the "born-again" but there is logic in that cultural practice.

In the olden days it helped because young girls were made to report to the queenmother three times before they get into marriage and that alone helped to forestall teenage pregnancy.

This enabled a large number of young girls to gain secondary education.

**D/G: Nana, queenmothers no longer have the power to enforce this culture. What do you say about it?**

**N/S:** Queenmothers want Parliament to enact a law that will make it mandatory for every girl who is of age to report to a queenmother three successive times during her age of puberty. If we are able to do that, then girls will grow up to the age of at least 20 before giving birth.

Alongside the observance of this, young girls will also be taught to understand the benefits of family planning so that they do not fall into any trap.

**D/G: How are you going to revive such a culture, especially, at this time when the young tend to frown on cultural practices?**

**N/S:** If the power is given to us, we shall revive the culture devoid of the old custom. I can assure you that the queenmothers will modify it drastically to satisfy the public. Let me say that puberty rites have nothing to do with rituals. It is not unchristian as some people would want to argue. All that the queenmother wants is to be satisfied that girls are of age before they marry or have children.

**D/G: In the meantime how do you hope to disseminate the message on population control to the people in Brong-Ahafo?**

**N/S:** As soon as I get back home, I will ensure that a seminar is organised at Sunyani for the benefit of queenmothers to enable them to relay the message to the people, especially to young girls at the grassroots level.

**D/G: Nana, from what you have said, it seems traditional rulers will need more powers to be able to carry out the recommendations on population growth. Is that right?**

**N/S:** You are perfectly correct. As you are aware, chieftaincy powers were drastically reduced soon after independence. As a result of this, people even refuse to attend the summons of chiefs and there is virtually nothing that chiefs can do about that. It is for this reason that we urge Parliament to give us some powers to enable us to contribute positively towards the national development effort.

**D/G: Nana the fear is that if this power is granted, chiefs could use it arbitrarily. What do you think?**

**N/S:** Let me emphasise that no progressive chief worth his salt would want to use power arbitrarily. I can assure you, that we are not going to use force on our people in the rural areas.

Please, do not forget that traditional rulers are the pivot of the society and they cannot be left out in any programme on population control.

**D/G: You have talked about women's involvement in population control, what about men's commitment?**

**N/S:** The men are also beginning to understand the need for small families because these days financial hardships have made men face the realities and challenges of life.

**D/G: Population issues have of late, become the concern of the government. In what way do you want chiefs to be actively involved in controlling the rapid population [illegible]**

**N/S:** [illegible] of transformation of the country. Do not forget that people listen to the chiefs more than government officials and it will be better if they are incorporated in all population programmes.

**D/G: Finally, Nana, what has been your overall impression on the New Year School vis-a-vis the theme "Population and Development"?**

**N/S:** It has been a nice experience, sharing ideas and thoughts with a broad spectrum of intellectuals and social workers on such a sensitive national issue. I think that more people will have to get interested in attending future schools to share ideas with fellow Ghanaians. It was successful and we look forward to seeing another successful New Year School next year.

MONDAY, APRIL 4, 1994. No. 13480. PRICE: ¢150.00

# Piled up rice at Dawhenya sold

*From Kwabena Ofosuhene, Dawhenya*

**RICE farmers at the Dawhenya Irrigation site have started intensive cultivation in the fields following the sale of the stocks of rice which were piled up at the irrigation site.**

It would be recalled that the *Graphic* last month reported that farmers at Dawhenya were finding problems marketing their harvested rice and were abandoning their rice fields.

Mr Robin Dingle, Project Manager of the Dawhenya Irrigation Project told the *Graphic* at the site on Thursday that following the publication, traders and market women came from various parts of the country to buy some of the rice.

He said some traders came from Takoradi in the Western Region and disclosed that within two weeks after the publication the farmers were able to sell as many as five thousand bags of rice.

He said the last consignment of 2,000 bags of rice was purchased by the Ghana National Procurement Agency for ¢22 million.

Mr Dingle mentioned Unilever as another company which showed interest in the Dawhenya rice and bought about 500 bags from the farmers.

He said in all more than 11,000 bags of rice were sold by the farmers during the period.

Mr Dingle described the situation as the greatest thing that ever happened to the project and said this has rekindled enthusiasm among the farmers.

During a tour in the fields, farmers were seen either tilling their fields for transplanting or tending their rice seedlings in the nurseries.

Mr Kobina Forson, Co-project Manager said some of the farmers work into the late evenings in order to make up for the lost time.

He said all the farmers are expected to complete transplanting by the end of the week.

Mr Daniel Nartch, President of the local co-

*Contd on Pg. 8/9*

# DON'T SPREAD FALSEHOOD

## . . . Says President Rawlings

*From Ransford Tetteh, Bokuruwa*

**THE President, Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings has said he is prepared to be taken to task on shortcomings of his government, provided such criticisms are founded on truth and objectivity.**

He declared: "Take us to task but for God's sake do not spread falsehood about us."

Addressing a durbar as part of the commissioning ceremony of a ¢19-million water project for Bokuruwa in the Eastern Region on Holy Saturday, President Rawlings expressed regret that lies and half-truths being peddled around by some people about his government threaten the peace and stability of the country.

He asked Ghanaians to pray for an end to the conflict in the Northern Region for peace and stability in the country and also "for us to have the mind to sift the truth from the nonsense".

The Bokuruwa Water Project was initiated by the people with a ¢6 million voluntary contribution and communal labour and ¢13 million from the Swiss Government.

President Rawlings gave the assurance that his government will look for funds from donors to complete the entire works on the first phase of the Kwahu Ridge Water Supply Programme, adding that a staggering ¢14 billion is needed to complete the phase which started in 1973.

He commended the people and the Swiss Government whose dedication and exemplary leadership and sacrifices made the project a reality.

President Rawlings said as a result of the periodic drought leading to drops in the water level in the Volta Lake below the intake at Kotoso, a floating intake to facilitate the regular supply of water to the ridge, is under construction and work would be completed within three months.

On other infrastructural facilities for the area, President Rawlings announced that contract for the first phase of the Nkwatia-Adunmoa road will soon start.

He said under the World Bank-assisted National Feeder Roads Rehabilitation and Maintenance Programme, the Bokuruwa-Pepease road has also been selected for rehabilitation to shorten the current route between Afram Plains and notable Kwahu towns such as Pepease, Abetifi and Abene.

President Rawlings said the tarring of the first 25-kilometre Ekyi-Amanfrom/Amankwaakrom road is in progress whilst work on Phase III of the Kwamepong Nkwanta/Maamekrom to Agogo road, which will eventually provide an alternative link between Afram Plains and Ashanti Region is also about 70 per cent accom-

• *Contd on Pg. 8/9*

• *President Rawlings (left) assisted by Nana Duako Ferwaah, Bokuruwahemaa turns on the tap to commission the project on Holy Saturday.*

## Ghana seeks assurances from Cote d'Ivoire

**GHANA has urged the Ivorian authorities to take precautionary measures to avoid any assault or acts of harassment on Ghanaian residents in the aftermath of the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire quarter-final match played yesterday.**

**Mr Kofi Totobi Quakyi, Minister of Information who disclosed this to the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation said given recent events, there is reason for Ghanaians in that country to feel apprehensive.**

**The government, he said, therefore expects the Ivorian authorities to ensure the safety of lives and property of Ghanaians.**

**Watch Out!**

FROM this week, the *Graphic* will run a special, well-researched, analytical series on Ghana soccer, with special reference to recent failures.

It's going to be explosive, frank and nobody who has anything to do with Ghana's soccer woes would be spared.

Look out for it and we bet, you won't be disappointed. It's a must for every soccer fan. Book your copies now!!

# Christians observe Easter

CHRISTIANS throughout the world yesterday celebrated Easter, the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead to mark 2,000 years ago with church services.

In Ghana most of the churches were [illegible] with both regular and [illegible] and extra seats were provided to accommodate the faithfuls.

Pentecostal churches [illegible] annual conventions at various towns and villages.

Some of the churches kept vigil on Saturday night and early yesterday morning some [illegible] lessons paraded through some of the principal streets, sang songs of praise to God.

At Teshie in Accra, where more than 10,000 members of the Teshie district branch of the Apostolic Church of Ghana are holding its annual convention, the Reverend Kudwo Baiden Dennis, District Pastor, centred his sermon on peace and urged those engaged in conflicts to lay down their arms.

He said a new dimension of the resurrection [illegible] we are equipped not to see any person as an enemy but because of that everyone should [illegible] to go out and forgive.

The pastor said people should not [illegible] from Christ's command to go and preach without reservation to all the [illegible] of Jesus for salvation.

He therefore appealed to [illegible] to put an end to hostilities, enmities and the ethnic conflicts in the North to reconcile their differences [illegible] peace.

In Kumasi, the Reverend F K Obeng Dei [illegible] in charge of the Bishop Small Memorial AME Zion Church has called on Christians to [illegible] prevail in all their endeavours.

He said as followers of Christ, they are duty bound to refrain from rumour-mongering, back-biting, squabbles dishonest results and other anti-social activities that denigrate a neighbour or seek to create disunity in the society.

Rev. Obeng was preaching at the Easter church service.

He told the congregation that as they celebrate Easter they must reflect deeply on their motives, make decisions and meaningful attitudes and lead lives that will bring peace, unity of purpose and total support for the government to ensure the steady development of the country.

All Roman Christians marked the Good Friday and the Easter Sunday with church services and conventions to replicate themselves with the experience and resurrection of Jesus Christ in [illegible] Patrick Pyron.

A number of churches and religious groups including the West of Christ Church and the Tears of Christ Evangelistic Ministry held three days of convention to revive their relations with Christ.

Preaching at the Ohuasi Presbyterian Church to mark the occasion, Reverend Father Garnet Peah-Arthur, an Anglican priest called on Christians throughout the world to initiate moves to

○ *Contd. on Pg 8/9*

ASHANTI GOLDFIELDS SHARE OFFER

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DAYS TO GO

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Mon April 4 1994 p. 9

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## African states urged to fomulate nutrition plans

*From Victoria Odoi, Akonombo*

**PARTICIPANTS at the sixth African Task Force meeting on Food and Nutrition Development has called on African countries that are yet to formulate nutrition plans of action to do so as a matter of priority.**

This, they said, is in fulfilment of the commitments they made at the 1992 jointly sponsored Food and Agriculture Organisation and World Health Organisation International Conference on Nutrition (ICN).

The ICN declarations, among others, called for national and regional strategies to promote food security, and prevent micro-nutrient deficiencies in a world of plenty.

The meeting also recommended the reallocation of resources in favour of nutrition activities and the inclusion of nutritional objectives in overall economic development.

On vitamin A and iodine deficiencies, the meeting noted that iodised salt could be accessible to a vast majority of Africans by the end of 1995. It however stressed on the need to improve the monitoring and evaluation capacity of countries to verify their progress.

Dr N. A. Adamafio, Director of Medical Services, who closed the meeting on behalf of the Minister of Health, said the meeting has paved the way for stronger and more cost effective ways to harness regional initiatives.

The director said Ghana has made considerable progress in the preparation of its plan of action for food and nutrition.

He attributed the progress so far made to the multi-sectoral and inter-disciplinary approach, adding that the document is expected to provide a comprehensive national framework for its activities in the field of food and nutrition.

He therefore reiterated the need for African countries to refocus their attention on increased intra-African co-operation to reinforce their country level initiatives for improved food security, better health and productivity.

Dr Mathew Okai, acting FAO regional representative in Africa who chaired the session appealed to policy makers to study the socio-economic conditions that drive people to eat from the streets

This, he said, will give them a better understanding and approach to deal with street food sellers and patrons without worsening the plight of the socio-economically vonerable groups.

The Task Force meeting was a collaborative effort between the OAU/FAO/WHO and UNICEF to find solutions to nutrition problems and related areas in Africa.

## Don't spread falsehood

• *Contd. from P.1*

plished)

He said the electrification programme for Donkorkrom is on course as work on the clearing of a path for the erection of high tension poles from Nkawkaw to Donkorkrom is underway.

On the supposed creation of a "Greater Afram Plains Region", President Rawlings said it is unfortunate and highly irresponsible for some individuals and interested parties to circulate false pronouncements and unfounded allegations on the issue.

He noted "in view of similar rumours elsewhere and in view of other efforts to inflame factional emotions, I can only conclude that these are deliberate and wicked moves to stir up violence and instability."

President Rawlings declared: "those who hope to benefit by provoking instability which has already caused us dearly in other parts of our dear nation are no better than vultures who feed on the bones of the dead and peck the wounds of the living."

He said "it is for purposes of planning and development that the area has been designated as the Afram Plains due to similarity of physical characteristics of climate, soil and vegetation as well as problems of accessibility."

President Rawlings said these, however, in no way affect the rights of traditional authorities or the responsibilities of administrative and political districts and regions.

The Swiss Ambassador to Ghana, Mr Pierre Monod, said his country has supported Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme with ¢60 billion to offset its balance of payments problem.

He said his government has further provided the University of Science and Technology with laboratory equipment valued at ¢150 million whilst it is currently replacing most of the elevators at Korle-Bu and Komfo Anokye Teaching hospitals at a cost of about ¢1.7 billion.

The Chief of Bokuruwa, Nana Ofoku Boadu III said his people have through voluntary contributions and communal labour undertaken an electrification project, constructed a day-care centre and a JSS workshop while at the moment, they are constructing a clinic with financial assistance from The Netherlands and technical support from the Department of Community Development.

He appealed to the government to rehabilitate the Mpraeso-Adawso road.

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## Christians observe Easter

○ *Contd. from P. 1*

bring peace in the world.

Rev. Fr. Prah-Arthur who was the special guest preacher expressed concern about the rate of conflicts between countries and communities.

Delivering the sermon on the theme: "Father into thy hand I commit my spirit", he called on Christians and non-christians alike to appreciate the moral significance of Christ and to uphold peace and love.

Rev. Fr. Prah-Arthur made a special appeal to warring communities, especially those in the Northern Region to forgive each other in order to bring peace into the country.

Rev. Joseph J. Adu Mensah, District Pastor in charge of Presby Church led the congregation to pray for peace in the world.

At Sunyani, Christians in the country were called upon to play a leading role in the search for a peaceful nation in which only Godly ideas would abide in the people, reports Kwame Asare Boadu.

The Venerable Thomas Ampah Brunt, Archdeacon of the Saint Anselm Anglican Church made the call yesterday when he preached the sermon before a large congregation of the church to mark Easter.

Venerable Ampah said as Christians constitute the dominant religious grouping in the country, a heavy responsibility lies on them to pray unceasingly, and also use their numerical strength and abundant wisdom to suggest and find solutions to some of the problems undermining the peace which the country is well noted for.

He said it will be a great disservice to christianity if Christians say they love God when they do not love their neighbours.

Quoting extensively from the Scriptures, Venerable Ampah said "as Christians resurrect with Jesus, what is expected of them is a new and acceptable attitude to life to ensure a society in which each one will be his brother's keeper".

## *Gold price*

The minimum guaranteed price for 22 carat gold for the week beginning on Tuesday, April 5, is ¢296,000 per ounce.

The weekly price quotation issued by the Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation (PMMC) in Accra on Friday said the world price for an ounce of gold was US$389.35 — GNA

### *Environmental NGOs*

The third general meeting of the Environmental NGOs will be held on Thursday, April 7 at the Accra Technical Training Centre (ATTC), Kokomlemle, Accra. All environmental NGOs are invited to attend. Time: 1.30 p.m.

### *AOSA*

The patron, executives and the entire members of AOSA wish to announce the inauguration of the Akokonso Old Students Association today, April 4 at the Akokonso market square at 11.30 a.m. All citizens of Akokonso and the general public are invited.

### *Zonta Club*

In connection with 1994 being declared as the Year of the Family, Zonta Club of Accra is organising a "Family Day" at the Tesano Sports Club on April 24 from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.

There will be lots of games, raffle draws, music and dancing for both the young and the old.

Members of the general public are encouraged to bring the whole family along. Proceeds will be in aid of HelpAge Ghana.

### *HOTCOSA*

Members of the Old Students Association of the Holy Trinity Cathedral Secondary School (HOTCOSA) will meet at the campus on Saturday, April 9 at 2 p.m. prompt.

### *Burial*

Burial takes place at Elmina on Saturday, April 9 of the late Mrs Mary Annan who died at Elmina on March 1. She was 81.

Thanksgiving service will follow on Sunday, April 10 at the St. Joseph Catholic Church, Elmina.

She was the mother of Agnes Kate Annan, formerly of AESC, Takoradi, Joseph K. Annan, Ghana Railway Corporation, Awaso, and Mr Anthony Ray Annan of Ghacem Limited, Tema and others.

### *Obituaries*

The death is reported at the Ridge Hospital of Madam L. N. K. Bannerman, aged 65. She was a retired Chief Traffic Superintendent of P & T Corporation.

The late Madam Bannerman was the mother of Leeford Bannerman-Quist, Italy, Andrews Bannerman-Quist, and Edith Bannerman-Quist all of London and sister of Madam Vivian Bannerman, formerly of the Ministry of Education.

• The death is reported in Accra on March 24, of Mr C. T. Sappor, popularly known as Teacher Charlie.

He was 76. The late Mr Sappor was the brother of Rev. S. D. Sappor of the Methodist Church, husband of Mrs Sarah Elsie Esi Sappor (nee Dughartey), father of Mr Ernest Sappor, Pharmacist, Mrs Victoria Rastetter (USA), Miss Christiana Sappor (Accra), Miss Mary Sappor, Public Health Nurse, Keta, and uncle of Miss Josephine Sappor (GNA) and others.

Burial arrangements will be announced later.

• The death is announced of Miss Vida Anno-Kwakye. She was former Principal of Krobo Training College, Odumase-Krobo and Presbyterian Women's Training College, Agogo, Ashanti Akim. She was 69.

Funeral arrangements will be announced later.

• The sudden death is announced at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital of Mrs Agnes Ellis, Nee Adwoa Sam formerly of the Department of National Lotteries on March 27.

Burial service will be held at Mount Olivet Methodist Church, Dansoman on Friday, April 8, at 8 am. There will be no wake-keeping.

• The death is reported of Mrs Mary Agnes Baako (Nee Ofoe) at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital on Tuesday, March 29.

The late Mrs Baako, 42, a State Registered Nurse was the wife of Dr Ben Baako of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, Accra.

Burial arrangements will be announced later.


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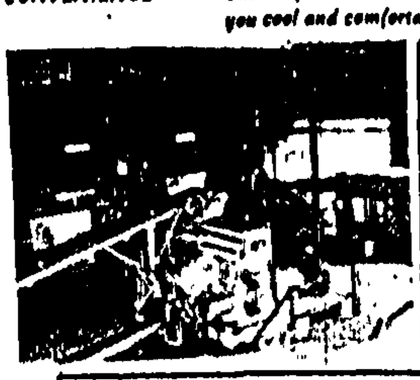

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# Appendix 8:

## Samples of Copies of the Two Newspapers of the Second Study Period (2001-2002)

GEORGE PADMORE
RESEARCH LIBRARY ON
AFRICAN AFFAIRS

GHANAIAN
# The Chronicle
THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

VOL.9 NO.49 MONDAY, JANUARY 8 - TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 2001 UK£0.75p GERMANY DM2.00 ¢1000

## Ezanator Rawlings' near fatal accident

Ms. Ezanator Rawlings, the daughter of the former President Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings escaped a potentially fatal accident when she was trapped on high tension cables while parachuting during a display of parachutists at a farewell programme organised by the military for the former President Rawlings last Saturday.

She was quickly cut loose and the chute released to free her.

Ezanator was among officers who were given awards for their parachuting skills and actually had airforce wings pinned on her, drawing angry grunts of disapproval

She is credited with some 110 hours of flying time. According to the citation that followed her award, she started flying instruction in 1993, when she was 14, far below the legally permissible age even for driving.

## An ecstatic crowd celebrates independence

# THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

## • Rawlings, Mills, D. F. Annan ride into sunset
## • Enter Kufuor, Ala Adjetey

*By Kofi Coomson*

'I, JOHN Agyekum Kufuor, having been elected to the high office of President of the Republic of Ghana in the name of the almighty God Swear that I shall be faithful and true to the Republic of Ghana. That I shall at all times preserve, defend the constitution of the Republic of Ghana and dedicate myself to the service of the people of Ghana and be fair to all. I solemnly swear that should I at any time breach this oath of office, I shall submit myself to the laws of Ghana and suffer the penalties thereof. So help me God.'

With these solemn words, the historic political developments of the last four weeks came to a stupendous climax yesterday bringing in its wake wrenching changes in the political realm: a sense of fresh independence and great expectations from Ghanaians everywhere.

The change in the old order was also felt more dramatically in the Legislative House where Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey took over from Justice D. F. Annan with strong reservations from the new minority, the NDC with the MP for Mfantseman East, Ms. Comfort Owusu doing what she does best in Parliament...making loud raucous disruptive noises despite the onset of her third term in Parliament (She crucified the English language and went off target when asked a question by a GTV reporter.) There were more disapproving shaking of heads from the minority seat still with Comfort Owusu, Ama Benyiwa Doe, the diminutive Samuel Sallas Mensah and Mr. E.T Mensah apparently dreading the prospect of the tough and highly capable legal heavyweight and four term President of the Ghana Bar Association

*Cont'd on back page*

*The President and Commander in Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces - JAK*

*Vice president Aliu Mahama smiling broadly with his wife*

*So long, former president Rawlings bids farewell at yesterday's inaugural*

*Kofi* *Na[illegible]ah* *Chief* *Nana Agyekum*

*(Th[illegible] First Children)*

*D. F. Annan: Old Order* *Ali Aligsey New Speaker*

## JAK's pledge to Ghana
## • Ghanaians in diaspora urged to return
## • Refugees have no need to be in exile

*By Paa Kwesi Plange & Raymond Archer*

GHANA'S NEW President, John Agyekum Kufuor yesterday told his national constituents to unite behind his government to help prosecute its mandate of tackling the myriad economic problems facing the country.

President Kufuor also pledged to cut down the size of government expenditure to release more money for national development.

The call also went out to Ghanaians abroad and those presently in exile to return home with their skills and resources to contribute to the exercise of nation building.

Fresh from receiving the sword of States ship from Chief Justice Isaac Kobina Abban, to become the fourth President of Ghana, Kufuor spelt out his vision for the new Ghana in his inaugural address at the

*Cont'd on back page*

*Nana Ama*

## The next Minister of Finance is...

LOBBYING HAS all but ceased within the NPP as new President Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor remains characteristically aloof, keeping his cards to his chest and quietly pondering over the huge pile of names and positions.

Mr. B. J Da Rocha, who heads the vetting committee, does not have the names yet and is relying on the President with very limited mandate to call the shots.

The appointment of Minister of Finance has assumed crucial importance and urgency because of the nature of the economic problems confronting Government and the choice of a person of major accomplishment and stature is key to sending the right signals to the investment community and the financial institutions

The towering favourite by all accounts remain Mr Yaw Osafo Maafo, the MP for Oda, a friend of JAK with whom they are on fond first name terms and a man whose rigorous analytical mind matches his first hand exposure and depth of the financial systems

Yaw was removed from the National Investment Bank as Managing Director in 1992 when he attended an NPP congress

*Cont'd on back page*

## Women's Ministry

THE PRESIDENT yesterday firmly confirmed the establishment of a Ministry for Women's affairs and paid glowing tribute to Ghanaian women, sharing their pains and struggles with them and pledging to give more teeth to a Ghana Police Service embattled by decades of neglect.

He assured his ecstatic audience that he was going to take on the war to hunt down the serial murders that had plagued the nation's capital and spare no effort of tracking down the perpetrators

As a demonstration of his appreciation of women in securing his victory and in recognition of their hard work, JAK announced the formation of a women's ministry and raise it to cabinet level to give specific attention to their problems

Mrs Gladys Asmah, Kufuor's strongest female supporter and MP for Takoradi, will head the Ministry

GHANAIAN
# The Chronicle
THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

MONDAY, JAN. 8 - TUESDAY, JAN 9, 2001

# Ala Adjetey takes over from Annan as Speaker

*By Joyce Mensah Nsefo*

THE THIRD Parliament of the Fourth Republic was sworn into office yesterday, to begin its four-year term.

Before the 200 members of the assembly took their oath of allegiance and office, the House elected by consensus, Mr Peter Ala Adjetey, a lawyer and former chairman of the majority party in the House, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), as the Speaker of Parliament.

His election was however not without incident. Though the Majority Leader, Mr. Joseph Mensah had apologized earlier, in seconding the nomination of the Speaker, the Minority Leader, Mr. A. S Bagbin expressed the displeasure of his side to the short notice given them as regards the choice of the majority to the post.

He disclosed that contrary to the practice, where the minority side is always informed of the choice long ahead, he was informed that same morning

"I was just informed this morning that the other side of the House intends to propose Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey " he registered his protest.

Bagbin, who received a standing ovation from his side, also doubted whether the Speaker would be well disposed to handle his post effectively since according to him, he holds allegiance to his party, the NPP.

"His stay as a Speaker in this House depends greatly on how he conducts himself."

But, he said, in the spirit of reconciliation, the minority supports the nomination.

The Speaker, Ala Adjetey, a product of the University of Ghana and a Member of Parliament in the Third Republic, before a packed audience of MPs, Diplomatic Corps, Judiciary and other distinguished persons in the chamber of the House, prayed for God's guidance to help him discharge his duties effectively.

He thanked his party for reposing such confidence in him.

The first and second Deputy Speakers of the House were also elected.

The election was merely a change of position by the holders of the posts in the second Parliament.

Mr. Freddy Blay, MP for Ellembele who was the second Deputy Speaker, moved to the first, while the MP for South Tongu, Mr. Ken Dzirasah became the second Deputy Speaker. They are both lawyers.

On Saturday, 6, 2001, the day before, on an aside as to whether a member could wear a hat in the chamber of the House, the former Speaker of Parliament, Justice Daniel Francis Annan began proceedings of the last sitting of the second Parliament, which he later dissolved by article 113(1) of the Constitution.

Arguably the longest serving Speaker of Parliament, having served two consecutive terms, pointed out that Ghana's parliamentary democracy has taken firmed roots.

"Looking back on the past eight years of dedicated service, I can report to the House that the solid foundation upon which this great institution of ours should continue to be developed in the future has been securely laid."

Justice Annan prophesizing that the third Parliament would be richer in human and institutional resou urged the members to learn from mistakes and successes of the se parliament

He announced his retirement public life.

Before proceedings began, it certain that former President Rawli nominee to the Supreme Court, Ap Court Justice Alex Essilfie-Bon would not get members approval.

When the Speaker mentioned it, leadership of the House agreed that deferred, in other words, elaps dashing the Appeal Court Judge's h of sitting on the bench of the high court of the land.

Until the final rejection, Just Essilfie-Bondzi's nomination had to adjourned a number of time spearheaded by the minority who h used all means available, including wa out.

Two other nominees of the form President who were vetted by th Parliamentary Appointment Committee last year June along wi Justice Essilfie-Bondzi had their approved.

They were an Appeal Court Judg Justice George Lamptey and M Theodore Adzoe, a legal practitioner.

The Second Parliament within four-year term passed 66 bills and legislative and constitution instruments.

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# The next Minister of Finance is...

*Cont'd from front page*

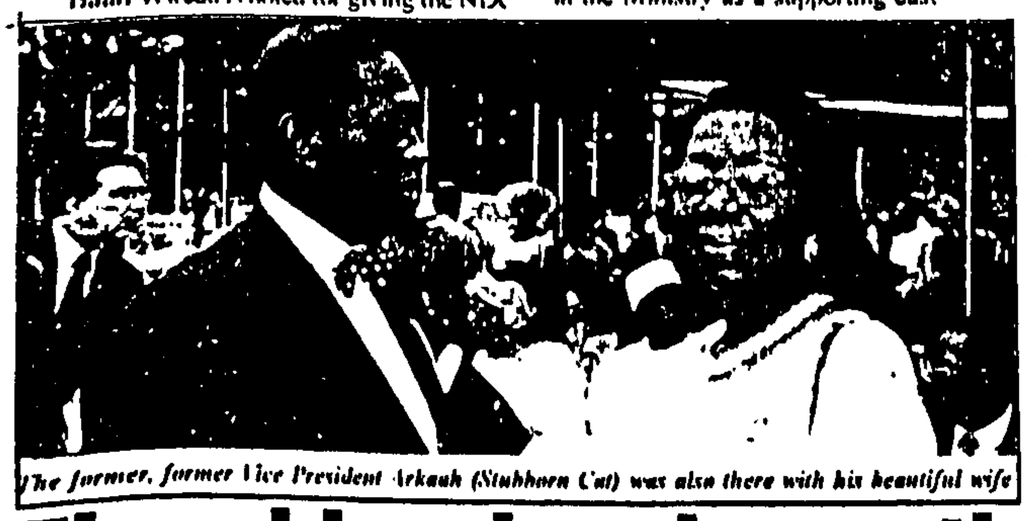
But his solid record at the bank has never been equalled

The MP went into private consultancy and training afterwards and concentrated on his work Member of Parliament Osafo Maafo is also a moderate and has excellent human relations His knack at building bridges coupled with his noted home grown wisdom puts him in the five star category His network of contacts is also impressive

Two other names have come up. Hon Baah Wiredu, celebrated even by his peers and the past Speaker Mr D F Annan as 'the best Parliamentarian' is younger but has a razor sharp brain that dissolves tonnes of complex financial data in seconds

Baah Wiredu is noted for giving the NDC' MPs in the last Parliament heartaches with his legendary thoroughness and ability to decipher layers of fraudulent financial presentations

The MP for Asante Akim is a god in his constituency where he humiliated the Chief Director of the Ministry of Finance Mr Manu who resigned his job to contest him despite intimidations and superior financial muscle Hon Baah Wiredu is also a very humble home grown man with excellent human relations Dr. Apraku, the shadow Minister for Finance is being tipped for Deputy Finance Minister because he has been in academia all his working life and has had no extensive hands on experience Apraku is also respected for his impressive academic record and should do well in the Ministry as a supporting cast



*The former, former Vice President Arkaah (Stubborn Cat) was also there with his beautiful wife*

# The old order changeth

*Cont'd from front page*

presiding over the Affairs of the House. (The NPP has 100 MPs while the NDC counts 92 MP's, a loss of 41 MPs)

The MP for Ellembele, Hon. Freddie Blay moved a notch higher in office when he traded ...e with Mr Ken Dzirasah, 47, moving up the position of First Deputy Speaker while Dzirasah, a former writer for The Weekly Spectator and legal officer of the Ghana Fire Service settled for the position Freddie Blay was holding until last week, Second Deputy Speaker

Hon J H Mensah dropped hints about the suppressive nature of the Old Order when, Chronicle knows, NDC Parliamentarians furtively consorted with their NPP counterparts to speak for them The MPs dreaded speaking out openly because of party members like Hon. E T. Mensah whom they suspected grassed on them to their mercurial President. Said J H. while seconding Dzirasah's appointment :

" I second his nomination ...knowing that now that there is change, the pressures on him will be rather less intense so that he can discharge his duties even more impartially than he had been able to do in the past'

The changing of the Guard was made more manifest when a radio commentator in announcing the arrival of Flt. Lt. J J. Rawlings referred to him as the former President of Ghana. He arrived at the forecourt of Parliament House with characteristic showboating but Rawlings remained firmly planted in his seat with no entry in the programme for him to speak. He did not attend the actual Independence Square event where his successor gave his inaugural address

Professor Mills also arrived and left with a chance of speaking. He looked completely relaxed and relieved Significantly, his wife, strongwoman Ms Naadu Mills was absent, the third time in a row she had missed public function that required her presence alongside her husband. Some even say she voted for Kufuor.

VISITING POTENTATES

The installation of President Kufuor also marked a turning point in the Governance and foreign policy direction of Ghana which had previously been guided by one man's whimsicalities. General Gnassingbe Eyadema, against whom several aggressive campaigns ha ...en from Ghana arrived to some applause from the gathering at the forecourt of the Parliament House where Kufuor was sworn in. The animosities between the former President and Eyadema had been mutual and intense.

Next was the Vice President Jacob Zuma of South Africa whose President Thabo Mbeki is disliked by Rawlings. When Thabo was here in September, he was derided by Rawlings in sarcastic speech, Chronicle heard.

President Blaise Campoare has never been forgiven for the death of ex-head of state Thomas Sankara, the close friend and ideological soul mate of the former President whom Blaise overthrew. And Blaise is fully conscious of it.

As for General Olusegun Obasanjo, only his Christian charity and discipline has held him in check from showing his justifiable anger for the strong and sole support given by Rawlings to his gaoler, mass murderer, the late Nigerian Head of State, General Sanni Abacha.

Chronicle learns that Rawlings had preferred the Algerian President Mr. Aziz Bouteflika to come as the Guest of Honour, but he was firmly and politely flouted by JAK just as he also over-ruled Rawslings request that Jake Obetsebi Lamptey and Nana Akufo should be excluded from their first meeting

# JAK's pledge to Ghana

*Cont'd from front page*

Independence Square.

He promised a Ghana where corruption in government and public office would be non-existent, where multiparty democracy thrives and a Ghana where democratic institutions would be allowed to develop and grow in a sustainable environment.

"My fervent wish is to launch a golden age of business and enterprise in our country that will transform the lives of our people within the next decade. To get to this golden age, our farmers and workers must join the crusade through their hard work and discipline," he stressed.

The programme was attended by President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Blaise Campaore of Burkina Faso, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal. Also in attendance was the vice President of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma.

The President assured that as Chief Executive of the nation, he would lead the way in providing economic freedom for Ghanaians, and solicited a similar level of support and cooperation from the citizenry to make this vision possible.

"We on this part in the new administration, accept that we need to sacrifice and work hard. We pledge to cut waste and corruption from public life. There will be, under this administration, zero tolerance of corruption and I make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example," he underscored.

He particularly appealed to the youth, whose votes contributed to his victory to use their energy, dynamism, creativity and resources to serve as the fulcrum of the nations development. The synergy created as a result, together with your dreams, he contended, should help re-build mother Ghana.

While expressing confidence in the ability and capability of Ghanaians in resolving the hydra-headed problems confronting the nation he added that this would not be possible in the absence of foreign donor support.

The president said bringing prosperity to Ghanaians is not beyond the capability of his government because all the ingredients needed to achieve this are available in the country. "We have all the ingredients here, a fertile and beautiful land endowed with goodness and richness and blessed with a dynamic and entrepreneurial people," he stated.

Kufuor asked the donor community grant Ghana debt relief in order to support government put the economy in its ri paces and also to strengthen the confidence the people in democracy.

He contended that the hope of the peo in the democratic process could suffer a if they don't see an appreciable rise in th standards of living.

"We are currently spending a fourth all our revenue annually on simply servic our debts. Such a burden is not sustaina and is likely to dampen the enthusiasm our people when they do not see democratic dividends," he said.

He condemned the wanton murder Ghanaian women and reaffirmed campaign promise and his governm willingness to resolve mystery murders. congratulated Ghanaian women for th contribution to the development of the na and disclosed that plans were afoot by administration to establish a Ministry Women Affairs.

The special Guest of Honor, Presid Olusegun Obasanjo praised Ghanaians effecting a smooth change in governm and tasked them to make the necess sacrifices to sustain the benefits of chan

He also pledged his governmen support for the Kufuor administratio

THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE, PRIVATE MAIL BAG, ACCRA-NORTH TEL: 232713 / 22 77 89 FAX 232608/774722 E-mail Chronicle@africaonline.com gh. Website : www.ghanaian-chronicle com. U.K. OFFI
CRUSOE RD. MITCHAM, SURREY, CR4 2LF. AG EDITOR Ebo Kesse Antwi *Publishers: General Portfolio Ltd. Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper. Kumasi Office: No. B13, 1st Floor, Asafo Market, P.O.*
S. Kumasi. Tel: (051) 2237 Cape Coast Off. (042) Takoradi Office: Room 120, Second Floor, Arvo Hotel, Tel: 031 - 21602, Kuforidua Office: 081-22131, Ho Office Tel: 09126051

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The GHANAIAN Chronicle
THE TRUE FOUNDATION
Editorial
Monday, January 8 - Tuesday January 9, 2001

# President Kufuor's big day

**YESTERDAY JANUARY 7, 2001 was President John Agyekum Kufuor's big day. On that day the many skeptics and apostles of doom who have always claimed that former President Jerry John Rawlings will never hand over to him were put to shame and the day was a resounding success.**

From the beginning of activities in the chamber of the National Assembly till the historic moment when the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Isaac Kobina Abban, performed the solemn duty of swearing in the winner of the presidential polls concluded on December 28, 2000 everything was on track.

The election of the new speaker of the House, Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey, to replace Mr. Justice Daniel Francis Annan has given us a clear indication that the new parliament and, in effect, the new government will be one of consensus.

Unlike what many have predicted as a parliament that is sharply divided in the middle due to the seats won by two major parties, one could see the spirit of compromise already at work. That it was very easy to elect the principal men in parliament without any fuss has shown that both the ruling party and its major opposition partners are ready to accept that the times have changed and Ghanaians expect more from them than opposing for opposing sake.

Activities after the election of the Speaker however have left much to be desired as it turned ceremony which would have scored high marks for its brevity into a lengthy and almost boring spectacle.

One cannot fathom why our new President could not deliver his inauguration speech at the forecourt of the Parliament building but instead chose to drag the many dignitaries to the Independence Square for that.

We believe that by shifting the venue from Parliament to the Square, the handing over ceremony lost some of its shine.

However, we would like to salute the gallant men and women of Ghana whose determination to make democracy work in Ghana brought about this great day. We should also applause ex-President Rawlings who did not follow the footsteps of some sit tight presidents in Africa who have defied reason and logic to hang on to power over the expressed wishes of their countrymen.

Once again as Ghanaians, we have proved that the torch of independence that we lit more than 40 years ago is still burning. By changing a government through the ballot box, we have sent a message to our sister African countries that we have come of age in our quest for nationhood. We now have some very vital experiences we can teach others who are intent to establish the same culture.

To all Ghanaians and friends of Ghana who made the day possible, we say *ayeeko*.

# Time to face reality

**IT IS refreshing to note that President J.A. Kufuor has in his first speech to Ghanaians admitted that there is work to be done in this country. He did not mince words when he enumerated the problems that we face as a people: from the serial murders to the ever increasing poverty level which he named as the biggest problem we face as a nation.**

We are happy that he has identified these problems and has said it categorically that the most difficult task has just begun. In a very frank speech our President has made it clear that the most arduous task he faces is that of how to reconcile the people of this great nation who have been through some trying times. By asking all to forgive, we think he has started on the right chord as that is the surest way to begin.

He also promised to set a personal example in good leadership while his government will use state resources in the most appropriate manner. These are the words of a statesman that has a vision for his country.

Many leaders started with such noble intentions but when faced with the harsh realities of the problem chose the easier way out by abandoning such principles and opting for how to cushion their own future while the citizenry are abandoned to their fate.

We would like to remind President Kufuor that it is not only the four million Ghanaians who voted for him that will hold him to his promise. All the 18 million Ghanaians will from this day forth watch his every move and judge him based on the solemn declaration he made at the Independence Square.

## Election 2000 Review (I)

# The Anti-Asante Campaign

THE PRESIDENTIAL and parliamentary elections of 2000 have been held, with winners and losers declared by the Electoral Commission.

The first part of the review for this column takes a look at the vicious, malevolent, infantile, nation-wrecking, anti-Asante campaign waged by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to retain power by raising primitive and resentful fears in others of an Asante take-over of the country.

Of course, in the end, the NDC's diabolical attempt to create ethnic division failed dismally as the party crashed to a comprehensive and ignominous defeat.

However, for future guidance, it is important that a close look be taken at this anti-Asante propaganda so that the nation can stay united.

COURTESY CALL

Now, just before the elections were first held on December 7, 2000, ex-President J.J. Rawlings and his wife, Mrs. Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, paid a courtesy call on the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II.

The Asantehene used the occasion to say many things about the ex-President and his administration of the country in the previous nineteen-plus years.

Not everything that the Asantehene said was complimentary as there was well-intentioned criticism which Mr Rawlings took in good faith and was thankful for.

Unfortunately, the Daily Graphic and its Asante-born, Castle correspondent and favourite son of the Rawlings administration, Joe Bradford Nyina, chose to sanitize the Asantehene's remarks so that only the praise found its way into the story published by the paper.

It came as no surprise when the traditional ears of Manhyia Palace caught the murmurings of some Asantes and even some non-Asantes about the reported remarks of the Asantehene.

Perhaps, at the proper time, the "whys and wherefores" of Otumfuo's critique of Rawlings and his administration would be told to clear the air

In the interim, it is to be expected that Asante uneasiness would increase rather than diminish following the evil attempt by the NDC to cause anger and disaffection against Asantes.

The NDC lost no opportunity to create the impression of a bloated register in the Ashanti Region and nowhere else.

Much, much later, the non-Asante, Kwahu-born Ashanti Regional Director of the Electoral Commission, Mr I. K. Boateng, had to come out to state that the bloating of the voters' register was nation-wide and not peculiar to the Ashanti Region

Again, there was also the charge that many minors had been persuaded to register to vote in the Ashanti Region. The NDC knew that, bad as it was, the registration of minor was also nationwide, as it turned out to be.

Days before the election, the Ashanti Regional Minister, Mr Samuel Nuamah-Donkor, had gone so far as to collect school attendance registers in order to check on minors who had allegedly been registered.

A few cases were deliberately highly publicised to give the impression of massive fraud to help the New Patriotic Party (NPP) deliberately and fraudulently labelled as an Asante party, win the election in the Ashanti Region

Of course, a crime is a crime, and the fact that it was committed elsewhere in the country would not make it any less a crime.

But it is really hitting below the belt for the NDC to seek to create the impression that it was happening only in the Ashanti Region and nowhere else.

They say that the insect biting you may be found right inside the clothes you are wearing. For, in the thick of the assault on Asantes was Mrs Rawlings, who stated without proof that the NPP had carried the Ashanti Region because minors

had voted for the party.

This was from the woman for whom spurious attempts had been made in the past to link her to Yaa Asantewaa and Oyoko royalty at Manhyia.

And, after the Presidential run-off of December 28, 2000, there was Dr J Tony Aidoo, another Asante, casting doubt on the results from Bantama but finding nothing wrong with the results from North Tongu, Ketu North, Ketu South and Anlo.

CAMPAIGN

The NDC had not finished with its Asante-bashing. Before the run-off of December 28, the anti-Asante campaign was stepped up with reports of Ewes, Fantis, people from the 'northern' part of the country, and Muslims being harassed, assaulted and ostracised for not voting for the NPP.

High-ranking persons in the Ewe community allegedly sent word home to the effect that Volta Region Members of Parliament writing to the Asantehene.

Some Fanti leaders in Kumasi also visited one or two places where harassment of Fantis and other non-Asantes had allegedly taken place, publicized their findings and sought a meeting with the Kumasi Traditional Council.

I cannot say that I saw non-Asantes being assaulted or harassed in any way. At the same time, I will not say no harassment or even assault took place anywhere in the region.

However, what was cheap, what was mischievous and what was unworthy of the NDC as a party was to create the false impression of the Ashanti Region being turned into one big hell for Ewes, Fantis, people from the 'North' and Muslims living in the region

Did some chiefs from the Volta Region actually go to the Central Region to persuade Fanti chiefs to vote for their 'son', Professor John Atta Mills, as they were going to vote for the man of the party founded by their son, Rawlings?

Did Rawlings repay the Asantehene by meeting Ga and Ewe chief to get them to vote for the NDC by painting a horrendous picture of Asantes overrunning Ghana?

Were there clarion calls on Gas at dawn not to vote for the Asante man John Kufuor for fear that Asantes would take over Ga lands?

ASSAULT

Was the Volta Region a no-go area for non-NDC agents, especially NPP agents, to the point where there was systematic assault engineered by Voltarians who should have known better?

As stated above, the elections are over and the results have been declared.

But never again should a whole ethnic group be maligned for political gain.

We should glory in the fact that we are Asantes, Ewes, Gas, Dagombas, Grunshies, and so on. We should be happy to be identified with particular regions where we come from

But we should not by word or deed seek to cause the disintegration of the country through creating anti-ethnic feelings

Asantes are Ghanaian like others in the country. Just as other ethnic groups have communities in the Ashanti Region, so also do we have large Asante communities in other regions.

In modern-day Ghana, we are inter-dependent and this should be the case for the over-all development of the country.

I do not like stereotyping but, all the same, I cannot help but say that Asantes do not suffer from xenophobia, that is, fear or hatred of strangers

Indeed, it is sometimes asserted that an Asante is more likely to help a non-Asante than his fellow Asante.

Sometimes, we are amused, surprised and angered by the anti-Asante feelin, shown by non-Asantes who have lived worked and prospered in the Ashanti Region

There is no need for anyone to hate, fear or resent Asantes for we have been thrown together by the accident of our colonial history

If we have to go our separate ways, let us do so in peace, and not in destructive pro

Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor is not an Asante president voted for by Asantes to rule over Asantes

He is a Ghanaian who happens to be an Asante, just as Dr Kwame Nkrumah was a president of Ghana who happened to be an Nzema, just as President Akufo-Addo happened to be an Akuapem, just as Dr K A Busia, prime minister, was a Brong, just as Mr Rawlings was an Ewe.

The wide territorial spread of the vote for Mr. Kufuor constitutes an emphatic statement against ethnicity Let us keep it that for the good of the country.

GHANAIAN
# The Chronicle
THE TRUE INDEPENDENT

VOL. 9 NO. 60 FRI. FEB. 2 - SUN. FEB. 4, 2001. UK £ 0.75p GERMANY DM 2.00 ¢1,000

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# Furore over Speaker's break order

*By Joyce Mensah Nsefo*

THE SPEAKER of Parliament, Mr. Peter Ala Adjetey yesterday waded into a contentious situation for calling for a break in the middle of a debate.

Instead of ordering a head count after a voice vote could not determine which side had the majority, he decided to take a break, and in protest that the minority refused to stand up the Speaker walked out of the chamber.

The vote was necessitated after a two hour long debate on whether the practice whereby cabinet ministers are not to be members of select committees on the various ministry because of their possible influence should stand, or accede to the proposal of the majority that they should be members of the committees.

The House as usual was divided along party lines, while the majority NPP members were in favour of their inclusion with full rights to vote, the NDC minority maintained that there was wisdom in the practice where a minister could only sit in and contribute without the right to vote.

Cont'd from front page

# JJ's men raided the treasury...

## DCEs, staffers, Mills' boys go off with ESBs

BARELY one week after the NDC lost the elections, the previous Government organised a raid into the national coffers to pay what they described as 'End of Service' benefits for political operatives and DCE's.

The sum runs into billions of cedis, and should top the ¢4 billion mark.

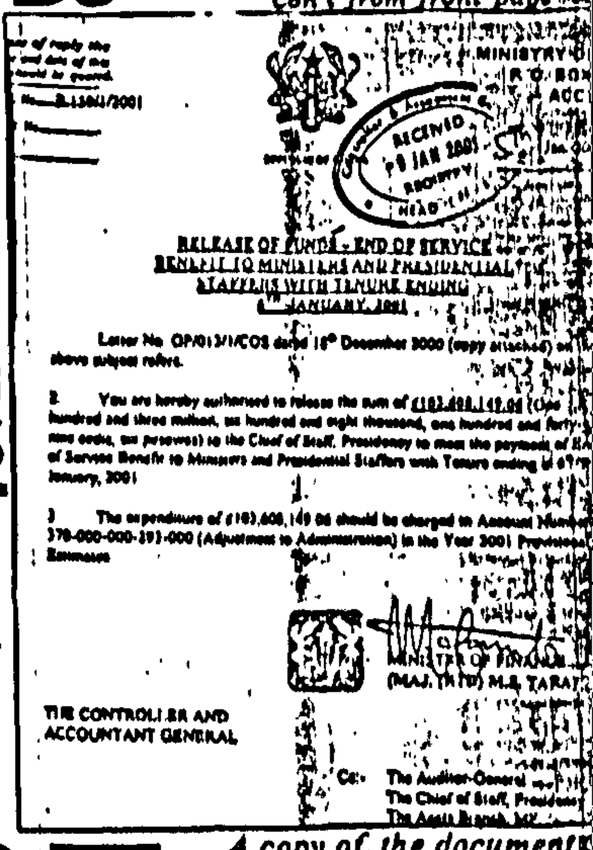
Though full extent of the amount is yet to be established, Chronicle can report that the Government sensational charged the amount to this year's budget, making it mandatory for Kufuor to pay for what the NDC chiefs had 'chopped'. This means Mr. Yaw Osafo Maafo would take off with another ¢4 billion deficit since he has to find money to pay for this amount apart from.

Incredibly, the amount was authorised by one Major M. S. Tara(RtD.) holding himself out as the Minister of Finance. Others were personally authorised by Mr. Kwame Peprah. And he got the accountant general to pay up and Bank Governor Mr. Kwabena Dufuor to also comply to what was clearly an improper order since no provision had been made for the payment of the amount.

A copy of Tara's letters which were suspected to be part of the documents incinerated recently at the Ministry of

Cont'd on back page

*'Peprah ordered the amount charged to Kufuor's 2001 budget'*



MINISTRY OF FINANCE
P. O. BOX M 40 ACCRA
RECEIVED 18 JAN 2001 BUDGET DIVISION

RELEASE OF FUNDS - END OF SERVICE BENEFIT TO MINISTERS AND PRESIDENTIAL STAFFERS WITH TENURE ENDING 6TH JANUARY, 2001

Letter No. OP/013/1/COS dated 15th December 2000 (copy attached) on the above subject refers.

2. You are hereby authorised to release the sum of ¢193,608,149.00 (One hundred and three million, six hundred and eight thousand, one hundred and forty-nine cedis, no pesewas) to the Chief of Staff, Presidency to meet the payments of End of Service Benefit to Ministers and Presidential Staffers with Tenure ending 6th January, 2001

3. The expenditure of ¢193,608,149.00 should be charged to Account Number 378-000-000-391-000 (Adjustment to Administration) in the Year 2001 Provisional Estimates

(MAJ. (RTD) M.S. TARA)
MINISTER OF FINANCE

THE CONTROLLER AND ACCOUNTANT GENERAL

Cc: The Auditor-General
The Chief of Staff, Presidency
The Asstt. Branch, MF

# A frustrated ex-President reacts

# RAWLINGS BREAKS LOOSE

## Commandeers yacht, jet fighter

*By Sani Siddig*

CHRONICLE INTELLIGENCE can reveal that after gracefully bowing out of office 26 days ago ex-President Jerry John Rawlings has engaged in activities which should be a source of worry to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government which is trying to settle down.

The former President has been making some demands on the Kufuor Administration and visiting some restricted security zones seeking unlimited access to state facilities which he had hitherto enjoyed.

Last weekend, the former President dashed to Akosombo and commandeered the executive yacht in which he used to cruise on the Volta Lake for over two hours at the expense of the Ghanaian tax payer.

Sources told the Chronicle that after the cruise, the ex-President gathered the yacht's maintenance staff and told them that they should take good care of the yacht and keep it in working condition because he would be coming back within the next three months to use it again.

A member of staff who spoke to Chronicle on condition of anonymity said the workers could not refuse the ex-President's request because the yacht is state property and that it could be used by anyone on condition that the user could afford the rate.

The Chronicle further gathered that Rawlings also went to Burma Camp and demanded that he be allowed to fly one of the Ghana Air Force jet fighters, one of his favourite pastimes, even when he had officially retired from the Air Force and assumed the role as President of Ghana for over 19 years.

But the former President was brought to earth when he was told pointedly by one of the soldiers on guard duties (name withheld) that he (Rawlings) would not be allowed to use any of the jet fighters for his personal pleasure and that the place was a high security zone.

*Ms Elizabeth Ohene - Presidential Spokesperson*

*Mr. Jake Obetsebi Lamptey - Chief of Staff*

On another day, our sources said the former President who had earlier on been barred from using the jet visited Burma Camp and requested to ride on one of the horses in the stable. He was, however, allowed to indulge his fantasy and rode the horse for some few hours.

A source close to the Kufuor Administration who confirmed these incidents said that members of staff who allowed the former President to use the executive yacht have been reassigned. The source said the Kufuor Administration may surcharge the former President for the use of the yacht for two hours.

The source also confirmed that Rawlings has actually been to Burma Camp demanding to fly the air force jet but this request was refused, stress that when the Kufuor Administration demanded answers from the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), General Brig. Akafia, he said he was unaware of these events.

According to a source close to the presidency, the Kufuor Administration also declined to give the former President some dispatch riders to accompany him to the funeral of the former President of

Cont'd on back page

The Chronicle

FRI. FEB. 2 - SUN. FEB. 4, 2001. UK £ 0.75p GERMANY DM 2.00 ¢1,000

# Furore over Speaker's order

*Cont'd from front page*

They argued that the ministers could not initiate policies at cabinet level and still have the right to push it through at the committee level.

The Minority leader, Mr. Alban Bagbin had earlier asked members to vote for it to enable the committees start work, but promised that the issue would have to be considered at a later date. Members of his side openly protested.

After a long back and forth debate in which no side was winning, the Majority Leader, Mr. Joseph Mensah who didn't foresee any furore, asked the Speaker to put the question.

When the question was put the Speaker said he thought the ayes had it.

This led the NDC MP for Ada, Mr. Amos Buertey to challenge the Speaker's ruling, and asked for a head count

Contrary to Article 87 of the Standing Orders that after a question has been put, no debate should be entertained, Mr. Mensah wanted to make a statement, and when the minority insisted that the Speaker order the head count, the Speaker asked for a break.

Bagbin disclosed later that the Speaker's decision and another one on ministers gave credence to the doubts he raised about Mr. Ala Adjetey's nomination to the post of a Speaker.

He therefore pointed out that the comportment of the minority in the House would depend greatly on the conduct of the Speaker.

Before that, the House unanimously approved the appointment of the twelve Ministers of State vetted by the House's appointment committee last week.

They are Mr. Joseph Henry Mensah, Minister and Leader of Government Business; Dr. Kwame Addo-Kufour, Minister of Defence; Mr, Yaw Osafo-Marfo, Minister for Finance, Mr. Hackman Owusu-Agyemang, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo, Minister of Justice and Attorney-General and Alhaji Malik Yakubu Alhassan, Minister for Interior.

The others are the Dr Kofi Konadu Apraku- Minister of Trade and Industry, Major Courage Quashigah (rtd), Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mrs Gladys Asmah-Minister for Women's Affairs, Prof. Dominic Kwaku Fobih, Minister for Environment, Science and Technology and Dr. Kwaku Afriyie- Minister of Lands Mines and Forestry.

The report of the appointment Committee on the second batch of nominees would be laid before the House today.

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## RE: CORRECTION

There was a mix-up in the corrections we made in a back page story in last Wednesday's edition of the Ghanaian Chronicle titled "Judicial officer influenced transfer of case, Court told"

We wish to make the following corrections

A payment voucher dated November 18, 1992 attached to the Defendants petition, tendered in evidence by the Plaintiff and marked Exhibit B1, showed the payment of sum of ¢220,000.00 as having been paid by the Christ Apostolic Church as "gift and honorarium to officials at Appeal and judicial office in connection with the transfer of the Bantama case to Accra."

The Defendants are relying on this as proof that Rev. Augustine Annor-Yeboah paid bribe to the Plaintiff to influence him to transfer the said case (Suit no. CS453/89) to Accra. When asked by his Counsel in evidence-in-chief to comment about the said payment voucher and the importation related thereto, the Plaintiff denied any nexus whatsoever of the voucher with him. He went on to define Judicial Office as office of the Judicial Secretary, the Registrar's Offices or any of the various divisions of the court systems.

EDITOR

## RSM TETTEH GOES HOME TODAY

The mortal remains of RSM Andreas K. Tetteh long standing aide of former President Jerry John Rawlings will be interred at the Osu Military Cemetery this morning

Tetteh, 52, died at the 37 Military Hospital on January 15, 2001 after a protracted sickness that became subject of speculation until his untimely death.

Before his burial this morning, a wake keeping was held in his honour at the 64 Infantry Regiment, Gondar Barracks, where a large crowd of sympathisers including ex-President Rawlings and his wife Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings were part of the mourners.

Also in attendance were officials and men of the Ghana Armed Forces and members of the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

# Frustrations of Ghanaian donors

*From Emmanuel Akli, Sekondi*

THE PATRON of the Sekondi-Takoradi Association in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Dr. Bernard Acquah has expressed concern about the frustration Ghanaians living abroad go through anytime they shipped goods for distribution to needy institutions in the country.

According to him, having realised that the government alone cannot take care of all needy institutions in the country due to budget constraints, Ghanaians living abroad have decided to form an association with the sole aim of contributing to the national development but the frustration they go through at the seaports in the country before clearing goods they have shipped for the needy institutions is disheartening

He has, therefore, appealed to the government and Parliament to liaise with the Customs officers to ensure that goods shipped to the needy institutions in the country by Ghanaians living abroad with genuine documents covering them are cleared as soon as possible and handed over to those it was meant for

Dr Bernard Acquah was speaking at a handing over ceremony of a number of items including 26 blankets, 25 bedsheets, 116 orthopaedic mattresses, 122 mattresses, 47 zimmer frames, 1 culture machine, one large fridge and 5 x-ray viewers all valued at 10,000 pounds to the Effia Nkwanta regional hospital in Sekondi by his association.

Formed in 1984, the Sekondi-Takoradi Association in UK and Ireland has a membership of 2,000 who are from different ethnic backgrounds but were living in Sekondi-Takoradi before leaving for abroad.

According to Dr. Bernard Acquah, who together with Francis Ignatius Depupson-Quayson, secretary to the association, handed over the items to t hospital authorities, though the items we shipped in June last year, it could only cleared in November the same year becau the Customs officers insisted that they pa duty despite the fact that they indicat where the items were going to

In the end, he continued, they had fly down themselves to get the goo cleared from the port because the Minis of Health and the Western Regio Administration who they had earlier sen note to about the arrival of the goods w not showing much interest in getting goods from the Takoradi port.

Depupson-Quayson, on his part, t they initially sent a letter to CEPS w they were demanding that the associa paid duty on the goods indicating wh the goods were being sent to but their k was turned down by CEPS on the gro that it is only Parliament that can g exemption

Miss Georgina B. Abekah, Princ Nursing Officer received the items on b of the hospital.

# K'Bu board slams SFO report ... *It's evil*

*By Isaac Homeku*

THE BOARD of Directors of Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital has described a two-year-old Serious Fraud Office (SFO) report into alleged fraudulent deals in the supply of medical consumables as evil.

The final report dated November 29, 1999 recommended among other things the reconstitution of the hospital's board on account of the ineffective handling of affairs of the hospital.

"I consider the SFO report as evil". Dr. William Yaw Anoff, chairman of the board fumed at a press conference Thursday morning.

He argued that it was wrong for the SFO to add a Daily Graphic report published in May 2000, to its final report on the alleged fraudulent deals dated November 1999.

"How come that a Daily Graphic report which was published a year after the SFO report was finalised, found its way into the SFO report?" he asked with the other board members present nodding their heads in agreement

He criticised the SFO for not inviting any non-executive member of the board to give evidence during the investigation before passing judgment on the competence of the board in running the affairs of the hospital.

In a related development there is growing disquiet among staff of the Korle-Bu Teaching hospital as to why the current Board of Directors have overstayed their tenure of office

Chronicle gathered that the board was inaugurated in 1994 and was expected to stay in office for a period of four years but is still holding office

Professor Akorsa, Head Patholo of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital recent interview with the Ghana N Agency called for the termination of appointment of the 13-member boar not living up to expectation.

At the press conference, Dr Wi Anoff said the board is aware of a from the Office of the President d November 1998, addressed to the Minister of Health Mr. Nuamah De asking for new nominations fo reconstitution of the board.

"But as you can all see, we ar here. If anybody wants to know wh are still here, we can only give gu but for definite answers one must to the Ministry of Health," he saic

Efforts to contact the Minis Health for reasons why the overstayed in office proved futile Chief Director was not available Chronicle's two visits.

# Rawlings breaks loose

*Cont'd from front page*

the Methodist Conference. This request was made through his aide Victor Smith. Reason for the refusal was that there cannot be two Presidents in the country.

Rawlings, according to other sources, had earlier on formally asked the Kufuor Administration to give him more than 20 security guards, but the new administration responded that there are more pressing matters to attend to and that they will communicate back to him.

The Professor Miranda Greenstreet Committee Report on the entitlements of a retired president specifically stated that a former president should be given two police guards.

# JJ's men raided the treasury

*Cont'd from front page*

Finance by panicking Ministry officials was obtained by The Chronicle last Wednesday

The amounts went to political operatives, District Chief Executives, Presidential staffers, Members of the Council of State and others. These sums are different from what they may have gotten by way of golden handshakes. Like the vehicles.

Most of the ¢3.8 billion has already been disbursed, with men from ex-President's team picking theirs this past Friday.

Messrs N.E.K Yankah, a close Mills confidante who was seconded from the Internal Revenue Service when Mills was the boss there, had a take home of ¢30 million operatives Mr. J.E. Turkson, a lawyer and Chief of Staff at t Office went away with ¢32 millio the same day his friend also colle

It appears the ESB that was was abolished only for Ghanaians the privileged few.

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GHANAIAN
The Chronicle

EDITORIAL

Friday, Feb 2 - Sunday, Feb. 4, 2001

# Winning the fight against corruption

THE CURRENT New Patriotic Party (NPP) administration has made no secret of its intention to reduce corruption to the barest minimum in this country, if not to eradicate it entirely. In his inaugural address at the Independence Square after he had been sworn into office on January 7, President J. A. Kufuor made the reassuring declaration that his government would have a zero tolerance for corruption.

Similar reassuring sentiments were expressed by the Vice-President, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, when he launched the report of the corruption survey commissioned by the Ghana government at the Ghana International Press Centre in Accra last Wednesday.

The Vice-President disclosed that the government was preparing a draft code of conduct for ministers and top government officials, and would formally open an Accountability Office within the Presidency to implement the code of conduct which is aimed at curbing corruption within governmental circles.

The **Ghanaian Chronicle** is happy that the Kufuor administration is not only making its abhorrence of corruption very clear in the dawn of its tenure of office, but will even be going further to take steps to ensure that ministers and top government officials are accountable to the people.

However, we will be waiting with cautious optimism, since this is not the first time (and it will surely not be the last) that we are hearing such pious declarations of intentions to eradicate corruption from our society.

Earlier attempts at checking corruption, some of which were played on higher octaves than we are witnessing now, floundered mainly because the political leadership which should have set the example to sustain the momentum betrayed the cause it had so piously pledged to die for.

To borrow a homely image for purposes of illustration, we would say those who had come pledging to drive away houseflies were themselves carrying several head-loads of sugar-cane.

If the Kufuor administration is to succeed in its attempt to eradicate corruption from the Ghanaian society, then the leadership must demonstrate beyond doubt its commitment to the total eradication of this social canker which is seeping through our society and destroying it beyond repairs.

One of the causes of the downfall of the Rawlings government was its inability to back its sanctimonious pledges to deal with corruption with concrete action, especially when it came to sanctioning top government and public officials who had been found to have indulged in corrupt practices. The whole nation recalls the way the NDC government dealt with those ministers and public officials who were found culpable by the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), some of whom were among the number of government functionaries embroiled in the controversial end of service benefits.

Let us face it: corruption can never be eradicated from any society. However, this societal evil can be reduced to not-so-dangerous levels if the national leadership is perceived to be scrupulously anti-corruption and would go to any desirable length to sanction those who indulge in it.

The need to have a leadership that is strictly against corruption assumes even greater urgency when one considers the fact that the kind of corruption that goes on among top governmental circles does far greater damage to national development than the kind that operates within the lower rungs of society.

The corruption witnessed under Mobutu in the former Zaire, now Democratic Republic of Congo; Abacha in Nigeria, and Ferdinand Marcos in the Phillipines, and the negative impact these had on their various societies should constantly remind us of the harmful effects of official corruption on the societies in which they occur.

Global public opinion is unequivocally against corruption, and any government that intends to benefit from the advantages of globalisation must as of necessity take a definitive stand against corruption. The warning issued by Mr Peter Harrold, the World Bank Country Director, that the Bank group would not tolerate corruption should serve as sufficient impetus for the Kufuor administration to persevere in its fight against corruption, especially since the President has already made a passionate appeal to donor countries and agencies to come over to Macedonia and help us out of the economic doldrums we find ourselves in now.

During the 1999 African-African American summit in Accra, when there were passionate appeals for our brothers and sisters in the Diaspora to come and help Africa, one of the participants asked what guarantee there was that the monies they would send would not end up enriching one person's pocket.

One other way of ensuring the success of the crusade against corruption is by operating a transparent government. This means that public officials should be made to readily offer information on whatever subject or topic an inquirer may approach them for, excepting, of course, matters that border on national security and other sensitive issues like on-going international negotiations.

It is against this background that the **Chronicle** would strongly urge the new administration to seriously consider passing a bill that will ensure free access to information by journalists and other whistle-blowers, for so long as public officials can deny such persons access to information, so long will corruption persist and thrive in our society.

Corruption is a serious societal canker that impedes progress and development, and it is the duty of all to assist the new administration to eradicate it from our society.

# EVENTS IN THE WOMB OF TIME

EVEN THOUGH the final exit of Efo Kokuvi, the Son of Man, had been announced several times earlier, there were several people who did not think it could be true.

'If you people think I, Koo Nimo, will believe what you're saying, then you live in this world but...'

'O, Agya Koo, it's true. He's gone.'

'That man...you think he'll go?'

'He's gone.'

'It's a trick. In the bush, lions and tigers sometimes fall down and pretend that they're dead. It's when antelopes rejoice and go close to see the body that they get to know...'

And so it happened that some of the people decided to go to the Castle to see things, *filli filli*.

Instead of the grim-faced commandos at the gates, the adventurers saw smiling policemen.

'Can we help you?'

'We're looking for Efo Kokuvi, the Son of Man, whose power...'

'O, you mean the former err... he's no more here.'

'Is it true?'

'Where is he?'

'Do you know his wife's house?'

'Near the neem tree grove?'

'You'll find him there, peeling cassava in the kitchen.'

When the brethren and sisthren came to announce their findings, there was wild jubilation in the land, from Judea to Pamphylia, and even to Macedonia in the land of the Gentiles.

'He's gone!'

'Freedom!'

'Forward ever,...'

The Presbyterians among them burst into hymns. Presby hymn number... 323

*Bere a Yehowa begye*
*Sion nnomum wo won haw'm*
*Enna yaw a yehun kan no*
*Beye se y'axo ho dae*
*Na yen ba beto yen yam*
*Na yen ano ato dwom*
*Anigye ne yede beyi*
*Stanfo agyenkwa aye.*

And so it came to pass that Efo left the Castle with Agya Atta, whose domesticated son wore his Christmas coat and took a picture for the first time just before the December 7 elections.

Happenings in the land thereafter vividly reminded the people of the statement by Iago in Shakespeare's Othello that "There are more events in the womb of time yet to be delivered."

The dust stirred by the *aben wo ha* vehicles carried away by ex-ministers and ex-officials and those who thought they too were ex-officials was gradually settling when the news spread in town that the Walls of Jericho had either fallen or been caused to fall.

'How? What do you mean?'

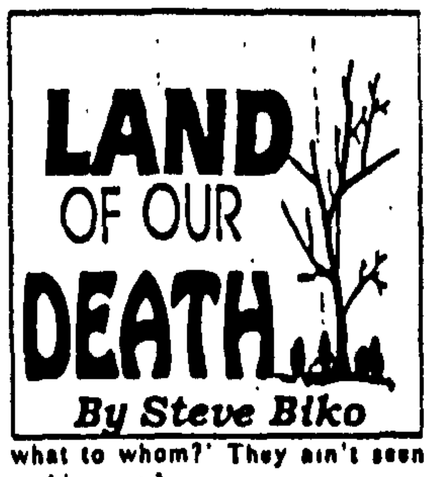
'I mean the barricades and road blocks around Madam's Ridge residence.'

'Who has done that to them?'

'They say the man says he needs twenty-four commandos to guard their residence. And if they haven't got that, do you remove those defence installations already there?'

'If you have nothing to give your in-law, do you steal from her?'

'But you *koraa*, who has done what to whom?' They ain't seen nothing yet.'




And there was great fear and anxiety among the Efo household. What is this they have done? Do they want bad boys to enter freely with their catapults and slay us?

But observers were quick to ask: what do you fear? Were there any road-blocks and barricades and Berlin walls around Dr. Limann's Teshie-Nungua residence?

Then someone reminded them that the last article written by the columnist Kwesi Dompo in the then Sunday Mirror was titled: *"If you fear eye, don't eat head!"*

It was not only Efo Kokuvi's household that had lived in fear in those days. As if the exit of Efo Kokuvi signalled the green light for them to go into action, bad boys with *zoja* guns and hunters' guns descended on the land, killing and robbing people of their property.

'I think the whole thing is planned. They want to unsettle the new government before they get settled.'

'It's true, they have to act decisively...'

'And quickly too.'

'Most of the robbers are not Ghanaians... Togolese and Nigerians and...'

'They must all be sent packing home.'

'True o, they must...'

'*Hwe*, another Aliens Compliance Order? You *doesn't* know...'

Those who want to have a feel of the extent of fear that has gripped Ghanaians must try to board a taxi in Accra in the night. The taxi driver quietly watches with the corner of his eyes every passenger who approaches to board his taxi. Could any of them be an armed robber or a serial killer or a car snatcher or all of the above?

If there are other passengers in the taxi already, they too closely examine the new entrant.

On his part the new passenger first rests his/her (his or her) elbow on the car door and scrutinises the faces of the occupants before deciding whether to enter or not.

The scrutiny is very thorough and meticulous if the new passenger is a lady.

'Adenta? Enter make we go.'

'Just a minute.'

'O, won't you go?'

'I... I want to buy *kelewele*, and come! She would go and come no more. She had spotted a man whose nose and jaws give him the appearance of a seasoned armed robber.

Robbers have been with us in the country since the beginning of time. I remember in the mid-seventies a friend of mine who had closed from work in the evening fell into the hands of robbers when he decided to use the *lungulungu* path that leads from the Accra North Post Office to the Odawna lorry park.

The four strong men grabbed the guy and searched his pockets. It was *broken time*, so they found only fifty pesewas in his pocket. Very much annoyed, they stretched my friend on a carpenter's table, took some planks and whipped him on the backside.

'Next time put plenty money in your pocket so that when we meet here again we can [illegible] something to chop,' they told him.

Our friend came home to narrate his ordeal. Today, the story is different. You may not live to tell your story.

While some people hold the opinion that the spate of armed robberies we are witnessing these days is the work of people who want to sabotage the new administration, others think during this so-called revolution, Efo Kokuvi gave guns to too many people, most of whom are jobless and hungry today. And who would stand aloof for a dog to bite him when he holds a stick?

What we are witnessing in the country today goes to prove the veracity of the claim by Lewsi Nkosi that *"the gun by itself, without an appropriate ideology to guide the actions of the gun-wielder, is incapable of transforming society except superficially. Indeed, the gun can sometimes be turned against the people themselves with catastrophic results as have been seen in the recent history of Uganda under Idi Amin."*

***"The gun by itself, without an appropriate ideology to guide the actions of the gun-wielder, is incapable of transforming society except superficially. Indeed, the gun can sometimes be turned against the people themselves with catastrophic results as have been seen in the recent history of Uganda under Idi Amin."***

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# The Chronicle
THE TRUE INDEPENDENT
VOL 10 NO. 93 FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 2002 UK£0.75p GERMANY DM2.00 ¢1000

# Obed, Rawlings face-to-face today
## ...As NDC Reorganisation C'ttee meets

*By Isaac Homeku*

DR. OBED YAO Asamoah, former Attorney General and Minister of Justice, now gunning for the chairmanship of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), comes face-to-face with his antagonist, Mr. Jerry Rawlings, the founder of his party, as the re-organisation committee of the party meets with the latter today.

The meeting, which is to take place at the Ridge residence of Mr. & Mrs. Rawlings, will see Dr. Asamoah, as the chairman of the NDC Re-organisation Committee, briefing the party's founder on preparations so far put in place to ensure a successful congress, as well as the extent to which the re-organisation process has gone.

The controversial issue of whether the party should have a single chairman or two co-chairmen for the party will not be on the agenda of the meeting, a Chronicle source hinted, as the party's leadership, in line with its new found vision of internal democracy, has decided to leave the issue to congress to decide.

*J. J. Rawlings* | *Dr. Obed Asamoah*

"The issue of single chairman or co-chairman will not be discussed because the leadership has decided not to dilate on it but rather leave that for congress to

*Cont'd on back page*

# Anim Addo's box of tricks
## ...Falls on Atta Kyea for help

*We repeat this story which was published yesterday, because its continuation did not appear on the back page as directed.*

*By Raymond Archer, David Boakye & Edward Boateng*

NANA ANIM ADDO has done it again! The tricks, the deceptions and the crooked deals. The confident trickster who has featured prominently in fraudulent gold transactions in the country is at his wits' end, snatching his landlord's house, applying the skulduggery and forgery skills he uses to outwit his victims.

On November 7, 1997 Nana Anim Addo, a master of deception and a fraudulent gold dealer, entered House No. C, 225/2 at Kokomlemle, Accra, as a tenant, but two years later, he walked to the Osu community tribunal and claimed ownership of the house he had rented for a 12-year period.

It all started in the year 2000, when Mr. Samuel Ankrah, the owner of the house, dragged Nana Anim Addo to court for posing as a landlord and duping people under the pretext of renting the house he had rented to them.

According to an affidavit sworn in court by Mr. Ankrah, his attention was drawn to documents posted on his house which indicated that there was a case pen in court in which one Madam Adwoah Bos had instituted an action against Nana A for collecting rent advance and failin honor his part of the agreement.

In his statement of claim, Mr. An said: "I want the court to help me rec possession of my property. The agree (rent agreement) is to end 9 years' ti want to recover possession. I am ejectin on the grounds of nuisance and illegal act He does not have a good character."

In an affidavit sworn in support

*Cont'd on back page*

*Nana Anim Addo*

# WHO LEADS NDC TO WAR?

*By A.C. Ohene*

THE twelve-member team that will be raised this weekend by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) as its new executive will largely determine who dons the battle-dress to spearhead the party into the 2004 titanic fight for power.

In particular, those who emerge as chairman and general secretary will have a foothold on the party to influence the choice of flagbearer or one of them could even metamorphose into the presidential candidate.

Informed analyses point to Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Alhaji Mahama Idrissu, Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, P. V. Obeng and J. H. Owusu-Acheampong as topping the list of probable flagbearers, but each person's fate will be determined by who wins what tomorrow.

According to insiders, if Mahama Idrissu wins he would want to contest at the primaries in 2004. If the congress is brought forward to next year, as some party leaders are pushing for an amendment of the NDC Constitution to achieve that goal, the chairman may resign to contest for the presidential candidature.

The Alhaji himself dropped the hint when on Kwaku Sakyi-Addo's "One-on-One" TV programme showed recently, he avoided ruling out that possibility.

In a telephone interview early this week, the Minority Spokesman on Information, Mr. John Mahama, after describing the national chairmanship as less important than the general secretaryship, conceded that being a chairman could enhance one's chances of becoming the flagbearer or securing the position for one's favourite.

If Mahama, Idrissu remains content with the chairmanship or is prevented from going for the ultimate, one likely choice from the Rawlings-Idrissu camp is Nana Konadu.

Sources said the former First Lady still nurses the ambition of becoming the first woman to become President in Ghana and Africa. Many in her camp have their own reservations about her card but her bountiful financial resources, despite the apparent collapse of her 31st December Movement, seems to be what might give her the edge.

"If Obed gets, Kwesi Botchwey has a chance," one of his aides said.

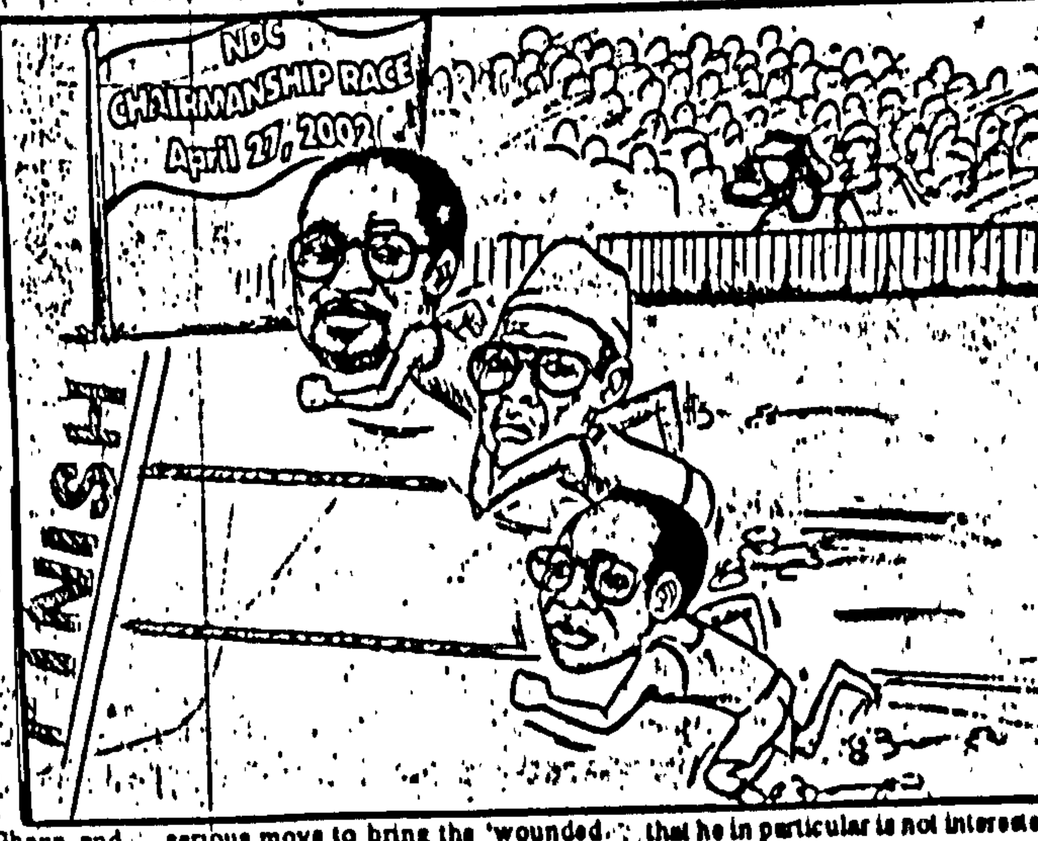
Despite counter-claims that the former Attorney-General has not made any serious move to bring the 'wounded soldiers' back to camp, credible sources confirm that he is in serious talks, not only with Botchwey and P.V. but other comrades who have either sulked or joined other political parties.

Dr. Asamoah argued that picking a presidential candidate from the Volta Region where he, himself, hails from will be suicidal for the NDC, stressing that he in particular is not interest chief executive position.

Allies say he will be prep promote the ambition of P.V. Ob as he would Dr. Botchwey, provi ignominious manner in which the bowed out of the NDC governm not affect his chances.

As for Owusu Acheampong, chance of becoming chairman, is

*Cont'd on back page*




All have turned aside, they have together become corrupt; there is no one who does good, not even one. Psalm 14:3

The Chronicle

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 2002

# Anim Addo's box of tricks

Cont'd from front page

Claim the plaintiff said, "I am the bona fide owner of House No. C226/2 situate at Kokomlemle. It has come to my notice that the defendant (Nana Anim Addo) has collected money from the would be tenants with the promise of subletting some of the rooms to them but has failed to provide the rooms to them. I would like to state here that there exists a tenancy agreement which covers the house. The said defendant is a tenant. The defendant has no legal or moral rights to sublet the said house to anybody. I wholly and solely own House No. C226/2."

Mr. Ankrah also prayed the court that his house should not be sold in the event of judgement in favor of Madam Adwoah Boateng and failure of Nana Anum Addo to pay the debt.

Even though Chronicle has copies of a rent agreement between the plaintiff and the defendant, Nana Addo maintained that it was he who rather purchased the house.

Nana Anim Addo, who is notorious for jumping court appearances, refused to appear in court until judgement was given in favor of Mr. Ankrah to recover the said premises on grounds of nuisance. Defendant was also awarded cost of ¢100,000.

Nana Addo was also ordered by the Osu Community Tribunal chaired by Mrs. Ivy Heward-Mills to vacate the premises.

Soon after judgement was given, counsel for Nana Anim Addo, led by his favorite lawyer, Mr. Atta Kyea of Akufo Addo, Prempeh and Co. chambers, stepped in and applied to the court to set aside the judgment entered for Mr. Ankrah.

In his affidavit in support of the application to set aside the judgement of the court, Nana Addo dropped the bombshell which sent the heart of Mr. Ankrah tumbling. "...There is no subsisting tenancy agreement between him (Mr. Ankrah) and me. The instant action is a sham as plaintiff's claim against me for my ejection from House No. C226/2 situate at Kokomlemle is wholly without any basis. The only valid and subsisting transaction is my purchase of House No. 226/2, Kokomlemle, Accra, from Plaintiff's mother, Madam Korshie Lamptey, in which the Plaintiff acted as a witness for his mother," Nana Anim Addo said.

Giving an excuse as to why he could not appear in court, Nana Addo swore that subsequent to the receipt of the processes filed by his solicitors, the result of a search initiated by his counsel was delayed as the court did not sit.

"The search result showed that judgement had been entered against me on 10th July," he added.

On the claim by Nana Anim Addo that he purchased (the) said house from the plaintiff's mother, Mr. Ankrah told Chronicle her mother can neither read nor write and that they were all tricked into signing a document prepared by Nana Anim Addo.

"He tricked us to sign a document which he had attached to the rent agreement. He said the document was as a receipt and we did not take the trouble to read it and so we signed thinking that it was the receipt of the rent he paid to us. The first time we heard about this was in court when he tried to claim ownership of the house."

Mr. Ankrah said that after the Community Tribunal ruling, Nana Anim Addo said he bought the house for about ¢70 million and tendered in evidence the fictitious receipt. Following that, the case was transferred to the High Court as community tribunals did not have powers to handle cases involving such amounts.

"We abandoned the case because we did not have enough money to pursue the case. We are currently negotiating with him but he says he spent about ¢60 million on the house. We told him the amount was too much and that he should produce receipts."

According to Mr. Ankrah, they never sold the house to Nana Addo, adding that the purchase agreement he is holding is riddled with fraud.

Mr. Ankrah, who is the plaintiff, averred in court that on November 7, 1997 he made an agreement with the defendant to rent his uncompleted house to him for 12 years at a monthly rate of ¢70,000.

Plaintiff stated in his statement of claim that the defendant paid an initial amount of ¢6 million to him as rent advance, leaving an outstanding amount of ¢4 million, which they agreed to be used by Nana Addo to complete the building.

This, the plaintiff said, added up to the total sum of ¢10 million for the 12 years rent.

In his statement of defence, Nana Anim Addo, however admitted to the plaintiff's claim that he was a tenant and added that he was not in the position to either deny or admit claims that the plaintiff is the lawful owner of the house.

Nana Addo also denied that he ever entered into any agreement with plaintiff, saying that he did not make any part payment.

Chronicle has however sighted a tenancy agreement between Nana Anim Addo and the plaintiff.

# 'Investigative journalism not for the timid'

*John Bediako*
*Cotonou, Benin*

A RESOURCE person at a seminar organised in Cotonou, Benin, for investigative journalists has advised people who entertain fears to back out from investigative journalism.

The resource person, Mr. William Nyarko, said journalists pursuing the truth come face to face with danger, equally like the soldier under arms.

Mr. Nyarko, who delivered a topic on "Starting an investigative report - techniques," cited threats such as imprisonment and death as the hazards that are likely to be encountered by one's bid to unearth the ills in society.

Like the coal-miner, he said, investigative reporters should not be perturbed when faced with obstacles.

The seminar, jointly organised by Social Alert of West Africa and Media Foundation of West Africa and funded by Ford Foundation of the United States of America, saw 20 participants drawn from 13 West African States taking part.

The former Ghanaian investigative journalist of the year said due to how remuneration is paid to media practitioners, specialisation becomes a non-starter as 'professionals' shy away from the noble job.

He suggested the involvement of businessmen in the running of media houses so that journalists could be well-taken care of and avert the numerous temptations that befall reporters when pursuing stories, especially those linking the affluent in society.

The President of Social Alert of West Africa, Mr. Mathieu Bile Bouah, called on governments in Africa who claim to be practising democracy and yet have stifled the press to turn a new leaf.

Mr. Bouah made particular references to Togo, where a number of newspapers were seized by the Eyadema government at the beginning of this month.

The External Relations Officer of Media Foundation of West Africa, Mrs Jannette Quarcoopome, asked investigative journalists to form a network to disseminate information on the abuse of economic, social and cultural (ECOSOC) rights of people.

According to her, as watchdogs in society, investigative reporters should limit their findings to only lo consumption but cut across borde moreso in the sub-region where crir committed fall in the same groupings.

Participants at the end of the semi identified Niger, Benin, Gabon Mauritania as conduit for child traffick and called for stiffer punitive measu against people caught in the traffickin

About 99.9% of journalists Mauritania do not receive salari according to a presentation by country's representative at the semin

This has given way to the non-existe of press freedom even though the ECO rights, especially slavery, is going on in Gulf Region after several centuries o abolition worldwide.

Liberia and Sierra Leone came u focus during discussions, moreso wh was reported that in the past ten years journalists lost their lives in Sierra L alone, making it a rough ground for m men.

Participants appealed to organise such seminars to make conscious effo inviting Niger, which was absent a Cotonou ECOSEC Rights training.

Child labour, soldiering and traffic have been considered to be on ascendancy and that investiga journalists were urged to break that 'go chain.'

Countries represented are Ch Benin, Togo, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Li Burkina Faso, Guinea, Gambia, Sen Mali, Ivory Coast and Mauritania.

Investigations undertaken by paper indicate that free movemer citizens of ECOWAS countries, espec between Aflao and Conji in Benin, le on paper.

At the Aflao border, citizens o sub-region without travelling docum pay ¢2,000.00 to officials, enter Togo dole out 500CFA and "there you go

The same amount is demanded Togo/Benin common borders at Sem Conji, whereas holders of trave documents are rather subjecte frustrations, all in a bid to extort m

# 30% pay rise for workers

THE NATIONAL tripartite Committee has agreed on ¢7,150 as new daily wage.

This represents a 30% rise in the current minimum wage of ¢5,500. A communiqué released by the three representatives on the committee yesterday added that the effective date of the increment is May 1.

In another development, the government has appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate circumstances surrounding the recent violent events in Yendi which resulted in the loss of lives and property and the assassination of the Dagbonland overlord, the Ya-Na Yakubu Andani. The commission has one month to report to the President.

# Obed, Rawlings face-to-face today

Cont'd from front page

discuss on Saturday," the source, himself a leading member of the NDC, said, but was quick to add that in-as-much as the leadership will not discuss the chairmanship issue at today's meeting with the ex-President, Dr. Asamoah would be prevailed upon to rescind his decision not to contest for the slot if congress goes ahead to support the stance of co-chairmen as he threatened at a recent press conference.

Chronicle gathered from pieces of information gleaned at the NDC head office yesterday that the call on Dr. Asamoah to go ahead and contest the position of national chairman, even if congress votes against his option for a single chairman, will be in the interest of the party since it is feared that a last minute withdrawal by the former Attorney General could spell doom for the party as his supporters could be advised accordingly. A split in the style of the Goosie Tanoh-led Reform Party is feared, this reporter can declare.

As a prelude to today's meeting with ex-President Rawlings, Dr. Obed Asamoah yesterday chaired a marathon meeting with members of the Re-organisation Committee at the party's head office in Accra.

Sources close to the meeting revealed that a surprise item on the agenda was the effort so far made to get the Reform members back into their fold and how to re-package the NDC at the congress.

Chronicle gathered that the meeting, which started in the morning, saw the congress as a break-or-make for the NDC since it has the potential to strongly unite the rank and file of the party or worsen its plight by dividing it gravely.

Alhaji Huudu Yahaya, General Secretary of the NDC, was not at the headquarters as at 12:30pm and insiders attributed it to his being too busy at the Trade Fair Site at La, the venue for the congress.

Scores of supporters were seen either chatting or busily walking up and down the NDC head office in anticipation of the congress. Songs as usual are part of NDC congresses and foot soldiers were happily singing praises to the party leadership especially Jerry Rawlings—not bothering themselves with internal disagreements over certain aspects of the constitution.

The NPP thinks the NDC will collapse because of the alleged J.J. and Obed disagreement but ... we shall meet our father Rawlings at his house tomorrow," a party faithful said, drunk with joy.

The regional organizing committee members, including Jerry Akwei Thompson, a former DCE, were also there to put finishing touches to congress arrangements.

# Who leads NDC to war?

Cont'd from front page

than either of his opponents, it is not clear whom he would be working for if he wins. Those who know him confirmed that he had long been nursing the ambition of ascending to the Castle throne.

The possibility of Mr. Achesampong working for a presidential candidate from the Rawlings camp, the Obed's or a 'neutral' person like him can, however, not be ruled out.

Some analysts stress that as the NDC accepts the use of the ballot box to elect its national officers, and as factionalism becomes pronounced in the party, certain trends that have persisted in the rival New Patriotic Party (NPP) will be introduced in the NDC. In the NPP, the chairman, general secretary and other executives can route information through their regional executives to influence the choice of the presidential candidate. And the presidential candidate, once elected, can influence the choice of executives of subsequent congresses.

Who leads the NDC to war then will largely depend on the outcome of the elections at the congress tomorrow.

## CORRECTIONS

1. The high profile delegation which the surprise visit to the Liberian domin refugee camp included representative the Acting Minister of Interior and Inspector General of Police.

Both men were not present in pers was inadvertently carried. But they represented.

...Also in the Tuesday April 23 ed Ms Sherry Ayittey was portrayed woman "who had the former Chief of De Staff under her thumb."

What we meant was that Mr. Casely Hayford of Checkmate Indu had the former CDS under his thumb

We regret the errors.

EDITOR

*Help the police to protect you*

THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE, PRIVATE MAIL BAG, ACCRA-NORTH. TEL: 232713/227789 FAX: 232608 E-mail: Chronicle@africaonline.com.gh Website: www.ghanaian-chronicle.com U.K. OFFICE, 10 CRUSOE RD. MITCHAM, SURREY
AG. EDITOR A.C. OHENE Publishers: General Portfolio Ltd, Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper, ISSN No. 0855-1677, Kumasi Office: OTB Pit 10, BK 12, Adum (CDC) Building, P.O. Box 4778, Kumasi Tel: (051) 22372/024-374088
Tel: (042) - 33287 Takoradi Office: Room 139, Third Floor, Arvo Hotel, Tel: 031 - 21602, Koforidua Office: 081-22131 Ho Office Tel: 091-26051, Tema Office: Tel 022-212206 Sunyani Office: Tel: 061-24158/024-696025

Chronicle on Saturday

Vol. 1 No. 53 The Objective Truth, Accra, SAT. DECEMBER 7, 2002. ¢1,500

# The media is not being fair to the NDC — Dr. Josiah Aryeh

*By Bismark Bebli*

THE GENERAL SECRETARY of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), Dr. Josiah Nii Aryeh has accused the media, especially the independent, private papers of working to destroy and tarnish the image of the main opposition party, the NDC, criticizing it of not being fair to the party with regards to media coverage.

According to the vocal secretary of the NDC "the time has come for the people to speak with the voice of reason regarding the operations of the partisan media and their determination to reduce complex political issues to absurdly simple terms and introduce elements of insults calumny and vituperative language into the political vocabulary". Dr. Josiah Aryeh was speaking to the Chronicle on Saturday in an exclusive interview at his residence in Accra.

Dr. Aryeh stated that it appears to him that the purpose of the cross- section of the Ghanaian media is to demotivate and intimidate most of the NDC activists to prevent them from fearlessly advocating their beliefs and espousing the philosophies and doctrines of the party.

Taking a swipe at the Media Commission, he criticized it and other agencies for not being up and doing to check the imbalances created by the media. This, he said, amounted to the

*Cont'd on back page*

*Gifty Afenyi Dadzie, GJA Boss*

## Jake talks with La NPP

*By Daniel Hammond*

THE MINISTER of Information and Greater Accra Regional Chairman of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Honourable Jake Obetsebi Lamptey has called on the newly elected executive members of the NPP La Dadekotopon Constituency to put behind them whatever differences they have or might have created during the campaign towards the constituency congress and forge ahead in peace and unity in their quest to invigorate the NPP in the constituency.

The incumbent chairman of the NPP in the Greater Accra Region made this appeal during a meeting he hosted to congratulate the new executives at his Cantonments residence on Thursday, 5th December 2002.

The meeting that also had the NPP Member of Parliament for the Dadekotopon constituency, Hon. Godfried Ako-Nai in attendance was the first official gathering of the constituency executives since their election to lead party at the constituency level last Sunday, 1st December 2002.

Hon. Jake Obetsebi Lamptey said that the Greater Accra Regional secretariat of the NPP is aware of the deep cracks and factionalism within the constituency, but hoped with the

*To back page*

# MILLS MUST THROW IN THE TOWEL NOW! — Obed loyalist

*By Bismark Bebli*

A NATIONAL Democratic Congress (NDC) grassroots cadre and Obed loyalist, Capt. Felix Nii Okai, has called on Professor Evans Atta Mills to quickly throw in the towel to avoid being disgraced in the forthcoming NDC congress to be held on December 21 to elect a flagbearer for the party for the 2004 elections. The reason, according to him is that Mills would end up further dividing the party than he did in the aftermath of the Swedru Declaration.

*Prof. Atta Mills*

*Dr. Kwesi Botchwey*

Speaking to the Chronicle on Saturday in an exclusive interview, Capt Okai said Kwesi Botchwey is a God-sent candidate, not only to redeem the NDC from the shackles of the dictatorship imposed on the party by ex-President Jerry John Rawlings, but also a magnet to attract back the Reformers whose message was ignored to the hurt of the party in the 2000 elections, hinting that groups like the Sankofa, the Kidders and the elements from the Convention People's Party (CPP) have found comfort in the Botchwey candidature.

He revealed that, under the leadership of Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, the NDC would be sent to the "dry cleaners" for a double dose of positive change, repeating claims by the anti-Mills camp that if Prof. Atta Mills won the flagbearer contest "he would be remotely controlled by the ex-President who, he (Atta Mills) has promised to stick to and consult on a daily basis".

"I am very sure that those who abandoned Prof. Atta-Mills because he was smuggled into the party undemocratically by his cornerman and consultant, Mr. Jerry Rawlings, would return to the party under the democratic rule of law by the vibrant Dr. Botchwey."

Explaining, Capt. Okai said, with all the logistics behind Prof. Atta-Mills, he was miserably beaten by President John Agyekum Kufuor on two title fights. He urged all the delegates to vote wisely to confirm Gods vision for the party.

According to Capt. Okai, Prof. Atta-Mills team has no vision, because they are immature and political babies and hence Atta-Mills's incompetent supervision of the mess caused to the economy under the NDC administration, resulting in some of its leading members being dragged to the Fast Track Courts.

Speaking on Mils recent comments on the IFC loan to the effect that Osafo Maafo and his boys must resign, Capt. Okai retorted that Mills has no right to throw stones when he himself had been living in a glass house under the Rawlings administration.

Cap Okai accused Prof. Mills of being inefficient, especially in the case of the acquisition of the controversial jet.

" The White Elephant jet saga, let loose his Ministers to dee their hands into the national coffers, an generally messing with the economy are thing Mills the christian cannot defend in a sincerity. Their vile propaganda is not workir because even the NPP knows Kwesi Botchwe has no skeletons in his cupboard".

Chronicle on Saturday

SATURDAY, December 7, 2002

# "I never gave Sherry any gift"

*By Ivy Benson*

THE CAT WAS finally let out of the bag when the star witness, Dr. Albert Banarfo, an engineering consultant finally told the Fast Track Court (FTC) that he never gave the treasurer of the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM), Hanny Sherry Ayittey, any personal gift to influence the divestiture of the Ghana Rubber Estates Limited (GREL).

Giving evidence under cross-examination yesterday at the FTC presided over by Justice Amonoo-Monney, an Appeal Court judge, sitting as an additional High Court judge, Dr. Banarfo said the numerous monies delivered to Sherry Ayittey was in respect of the agreement reached between the 31st DWM and Societe Industrielle Plantation Havea (SIPH), a French company.

The monies, which include $180,000, $120,000, $180,000, $250,000, $20,000, $17,500 and ¢25million delivered to Sherry Ayittey between 1996 and 1998 was to support projects of the 31st DWM.

The agreement, witness noted was to assist in the realization of projects set out by the 31st DWM, even though he was not aware of any specific project allocated to SIPH for funding by the movement.

The support of the movement according to Banarfo was one of the three conditions given to SIPH in the divestiture of GREL.

Responding to questions from Mr. David O. Lamptey, counsel for Sherry Ayittey in respect of air ticket he bought for two children of Georgina Okaintey, a member of the 31st DWM to London, witness flatly denied it adding that he bought air tickets for Georgina Okaintey and other members of the 31 DWM to London and Paris.

The other accused persons include, Emmanuel Amuzu Agbodo, former Executive Secretary of the Divestiture Implementation Committee (DIC), Ralph Casely-Hayford, a businessman and Dorcas Satirich Ocran, a businesswoman.

They were accused of acts of corruption in the divestiture of GREL in favour of SIPH. They however, pleaded not guilty to causing financial loss to the state and are on self-recognisance bail.

Meanwhile, counsel for Sherry Ayittey had completed his cross-examination giving way for Mr. Senanu, counsel for Emmanuel Agbodo to commence his cross-examination on the next adjourned date slated for December 10, this year.

*Sherry Ayittey*

# ..media not being fair

*From front page*

jittery performance of the NMC, Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) and other bodies mandated to work towards and maintain an encouraging standard in the practice of journalism in the country.

Dr. Arych accused the NMC for failing to immediately react to provocative and unfounded publications that only diminish the credibility and integrity of the GJA and the NMC as responsible institutions.

"A serious press is the one which adheres to balance and objectivity of reportage," he explained.

The General Secretary further claimed that there are elements in the Ghanaian press bent on just ensuring that the NDC and only the NDC is destroyed under the power and influence of their pens.

"This issue is of serious concern to us in the NDC and we hope the press would address it in the name of fairness and equity."

Continuing, Dr. Arych urged the Ethics Committee of GJA to be proactive in their handling of the very blatant cases of libelous and insulting publications to avoid further destruction of well meaning politicians in the NDC.

"The Ethics Committee should be up and doing and be very active in the interest of decent journalism," he stated in apparent reaction to the Statesman's publication on Tuesday, 3rd December, in which the former Veep was likened to a poodle.

Dr. Arych argued that the word poodle has no place in a political dialogue, adding that he gets the impression that the publishers of such stories have problems with Prof. Attah-Mills' rights to free speech.

"There has been a major financial fiasco in this country, and they feel uncomfortable with the free comments he passed".

He said, it is unethical at the moment to attack any individual who has a democratic right to pass appropriate comments on matters of national concern such as the controversial IFC saga.

Giving more reasons why he believes the NMC is not performing, he cited instances where he himself as an individual had tried to get redress from the corridors of the NMC without much hope. According to him, several papers, including the Free Press had published false, malicious and vicious propaganda against him to bring his image into disrepute. This he had communicated to the NMC with facts to prove his case, but has heard nothing from the NMC since.

# SPORTS

# Kotoko must not fail

*By Ransford Ocansey*

AS THE HOURS and minutes slip by, the count down to tomorrow's titanic clash, the grand finale of the CAF cup winners cup between Kumasi Asante Kotoko and Wydad Athletic Club (WAC) of Morocco in Kumasi draws nearer and nearer, with kickoff slated for 2 PM (GMT).

From all indications it is certainly a do or die affair, although kotoko lost the first leg by a lone goal in Casablanca, the clubs supporters, players and management are all very optimistic and confident of victory on Sunday, however some concerned fans of Kotoko that Chronicle on Saturday spoke to said WAC are good performers in away encounters so the boys in red should not be complacent because any blunders in defense will be utilized by the visitors against them. Previous reports that the Moroccans were said to be acclimatizing in Burkina Faso have turned out to be untrue, they are still in Morocco and are expected to arrive in the country last Thursday before proceeding to Kumasi. Meanwhile reports reaching us indicate that the Kotoko players are feverishly preparing for the encounter and are polishing up their act in a private training camp. According to a private FM station monitored in Kumasi, Mr. Hebert Mensah, Chief Executive of the club said the players are in camping to enable the coach Ralf Zumdick and the technical team have full access to the players as well as build maximum concentration for the match The atmosphere in the country in general, and the city of Kumasi in particular is already charged with fans from rival clubs all rallying behind Kotoko; to the majority of Ghanaians, who have seen a number of Ghanaian teams and clubs falling at the hands of North African Countries, this is not just a club affair, it is an international match between two countries. In a goodwill message to the playing body, the former Vice Chief Executive of the club, Mr. Kennedy Agyepong, buttressed this point by reminding them that, they are the sole representatives of the country in CAFs continental competitions this year, so they have an obligation to themselves and the whole nation to win against WAC and make the whole nation proud.

*Herbert Mensah*

On Sunday, Kumasi Township will be a sea of red and white as fans from all parts of the country flock to the stadium to watch the match, already flags and other paraphnelia of Kotoko are hanging from buildings, kiosks, shops and almost every available space. Much as Chronicle on Saturday appreciates the feelings and emotions of fans who will throng the stadium, there is the possibility that some fans will not be able to watch the match because the stadium will be full to capacity. Chronicle would like to use this opportunity to appeal to fans to exercise maximum restraint and patience so that the whole event is incident free.

Rates for the match are as follows: VIP Annex-¢200,000; Inner Wings-¢150,000; Outer Wings-¢50,000; Centre Line-¢35,000, Popular Stand-¢30,000.

# NPP greets Moslems

THE NEW Patriotic Party (NPP) extends it heart-felt congratulations to the chief Imam, the Ameer and the members of the Moslem community on the occasion of the celebration of the Eid-ll Fitr on Friday, December 6, 2002.

The Party appreciates the enormous contribution which out Moslem brothers and sisters have been making all these years towards the development of the country and hopes that the nation can always continue to count on them for progress and lasting peace in the country

The NPP also wishes them many more returns and also prays that the Moslems use the occasion to promote peace, reconciliation and development of the nation.

To all Moslems the NPP says BARAKA DA SALLAH.

# Jake talks with La NPP

*From front page*

election of an entirely new executive core, the individual leaders would do everything possible to build bridges of trust and goodwill among themselves to enable them work effectively to retain the seat come the 2004 elections.

The honourable Minister of Information said as a member of the constituency he would personally take it upon himself to make sure that the new executive makes an impact in the constituency and create confidence among the electorate.

He asked the new executives to be very transparent in all their activities and also ensure that there is an effective communication mechanism within themselves, the MP and all the cells in the constituency.

The new constituency chairman, Mr. Chris Lartey, thanked the honourable Minister for his timely advice and pledged his commitment together with the MP and the constituency executives to enhance the image of the party in the constituency in its bid to recapture power both at parliamentary and presidential level in the 2004 general elections.

The MP, Hon. Godfried Ako Nai hoped the new executives would not repeat the sad mistakes of the past executives. He promised to put his rich experience in the field at the disposal of the members in support of their endeavours.

Nii Ayitey Boafo, the Greater Accra Regional Secretary, also advised the new executives not to allow debates and deliberations over issues to divide them.

*Jake Obetsebi Lamptey*

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Chronicle on Saturday

EDITORIAL

# THAT'S THE SPIRIT JERRY !

THE NATION saw little sleep when Jerry John Rawlings, former President of the nation and leader of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) gave his Boom I speech at the Arts Centre, Accra during the last December 31st celebrations by some elements in the NDC.

Populist John was again on hand a few months later with his Boom II at a ceremony in Kumasi to inaugurate a women's wing of the NDC. It had all been hell for Jerry since those Boom I and II days as laymen and progressional people searched the law books to find an excuse for hanging Poor John.

But the riposte and "harrassment" did nor come only from government. Soon, it also surged from his own boys as the pressure on him to take a back seat and play the role of a father and statesman gained momentum.

It has been nearly half a year now since that Boom fever, with little having been heard of our former President in terms of any further Booms.

Who says our Old Man is not learning or listening? The ex-President was advised not to go to Kumawu for the by elections. He listened . He has been advised not to meddle in Atta Mills' campaign. He has faithfully listened to that advice which is good and commendable- in fact, so commendable some of us are beginning to miss him.

For those who think everything is wrong with Jerry, there is the need for them to look back into his early years as Head of State. If Jerry had chosen not to listen or did not appear to be listening in times past, isn't it possible certain elements might have gotten in his way for sectional and selfish reasons and, in the process, prevented him from doing what he used to do very well as a 'man of the people'.

It could even be said to his credit that, in spite of the torrential attacks on his person in the latter days of his rule as Head of state he bore his cross pretty patiently(?), especially looked at against the fact that no sitting Head of State has ever been bashed the way Jerry have.

The Chronicle on Saturday commends Jerry Rawlings for beginning to adjust to the changing times and warming up to enjoy his new role as Statesman and Father of the nation as well as the NDC. It is our wish that all of us begin to see wisdom in according our ex- President all the graces and reverence befitting a true Statesman and, go beyond that, in even inviting him to mediate in the Cote d'Ivoire impasse.

We have seen Jerry do something positive about such a situation before, during Sergeant Samuel Doe's era; and there is every indication that the guy can exhibit a few of those qualities that saw him contribute to the decisive levelling of the political playing-field in Liberia in the days when the military warlords took the nation for a ride.

We are all growing up politically as a nation, and we ought to help ourselves adjust and move on together in the interest of the nation and for the sake of our children and children's children.

PARENTING

# Baby buddies

***Infants are born with an instinct to reach out —first to you,. then to others. Here's how you can build on this desire***

BABIES DON'T need what we would define as "friends" – that is, pals of approximately the same age who hang out together because they share common interests. What they do need is playful interaction with grown-ups who love them.

"A baby's first best friend is his mother, says Andrew Meltzoff, Ph.D., head of developmental psychology at the University of Washington, Seattle, and coauthor of The Scientist in the Crib.

Since the infant spends much of his time with you, he learns how to behave by watching your movements, listening to your conversations, and most important, mimicking your behaviour.

"Babies are always hungry for interaction," says Meltzoff. "They're natural communicators." So when you stick out your tongue, your newborn will probably stick out his. At around 6 weeks he can smile back, and by 4 to 6 months, he can imitate funny faces or make raspberry noises after listening to yours.

These early interactions help lay the groundwork for future friendships. "Imitation is a primal form of communication, and babies are using it for social purposes," says Hillary Kruger, M.D., codirector of behavioural and developmental pediatrics at Maimonides Medical Center, in Brooklyn.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Imitate your baby's moves.For most parents, this is practically second nature. When your little one gives a series of fake coughs, you cough back; when she raps on her high-chair tray, your rap back.

"This is the most powerful way of breaking through to an infant," says Meltzoff. "You're essentially saying, 'I'm watching you. I'm paying attention to you.'" Copycatting bolsters her confidence and reinforces her social behaviour in the most positive and loving way possible.

Talk back "When your baby makes a sound and you repeat it, it's like a conversational turn-taking," says Kruger. In this way, babies start to learn that communicating with others (whether verbally or not) is a two-way street-a lesson that will help them later as they socialize with peers.

Start a special routine. When Jordan Allison, now 3, was a baby, she lived with her mother and grandmother in rural Minnesota. "We rarely saw other people," says her mom, Karen. "My mom and I were Jordan's sole playmates."

But that was enough for Jordan, who learned to play special games with each of them. When her mother would return from work, she and Jordan would blow raspberries back and forth.

When her grandmother would come home, she'd greet Jordan with a holler and Jordan would holler back. Then, they'd stick out their tongues at each other.

Funny as they may seem, these types of routines are a parent's way of checking in with her baby. And vice versa. "Babies don't have the language skills to say, 'Do you want to play now'?'" says Meltzoff.

So instead, they remember a funny face a parent often makes –and try to imitate it in order to get Mom or Dad to play.

And, say experts, it's a good bet that an infant who's used to taking turns and playing games with as parent will come to understand that this is the best way to interact with others.

BRANCHING OUT

Before her first birthday, your little one will begin to notice other children, whether at the playground, at daycare, or even at the grocery store. Observing other kids will give her the opportunity to learn–not only about people, but about the world around her.

***Before her first birthday, your little one will begin to notice other children, whether at the playground, at daycare, or even at the grocery store. Observing other kids will give her the opportunity to learn–not only about people, but about the world around her.***

Some babies are even capable of "falling in love" with another baby, says John Gottman, Ph.D., author of Raising an Emotionally Intelligent Child.

Gottman and his students at the University of Washington, Seattle, have gathered anecdotal reports from parents that their babies, some of them as young as 10 months, form a very specific attachment–so specific that another child simply just won't do

"The two sets of parents would figure out that their children were sad because they hadn't gotten together," says Gottman. "And when their kids would finally reunite, they'd be really happy and play."

Nicole Sullo, of Milford, Massachusetts, noticed this with her son, Antonio, now 18 months old: "In the morning they'd run to one another, say hello, then play together."

Three months ago, when Antonio was still in the infant room, they'd meet at the glass door that kept him separate from the other two, now in the toddler room. "They really seemed to miss each other so much," she sys.

In fact, Sullo's daycare center has actually created a "transition" room, so as not to interrupt kids who have formed this kind of special bond.

While playgroups and daycare centers give babies lots of opportunities for budding friendships, providing your child with the change to interact can be as simple as putting her next to another toddler in the sandbox.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Get kids into the social whirl.When Meltzoff studied groups of 14 to 18 month-olds, he found that they copied each other's behaviour-playing with toys in the exact same way, for instance." Babies are watching their peers carefully enough to be influenced by them," says Meltzoff. "When a baby sees what other kids do on the playground, that stuff is percolating in his mind days later."

By imituting what others do, a baby gradually learns how similar he is to other people. That discovery –that there are others out there just like him-helps a child develop empathy, Meltzoff speculates. Sooner or later, he'll realize that other kids not only act like him, but have the same feelings, too.

In fact, research even indicates that babies who interact frequently with others –whether siblings or playmates –are better able to empathize with other children by the time they are 3 or 4.

Know your child. Some

*To page 4*

DAILY GRAPHIC

JAN. — DEC. 2001

[redacted]

Graphic

MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 2001 NO. 148109 PRICE: ¢1000

# NEW ERA DAWNS

## 'We'll prosecute human-centred programmes'

By Kweku Tsen

PRESIDENT John Agyekum Kufuor stated yesterday that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government will, during the next four years, prosecute human-centred programmes and policies to meet the rising expectations of the vast majority of the

• Continued on P.3

## Scenes from inauguration of President Kufuor

Turn to Pages 12 & 13

• Chief Justice I. K. Aikan (left) administering the oath of office to President John Agyekum Kufuor at the forecourt of Parliament House in Accra yesterday.

# As President Kufuor steps into office

By Joe Bradford Nyinah & Joe Okyere

MR John Agyekum Kufuor, 63, was yesterday sworn-in as the second President of the Fourth Republic at a colourful ceremony at the forecourt of Parliament House in Accra.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice I. K. Aikan, administered the Presidential and Vice Presidential Oaths to Mr Kufuor and his Vice, Alhaji Alin Mahama respectively before a large audience which included Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Abdulai Wade of Senegal and Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso.

Also present was the South African Vice President, Jacob Zumah, as well as high powered representatives from Cote d' Ivoire the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Canada.

The forecourt of the State House was packed as early as 7.00 a.m., with the enthusiastic crowd waiting for the relocation of Parliament to the spot for the ceremony.

The new Parliament was in session at the Chamber of the House for its inauguration and the election of the Speaker and his two Deputies.

When the House finally relocated to the forecourt, around 9.15 am, protocol and

• Continued on P. 3

Daily Graphic Monday Jan. 8 2001 Page 3

# Brace up for task ahead — Obasanjo

By Kweku Tsen

THE Nigerian President, General Olusegun Obasanjo, has called on Ghanaians to brace themselves up for the task and challenges ahead of the nation, since changes in their living standards will not come overnight.

He said conditions and circumstances that would facilitate change in the economy and ensure the material prosperity of the people have to be nurtured over a number of years.

General Obasanjo, who was the special guest of honour at the inauguration of His Excellency Kufuor as the President of Ghana, declared at the Independence Square in Accra yesterday that "change requires sacrifices".

The Nigerian President said the task in nation-building, under the new administration of Mr Kufuor, should be collective since Mr Kufuor's government alone cannot shoulder the responsibility of reconstructing the economy.

General Obasanjo, therefore, called on the new government to intensify the inculcation of the values of patriotism among the broad masses of the people to ensure that it receives considerable backing and support in the execution of its programmes to breath life into the economy.

"All hands should be on deck to develop the country," he said.

He commended the people of Ghana for the peaceful elections and transfer of political power from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

General Obasanjo said the people of Nigeria rejoice with Ghanaians in the peaceful change of government, in the country and remarks that this development indicates that democracy is coming of age in Ghana.

The Nigerian President also congratulated Mr Kufuor on his election as the country's new President and said the mandate and confidence that the electorate has entrusted in him should be reciprocated by his efforts to satisfy their interests and aspirations.

He traced the relations between Nigeria and Ghana from pre-colonial days to the colonial days through to the era of Dr Kwame Nkrumah to the present dispensation and remarked that such relations would be further cemented under the present government of Mr Kufuor.

General Obasanjo expressed the desire that Mr Kufuor will be willing and prepared to support peace initiatives in the West African sub-region.

## New era dawns

Continued from p. 1

security personnel found it difficult controlling the crowd, especially the numerous cameramen who were covering the event.

People who had not even been invited began to take the seats of Members of the Diplomatic Corps and Members of Parliament.

The task of the security personnel was made more difficult when some people began to use force and sometimes to get the "unauthorised" occupants of the seat to vacate them for their owners thereby pushing the ceremony almost an hour behind schedule.

The former Vice President, Professor J.E. Atta Mills was the first among the dignitaries to arrive at the grounds.

He was followed by Wade, Eyadema, Compaore and Obasanjo.

The former President, Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, was the next to arrive to a loud applause from the crowd as he moved round to exchange greetings with the chiefs and people present.

As he moved towards the dais, there were shouts of "no-bo-nsee-bo", which he responded by raising his thumb to show the composure to and the unity of the NPP.

The climax of the event came when Mr Kufuor and his wife, Theresa arrived. They also went round to exchange greetings with the chiefs and other guests present and responded to cheers from the crowd.

As he mounted the dais, the national anthem was played, after which the Speaker of the new Parliament, Mr Peter Ala Adjetey, called the House to order for the resumption of proceedings.

President Kufuor was then sworn in and handed the State Sword, the symbol of his office. This was followed by administering the oath by the Chief Justice to Vice President Mahama.

The Speaker, who acknowledged the presence of the former President, Flt Lt Rawlings, on behalf of the House congratulated President Kufuor and his Vice and extended a special hand of welcome to them in the spirit of national interest and expressed the hope that such spirit will be maintained.

When the Speaker adjourned Parliament to signify the end of the short but impressive ceremony, the air was exploded in excitement as the people shouted NPP slogans and vehicles sounded their horns.

The new President was then driven in a State Mercedes car with the crowd roaring its first and followed by presidential aides in details.

The celebrations spilled over into the streets, and the route to the Independence Square, where the President was due to address a durbar was jammed.

# Human-centred programmes

Continued from p. 1

people.

He said the government has identified the genuine problems of the society and will strive to address and cushion the social demands of the people and the economic requirements of the manufacturing and industrial sector.

President Kufuor said the drive to [illegible] economic reconstruction and development [illegible] shall not be at the expense of the environment [illegible] and [illegible] citizens.

President Kufuor, however, acknowledged the grave challenges with the present economic circumstances in the country and remarked that such challenges are likely to put a severe strain on the people's believe in and enthusiasm for the democratic process and its attendant slow and arduous methods.

"We shall cut our coat according to the size of our cloth and utilize whatever help we get in the most appropriate manner," he said.

President Kufuor said the priority of his administration is to prosecute time-tested policies to reverse the stagnant economy and put it on a sound footing for the well being of the people.

"Our pride will be even more justified when we have to put our economy on a sound footing and work should start on that tomorrow," President Kufuor said.

He called for constructive international assistance in order for his government to build a viable and sustainable social base to address the mounting problem of poverty, squalor, illiteracy and disease.

"We need the co-operation and support and [illegible] our own foreign friends and urge them to [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] that are being made for the relief of debts. This will enable us to build our economy," President Kufuor said.

According to him the country currently spends a fourth of revenue generated annually to service foreign debts and stressed that such burden on the economy drastically dampens and stifles the drive and initiative of the people who [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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Daily Graphic

EDITORIAL

## CONGRATULATIONS, MR PRESIDENT

*YESTERDAY, January 7, 2001, marked one of the most historic and memorable occasions in the history of Ghana.*

*First and foremost, the Second Parliament of the Fourth Republic which had travelled through its four-year tenure, was duly dissolved on Saturday, January 6, 2001.*

*In its place, the members of the Third Parliament of the Fourth Republic were sworn in by the new Speaker, Mr Peter Ala Adjetey, who had earlier on been elected by consensus of the House. The First and Second Deputy Speakers of the House, in the persons of Messrs Freddie Blay and Kenneth Dzirasah respectively, were also elected.*

*Shortly afterwards, at the forecourt of Parliament House, where members of Parliament reassembled, the President-elect, Mr J. A. Kufuor, was formally sworn in as the second President of the Fourth Republic by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice I. K. Abban. The Vice-President-elect, Alhaji Aliu Mahama was also sworn in as Vice-President to complete the executive ticket.*

*There certainly cannot be any doubt cast on the historic nature of these developments on the democratic landscape. At the very outset when constitutional rule was being restored on January 7, 1993, with the inauguration of President Rawlings as the first President of the Fourth Republic, a good number of people, using the past as a yardstick, were doubtful of the chances of the nation making it through to the next elections and even beyond.*

*But today, thanks to the blessing of God the Father Almighty or Allah and to the immense sacrifices, commitment and dedication of the people to democracy and the rule of law, we have lived to see a constitutionally-elected government three times. Again, for the first time in our history, we have used the ballot box to peacefully and in a free, fair and transparent fashion, change a government.*

*It is also worth recalling the mature manner in which our political leaders accepted the outcome of the polls and worked together to institute transition teams whose efforts have helped considerably in the success that Ghanaians as a people are relishing today.*

*The GRAPHIC joins other Ghanaians in congratulating Mr Kufuor on his assumption of the leadership of the nation, as well as the members of Parliament for their new roles in the country's legislative body.*

*We are particularly elated that this is the dawn of a new era which opens up greater opportunities for enhancing the unity and integration of the people further and thereby deepening our steadily advancing democratic order and creating and sustaining conditions that would guarantee a better life for the people.*

*We sincerely welcome, in this regard, the pledge of President Kufuor to act as a true father to all Ghanaians to strip all actions of his administration of any traces of negative discrimination and vindictiveness and to mobilise and put to the task of national reconstruction, the collective knowledge, talents, expertise and energies of all Ghanaians.*

*We are hopeful that these and other pledges would materialise and help move the nation forward.*

*But in view of the economic and social problems that still confront us, and which the new administration has to tackle in earnest in order to meet the high expectations of the people, we can only urge that the new found bi-partisan spirit, which espouses consensus building, should be allowed to guide the actions of our leaders in the taking and implementation of decisions.*

*As the new President himself observed, no one party by itself can solve the current problem confronting the nation, hence the situation calls for closer consultation and co-operation in all sectors of the body-politic to help realise the aspirations of the country.*

*The GRAPHIC finally congratulates Ghanaians for the commitments and sacrifices made to bring the nation this far.*

*The historic developments in our national life within the last 24 hours are a clear demonstration that we the people of Ghana have again taken the mantle of leadership in Africa to point the way forward to our brothers and sisters on the continent that Africans, as our first leader Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah pointed out, are mature and capable of managing their own affairs and that we also have important success stories to tell and positive legacies to bequeath to our children and generations to come.*

*Mr President and all Members of Parliament, welcome.*

# The face of accountability (I)

By Kobla Nukpui

WE are a country without standards. Under normal circumstances, I would have been the first to take up arms against any such sweeping generalisation which attempts to categorise my beloved country negatively.

However, in this particular instance, I am inclined to agree with such a generalisation because I have tested it against various aspects of our society and I'm afraid, for once, this is a generalisation which quite accurately describes the condition of our country today, even for me, a rapturous optimist.

It is this lack of standards which explains the lack of accountability in the Ghanaian society. Indeed, no accountability can exist without standards by which actions and behaviour can be measured. In the absence of any such standards, opinions and judgement regarding a particular issue will be as varied as there are people. This does not augur well for the sustainable building of a cohesive, united, organised and efficient nation or state, since a standard-less society is a chaotic society.

Do you doubt that there are no standards in the country? Then let me take you on a short trip through the microcosm of society.

Three students complete the university together. The first one gets a First Class and for his reward, he is retained by the university as a Teaching Assistant. He earns ¢450,000 a month and has to perch with a final year student in his room which already has six other students - three officially recruited residents and three more perchers. The second student gets a Second Class (Upper Division) and passes the Civil Service Examination which gets him an appointment with the Ministry of Information where he takes home ¢600,000 a month.

He sleeps in his uncle's garage and takes tro-tro to work. The third student gets a sorrowful Third Class, but he happens to be the son of the friend of the Deputy Governor. He, therefore, lands a job in a first class bank where he receives ¢3,000,000.00 a month, plus the equivalent of US$300 for rent allowance (yes, I mean US dollars). Standards? Sure. Unequal standards. What society can thrive on such warped standards?

Two people went to the same university. One completes in 1979 and joins a financial institution. He is made an Officer Grade 2. Five years later, he is promoted to Officer Grade 1. The second person completes in 1983, and travels abroad to dodge the harsh economic climate, and, in-between toilet cleaning and dishwashing, he attempts to do a course of dubious credibility in an equally dubious college, with an even more dubious name - Diploma in Advanced Technological Metamorphosis.

After a two-year sojourn abroad, where he is more often in toilets and kitchens than the classroom, his father introduces him to the boss of the financial institution where the first person works. He is therefore recruited from abroad, his things are shipped home he [illegible] resettlement allowance and he is made a Deputy Manager, two grades above his senior who had completed in 1979 and who had braved the economic brutalities to contribute his quota to the economy. Standards? Sure. Bogus and fraudulent standards.

Two people are employed in the same establishment as managers. One is given a responsibility that demands that he works a virtual 12-hour day and a schedule that carries with it serious risks. The second person is placed in a department where his entire responsibility is to sign three entries every day, a task that takes exactly 20 minutes.

The two persons earn the same salary. The one who works twenty minutes a day gets to travel abroad for a course (after all he won't be missed) whilst the other one who works the 12-hour day remains in Ghana (he is too busy to leave his job). The course that the 20 minute guy does earns him promotion ahead of the 12-hour guy who is too busy to go for course. Standards? Certainly. Standards from the planet Jupiter.

Two people work in the same institution together. One person, who happens to be the school-mate of the boss, causes the institution to lose ¢500 million under what can only be described as gross criminal negligence because the loss can be traced directly to his acts and omissions. Nothing happens to him, as the act is covered up by the boss of the institution.

Indeed, the person gets promotion twice in three years. The other person who happens to be the first person's subordinate, clearly by the evidence, acted honestly on the basis of information provided by his subordinates. However, this action resulted in the loss of ¢300 million. This person is dismissed from his employment and arraigned before court. Standards? Sure. Immoral standards.

Two people head the same institution. One of them who ran the place efficiently for nearly 10 years is suddenly thrown out because the economic indicators, which his responsibility impacts, begin to show unhealthy signals. His subordinate, whom he groomed, is put in his place and for a while things seem to be running like a dream. Then a year or two later, everything collapses and the credibility of the institution is called into question.

The economic indicators this time do not only show unhealthy signals, they are unhealthy and cause immense disaffection and unpopularity for the government in power. However, this person does not lose his job because he is well connected, though it is clear to everyone that if anyone has failed in delivering, this person has. He resorts to making alibis for the problems whereas he did not make any alibis for the success. Standards? Sure. Perverted standards, certainly.

I can cite numerous other scenarios of inconsistent standards in road construction [illegible] political appointments, admin[illegible] corruption and appointments and dismissals.

Is this fact or is it fiction? I leave this to your judgement and your own personal experiences. But the fact that some of you can recognise and even relate to most or all of them indicates how true to life they really are. Indeed things happen in real life that are stranger by far than the fictional accounts spelled out here.

So I hope you and I can agree with the generalisation which, for once, seems to fit the behaviour pattern of Ghanaians.

As a Ghanaian who loves his country very much, I feel it incumbent on me to air my views on the subject of accountability. This is a word that has been used in many contexts and for various motivations and so I run the risk of being classified as another jargon-thrower. But I guess what I have to say, even if it is heard by one person, is worth the risk of name-calling.

As a professional accountant, the word accountability has very special connotations for me because it encapsulates all that my profession is about.

The Cambridge International Dictionary of English defines accountability as follows: "Someone who is accountable is completely responsible for what they do and must be able to give a satisfactory reason for it.... Politicians should be accountable to the public who elected them."

*As a Ghanaian who loves his country very much, I feel it incumbent on me to air my views on the subject of accountability. This is a word that has been used in many contexts and for various motivations and so I run the risk of being classified as another jargon thrower but I guess what I have to say, even if it is heard by one person is worth the risk of name-calling.*

Accountability is the process by which a person who takes on an assignment or a job with clearly defined goals is held responsible for the achievement or lack of achievement of those goals.

Success is wonderful. Where would this world be without success? It is replete with chronicles of successful leaders, businessmen and businesswomen, beauty queens, lawyers, academicians, bankers, politicians, military leaders, farmers, Christians, just to mention a few. But success would have had no impact at all on the lives of individuals and communities if it were not for its twin brother (or its sister? I think I like the sound of sister better. After all, I am a man).

Indeed, that twin sister is very often ignored in the dizzy ecstasy that accompanies the lofty heights of success, very much to the undoing of the successful person. Actually, until success crowns the efforts of individuals, it is often impossible to distinguish between these two blood-related twins.

If success is one side of a coin, then this twin sister is the other side of the coin. This twin sister (my wife has just strongly whispered into my ears that it is definitely a twin brother) is the darkness by which the light of success is recognised. That other twin is failure. Again, the world is also full of failures, people whose dreams never see the light of day; people who are unable to meet their own and also other people's expectations.

All of us were witnesses to the heated political campaigns of the very recent past, and I am amazed at the politics of intolerance which exists in the camp of the incumbent or the [illegible] opposition on the other. As a Ghanaian who is praying for a new Ghana full of love, compassion and understanding, it just struck me like a blow from Thor's hammer that all this acrimony was played out because of the lack of the ACCOUNTABILITY SYNDROME.

I think it is dishonest on the part of the opposition or anyone to say that the incumbent has done nothing during its long rule. The evidence that something has been done is there for all to see.

But I think it is equally dishonest on the part of the incumbent to deny that we are currently in a crisis and that this crisis is partly the result of their mismanagement.

It is equally untrue to state that the fact that they are in power means they are the only ones with experience to run this country. Because incumbency has taken credit for the good things that have happened; the peace we enjoy as an "island in an ocean of trouble", the good roads and the "electrification and waterisation" of every cottage. They did not attribute it to external factors.

Yet surprisingly, they have refused to take responsibility (in accounting lingo, we call it "debit") for the bad things; the amazingly unprecedented depreciation of the cedi, the high interest rates and inflation that some may describe as runaway, the rampant corruption, the fall in the standard of education, the decrease in discipline in many areas of society. It is clear, therefore, that accountability, which is a double-entry phenomenon, has taken backstage and the purpose for which the revolution of yesteryear took place at all has been defeated.

We must not lose sight of the fact that people have lost their lives because of economic and social mess similar to this. Is it possible then that in the case of those who were shot, the problems could have been due to factors beyond their control?...

This article, it is hoped, will awaken in the hearts of all Ghanaians, the need for us as a nation to have a set of principles that we hold dear to our hearts and which will form an objective set of measurement criteria by which we can assess or evaluate people.

As someone interested in teaching others, I have many times deliberated on the issue of examinations, and one of the significant things that emerges from examinations is that success and failure (the twins) are judged by the same standard. You pass when you perform above the standard and you fail when you perform below the standard. There is, blissfully, nothing like "I nearly passed". If the pass mark is 50 per cent then any mark below 50 per cent means you have failed. You may fail badly or very badly. But the depressing word "fail" is associated with both. The standard or yardstick is the same.

I had a friend who wished to join the Police Service. He was told that there was a height requirement. Because he was taller than the rest of us, he was confident he would be accepted. He and a few of my other friends' shorter than him, screening test. Le[illegible] he missed the m[illegible] inch while hi[illegible] it by two

BUT ALI[illegible] WERE REJEC[illegible]

# Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 2001. NO. 148131 PRICE: ¢1000


## Suspected woman armed robber killed by gang

By Mary Mensah

**A WOMAN, believed to be a member of an armed robbery gang, was allegedly shot by one of her colleagues when the going became tough and the gang feared she could be arrested and forced to blow the whistle on them.**

The woman, in her mid twenties, whose name was given as Naa Baby from Bukom, was apparently wounded during a shoot -out between the gang and the Police Striking Force at dawn yesterday.

Naa Baby had gone on the evil expedition with her two men colleagues in a Nissan Sunny saloon car with registration number GT 5857 G.

Luck ran out for them when the police spotted them at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle and gave them a hot chase through Adabraka, the Graphic Road to the Obetsebi Lamptey Circle where the police managed to flatten the tyres of the vehicle.

As the car swerved into a ditch, the robbers evacuated, but not before ensuring that their wounded female accomplice was finished off to prevent her from "singing" to the police.

Police sources said after the men went out of

• Continued on P. 3

## Drama in Parliament

By Kojo Sam & Joe Okyere

**THERE was drama in Parliament House yesterday when the Minority side refused to rise up in accordance with the rules of the House as the Speaker bowed out.**

This followed the persistent demand on the Speaker by the Minority to conduct a head count after they had challenged a ruling which threatened to set both sides of Parliament on a collision course.

As the Minority registered their protest by banging on their tables and shouting, the Speaker, Mr Peter Ala Adjetey, suspended sitting for a while and left the chamber.

The Minority who, by that time, outnumbered the Majority took the Speaker's action as a ploy to buy time.

When the Speaker rose to move out of the chamber, the Minority refused to rise up in accordance with the rules of the House.

The Speaker's departure from the chamber brought more confusion as members started verbal exchanges challenging each others' behaviour.

The bone of contention was the Majority's decision that Ministers who are Members of Parliament should be included on the Select Committees of the House.

In the previous Parliament, Ministers who were members of the House were excluded from such committees because it was felt that as part of the

• Continued on P. 3

• President Kufuor administering the oath of office to the ministers at the State House yesterday. Those in the picture are (from left to right) Nana Akufo Addo, Hackman Owusu-Agyeman, Dr Osafo Maafo, Dr Addo Kufuor and J. H. Mensah. Picture by EBOW HANSON.

# 1ST BATCH OF MINISTERS SWORN-IN

## • They're eleven in all

By Samuel Sarpong

**ELEVEN Cabinet Ministers were yesterday sworn into office by the President, Mr J. A. Kufuor.**

The ministers, who constitute the first batch of approved nominees, are Mr J. H. Mensah, Minister and Leader of Government Business; Dr Kwame Addo Kufuor, Minister of Defence, and Mr Yaw Osafo-Maafo, Minister of Finance.

Others are Mr Hackman Owusu-Agyemang, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, Attorney-General and Minister of Justice; Alhaji Malik Yakubu Al-hassan, Minister of Interior, and Dr Kofi Konadu Apraku, Minister of Trade and Industry.

The rest are Major Courage Quarshigah (rtd), Minister of Agriculture, Mrs Gladys Asmah, Minister of Women's Affairs; Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, and Professor Dominic Kwaku Fobih, Minister of Lands, Science and Technology.

The Ministers swore the oaths of secrecy, allegiance and ministers of state.

Mr Kufuor, who administered the oaths, enjoined the new ministers to ensure transparency in their work.

He said they should be accountable and caring and serve the people of Ghana with distinction.

President Kufuor further urged the new ministers not to shirk their responsibilities, but rather accept the consequences of their actions and inac-

• Continued on P. 3

## 'Restructure expenditure programme'

By Charles Benoni Okine

**THE Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA) has called for the restructuring of the country's expenditure programme to ensure that expenditures do not have adverse effects on the general economic development.**

According to the centre, efforts must also be made to retire local debt stock as quickly as possible to allow revenue generated to be judiciously used.

Speaking at a news conference in Accra yesterday on the state of the economy, Dr Charles Jebuni and Dr Samuel Ashong, both core research fellows of CEPA, were of the view that the focus of the national economy will have to change to ensure that income generation and expenditure patterns are restructured to give the necessary boost to the economy.

Dr Jebuni said the current economic crisis leaves two lessons which need to be tackled in earnest, if the economy is to regain its stability.

He said the country's inability to

• Continued on P. 3

## Pinochet under house arrest

Turn to Page 2

# Woman killed

• Continued from P. 1

the car, one of them shot several times into the car as the police vehicle which was following at a distance tried to catch up with them.

The robbers were said to have run into the Kaneshie area and lost the police in the narrow alleys. The police could not shoot at them for fear of hitting innocent bystanders.

It was not until the police returned to inspect the Nissan car that they realised Naa Baby was dead inside.

According to the source, her relatives went to the police station on hearing that she had been shot.

They were said to have confirmed that Naa works for the gang as their spy.

It is not clear why she was on active operation at the time of the incident.

Naa's body has been deposited at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital mortuary awaiting autopsy whilst the vehicle has been towed to Police Headquarters.

The police have mounted an intensive search for the arrest of Naa's accomplices. Meanwhile investigations continue.

# Drama in Parliament

• Continued from P. 1

Executive, they cannot be their own judges.

According to the Majority, Ministers who are Members of Parliament, can belong to a committee of the House as stipulated in the Standing Orders.

Besides, the decision was firmly rooted in the fact that the Constitution is a hybrid which can empower the House to make use of innovations even though they are guided by rules.

However, the Minority contended that the House has also made use of a number of conventions in the previous Parliament which have come to be accepted as part of the rules of the House.

Tension in the House got to a boiling point when the Majority refused a suggestion from the Minority that the issue be referred to the leadership of the House for solution.

The situation worsened when the Majority again teased the Minority that they were taking advantage of what the minority could not utilise when they were in the Majority in the previous Parliament.

When the question was put at the end of the lengthy debate, the Speaker ruled in favour of the majority which attracted the Minority's call for a head count.

It was at this stage that more confusion was to follow as Mr J. H. Mensah, the Majority Leader, got up to speak contrary to the rules of the House that when a matter has been ruled upon it should attract no further comment from members.

This attracted more noise from the Minority side who thought the Speaker will heed their call for a headcount immediately. But this was not to be.

The Speaker who might have felt the House was getting out of control, then announced that he was suspending sitting for sometime to allow tempers to cool down.

This was seen by the Minority as an attempt to buy time as the Majority Chief was spotted moving out of the chamber to see if he could mobilise any of their members outside for the count.

When sitting resumed later the Minority refused to return.

However, the Speaker explained that he had to leave the chamber to allow tempers to cool down before deciding on the next line of action to take but that his action might have been misconstrued by the Minority to mean a walkout.

When the Majority Leader was asked to clarify the air, he explained that the minority was still consulting and since it was late in the day the House should adjourn to today but if they persist, they can take the headcount.

At a press conference by the minority to explain its stand, Mr A. S. K. Bagbin, Minority Leader, described events of the day as a vindication of his caution to the Speaker and his doubts about his impartiality at the time of his nomination.

Mr Bagbin described the Speaker not only as "an embodiment of the New Patriotic Party but also the heart of it".

He said it is part of the rules of the House for a group to challenge a ruling if they are not satisfied.

He deplored the attitude of the Majority for reneging on their promise to go by conventions of the House.

He said there is no way that the minority will condone illegality and that they believe in the principle of the rule of law, hence their decision to also walk out.

In an interview with the *Graphic* later, after the sitting, the First Deputy Speaker, Mr Freddie Blay, expressed regret at the incident and blamed the action of the Minority on prejudice and lack of trust.

Mr Blay said since the rule of the House enjoins every member to belong to at least a committee, he saw nothing wrong with the decision of the Majority to request for Ministers who are Members of Parliament to be made members of the Select Committees.

# Eleven ministers sworn-in

• Continued from P. 1

tions.

According to the President, the new era that has dawned on Ghana requires ministers who would be able to pursue objectives that fulfill the expectations of Ghanaians.

In this regard, he hoped the new ministers would not be found wanting in their bid to serve Ghanaians.

Mr Mensah, in response, said he and his collegues would work in the best interest of the country.

He noted that there is much that the government ought to do and promised that they would abide by honesty and serve in truth to make the country a prosperous one.

Earlier in the day Parliament unanimously approved the nominations of 12 ministers-designate vetted by the Appointments Committee, report Kojo Sam and Joe Okyere.

Dr Kwaku Afriyie, Minister of Lands, Mines and Forestry, was, however, out of the country at the time of the swearing-in by the President.

The Chairman of the committee, Mr Freddie Blay, who moved for the acceptance of the report, said in the course of vetting, no adverse reports, petitions or objections were received on any of the nominees.

Mr Blay said in vetting the nominees, three methods were adopted by the committee to get an informed opinion as regards their competence, eligibility and experience.

First, the media was used to solicit public opinion in the form of written memorandum or oral submission on the suitability or otherwise of each nominee.

He said the second method was the reliance on credentials which, procedurally, have been a good source of evidence in determining the qualification and experience of nominees. These were verified with the assistance of experts from two state intelligence institutions.

Seconding the motion for the adoption of the report, the Minority Leader, Mr A. S. K. Bagbin, drew the public's attention on how the committee operates within the confines of the Constitution.

He submitted that the work of the committee is not a trial but to know more about the nominees.

The Minority leader stressed that, judging from the perception that the public has about the committee, "we should, in the near future, try to iron out a new formula in the

He said there has been a situation where the committee has had to ask for some time to go extra deep into the backgrounds of some of the nominees.

He said this is the first time that vetting is being reported live on radio. "This is positive and we should applaud it," he added.

Mr Ken Dzirasah, Second Deputy Speaker, supporting the motion, said the House has had a fair idea of the competence of the nominees and "we recommend that the being report be approved so that the government machinery does not grind to a halt".

Mr M. A. Seidu, MP for Wa Central, who also supporting the motion, commended the committee for good work done.

Mr Kosi Kedem, MP for Hohoe South, in his contribution, said the NPP Government must realise that it has raised the expectations of the people to dizzy heights and the ministers must justify the confid[illegible] reposed in them.

# Restructure expenditure

• Continued from P. 1

sustain stability of the exchange rate within a context of fiscal expansion must be remembered in the wake of the devastating experience of the past 12 months to prevent a asimilar experience in future.

Dr Jebuni said "a fixed exchange rate regime requires supportive fiscal and monetary policies that will not stimulate an expansion of aggregate demand causing real exchange rate misalignment and pressure on the fixed rate to be changed".

Secondly, he said, "the current crisis reveals in rather stark and distressing terms the need to achieve structural change of the economy," adding that "Ghana remains a vulnerable economy due to the failure to diversify the structure of production and exports and to reduce its dependence on aid flows."

Dr Jebuni said the major challenge facing the new administration is how to bring down the rate of inflation which is hovering around 40 per cent.

He said fiscal restraint is required if any appreciable impact is to be made in reducing the rate of inflation and slowing down the rate of depreciation of the cedi.

Dr Jebuni explained that the fiscal restraint will involve a slow-down in the growth of government expenditures and an improvement in the efficiency of revenue generation.

He also mentioned that economic stabilisation is necessary but not sufficient to ensure that the economy is set on the right footing for an expansion in the long-term and an improvement in the well-being of the ordinary Ghanaian.

Dr Ashong, on his part, said the 45 per cent of the country's income which is used in debt servicing is too much.

He said what needs to be done is for the government to use the proceeds from divestiture of state owned companies ift settling the debts so that the incomes can be channelled into productive ventures that will have direct economic bearing on the people.

# Police arrest 25 in dawn swoop

By Graphic Reporter

**THE Police have arrested 25 people suspected to be associates of armed robbers, receivers and marketers of stolen items in the Accra metropolis.**

The arrest followed a dawn swoop at Korle-Gonno, Chorkor, Dansoman Beach and parts of Darkuman described as a hideouts of criminals by a combined team of police from the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) and the Panthers Unit yesterday.

A release signed by Mr David S. Eklu, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Public Relations said a BMW and an Opel Kadet, saloon cars, quantities of electrical gadgets, sound systems, textiles and clothes, believed to have been acquired by armed robbers or stolen from boutiques, were impounded during the exercise.

"It is strongly believed that the armed robbers have left their known abodes within the Accra metropolis" to other areas to seek refuge, the release said.

# Asante wins Azar promotion

**MORE people continue to win handsome prizes in the Azar Paints Rewarding Loyalty Coin Promotion.**

The latest to do so is a Takoradi-based painter, Richard Asante who was presented with a blender as his prize at a ceremony at the factory of the organisers in Accra.

Under the promotion, loyal customers who will find coins in any of the products of the company are redeemed with the prizes indicated on them.

These attractive prizes from this promotion which ends at the end of the month include 14" inch colour television set; table top fridges, blenders, ghetto blasters and ice chests.

• *Above: Mr Asante displaying the coin*

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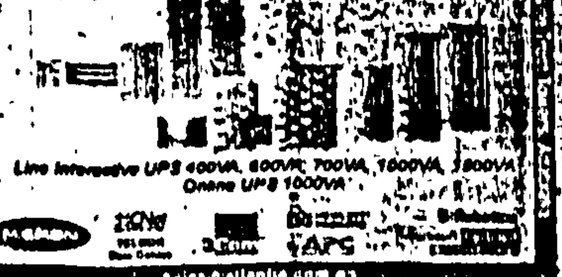
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# Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 2001. NO. 148145 PRICE: ¢1000


## 'ACDRs, others have no place in military'

By Linda Adubea Akonor

THE Minister of Defence, Dr Kwame Addo Kufuor, said yesterday that quasi-political organisations such as the ACDRs, the June 4 Movement and the Danquah/Busia Club have no place in the country's military barracks.

He said such organisations have the tendency of breeding indiscipline and divisiveness among troops.

At his maiden visit to the Southern Command, the minister also announced that henceforth the celebration of June 4 and the 31 December Revolution will not be tolerated.

He reminded the troops that the Supreme Court has ruled that no public funds should be used in celebrating such events.

Dr Addo Kufour noted that monies spent on such celebrations could be used to rehabilitate the Armed Forces barracks and other development projects in the armed forces.

He assured the forces that the government is aware of their problems and noted that despite the current economic problems, measures will be taken to address them.

The minister disclosed that the Chinese Government has made available $2.7 million for the rehabilitation of the barracks.

He assured the troops of the government's readiness to do everything in its power, within the constraints of the budget, to resource the military to enable it to perform its roles and responsibilities effectively.

He said as soon as this grant becomes available, the 49 Engineering Regiment will be tasked to carry out the rehabilitation of the dilapidated military barracks.

The Defence Minister commended the soldiers for the impressive peace-keeping roles and promised them of the government's continuous support and assistance.

He also praised them for the cordial relations existing between the armed forces and the civilian population.

The minister visited the 48 Engineer Regiment, and the Southern Command Headquarters at Burma Camp where

• Continued on P.

## President off to Mali

THE President, Mr J. A. Kufuor left Accra yesterday to attend a summit in the Malian capital, Bamako.

The summit which is at the instance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would discuss issues relating to the implementation of IMF and the Bank's projects and programmes in Africa.

It is being attended by 12 West African Heads of States and President of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn and the Managing Director of IMF, Mr Horst Kohler.

The participants would assess the impact of the Breton Woods institutions' funded programmes and offer suggestions to improve on those programmes and projects.

Other key issues include poverty, sustainable economic growth, HIV/AIDS control and good governance and conflicts.

Mr Kufuor is expected to chair the session on good governance and conflict.

He would also interact with the top executives of the institutions on the government's programme to stem out corruption.

Mr Kufuor was accompanied by the Minister of Finance, Mr Yaw Osafo-Maafo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hackman Owusu-Agyeman and Mr J. H. Mensah, Minister and Leader of Government Business.

He is also expected to meet with the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Alpha Omar Konare on the political crisis in the sub-region especially in Guinea and how Ghana could assist in resolving it and confer with other heads of state on issues

• Continued on P. 3

## Japanese PM under pressure

Turn to Page 2

## President directs Finance Ministry

# ADJUST WORKERS' SALARIES

### • To cushion any increase in petroleum prices

• F. K. Owusu-Agyapong — Briefed the press

By Albert K. Salia

THE President has tasked the Minister of Finance to work out how to raise additional revenue for a corresponding salary adjustments of workers so that any increase in petroleum prices would not be felt much.

Transport and Communications Minister, Mr F. K. Owusu-Agyapong, who disclosed this in Accra yesterday, said apart from the ¢3 trillion accrued debt of already consumed fuel, the country is also recording a daily deficit of ¢6 billion as a result of the low petroleum prices.

Under the present difficult circumstances, he said, the realistic charges for petroleum products should range between ¢13,000 and ¢14,000.

Mr Owusu-Agyapong, who was speaking at a meeting with Chief Executives and Editors of the state-owned media, said the decision to find ways of off-setting the rippling effects of any possible increase on Ghanaians is because the government is conscious of the already precarious financial situation of workers and the rural folk in particular.

He said the meeting, which was held at the instance of the President, is to encourage the media to know more about national issues so that they can lead the people in a healthy discussion for consensus building.

He noted that a public discussion on the fuel crisis is very crucial since any one-sided decision or action could have serious repercussions for the country.

According to Mr Owusu-Agyapong, besides environmental problems which may hit the country as a

• Continued on P. 3

## Govt to grant 1,000 prisoners amnesty

By Charles Benoni Okine

THE Government is to grant amnesty to about 1,000 prisoners on Independence Day, March 6, as part of measures to decongest the country's prisons.

The beneficiaries will, however, not include rapists, murderers and hardened criminals, but it is likely that about 300 of that category of criminals, based on their degree of crime, will have their sentences commuted or reduced.

The Minister of the Interior, Alhaji Malik Al-Hassan, who announced this in Accra when a six-

• Continued on P. 3


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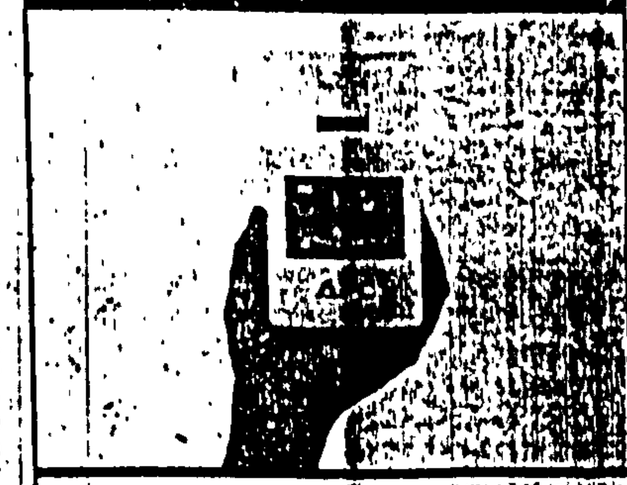

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Tuesday Feb. 20 2001 P. 3

# 'Phase out tribunals'

By Charles Benoni Okine

**THE Ghana Bar Association (GBA) has suggested to the new administration to fade out the tribunals in the country to allow the courts to function to the best of their ability.**

According to the association, the existence of the tribunals are a drain on the economy, adding that some panel members are also not qualified to pronounce judgement.

Mr Ebo Quarshie, President of the association made the suggestion when he led a delegation from the association to pay a courtesy call on the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Nana Akufo Addo in Accra yesterday.

He said the government can channel the funds used in running the tribunals into equipping the courts and also motivate lawyers to discharge their duties more effectively in the nation's interest.

Mr Quarshie also called on the Attorney-General to consider the establishment of juvenile courts in the country.

He said due to the lack of such courts and the want for speedy trial, juveniles who commit crime tend to inflate their ages and when sentenced, end up in adult prisons.

Mr Quarshie said this is not healthy, adding that the relevance of juvenile courts should not be downplayed in the society.

He mentioned the publications in the dailies recently which identified some juveniles in the courts and said the offenders ended up there because there were no courts of their level to try them.

On the selection of retired members of the bar to serve on the bench, he said a survey conducted by the association revealed that most of them felt reluctant because they felt their salaries and other conditions of work are not encouraging enough to entice them to accept such appointments.

He said if the government will induce them by repackaging their emoluments they will be attracted to take up the job and that will also erode the negative perceptions the public hold about the bench.

Nana Akufo Addo, in response, said the government is taking steps to address all the concerns raised by the bar because of its commitment to the rule of law.

He said the role of the bar and bench in that respect will be needed and asked for frequent inputs by way of suggestions for consideration by the ministry.

The Attorney-General reiterated that the government is bent on taking radical measures to address the land tenure system in the country because of its effect on the socio-economic development of the country.

He said the ministry will soon present proposals to the Chief Justice for advice and action.

# Amnesty for prisoners

• Continued from P. 1

member delegation from the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) paid a courtesy call on him yesterday, said the ministry has sent a proposal to that effect to President and John Agyekum Kufuor for approval.

He said the Director of Prisons has so far furnished the ministry with about a 1,000 names for review.

Alhaji Al-Hassan said another measure the ministry is considering to undertake to decongest the prisons is the establishment of settlement camps where certain category of prisoners will be kept and equipped with skills like carpentry and farming among others while they serve their sentences.

According to the minister, this will enable the prisoners to become employable citizens in society after serving their sentences.

On the control of the serial killers and armed robbery in society, the Interior Minister said the ministry is working out measures not only aimed at increasing the equipment and logistics needed for the police to discharge their duties, but also ways to motivate them since without that, all the logistics provided will not be effectively utilised.

He said, "I will make sure I hold weekly meetings with the police heads to discuss their reports over the previous week and come out with strategies to address the problems".

Alhaji Al-Hassan said the ministry has asked the police to try all manner of investigations, particularly the use of medical reports of suspects to see how best they can be used to track down killers.

He said the release on bail of armed robbers who are caught with guns is of concern to the ministry because reports reaching him indicate that the same people go on rampage immediately they come out of the courts.

Alhaji Al-Hassan expressed the hope that the bar will take a critical look at that issue to address the situation.

On the control of landguards in the system, he said the ministry will soon summon a meeting between traditional rulers and the police to find a solution to the problem.

"I believe there is something that needs to be solved among the two parties and we will do that to ensure that their services are used in the interest of peace", he said.

Meanwhile, he said when the exercise to retrieve unregistered arms and ammunitions begins the landguards will not be spared.

He asked the bar to make constructive criticisms to keep the government on its toes at all times because the progress of the nation will depend on such criticisms.

On his part, Mr Ebo Quarshie, President of the association asked the ministry to entreat the police to use the Coroner's Act, because of its effectiveness, in tracking down serial killers.

He also called for a second look at the country's prisons to make them more humane to prisoners.

Mr Quarshie on behalf of the bar congratulated Alhaji Al-Hassan on his selection as the minister responsible for sensitive institutions and pledged the association's continuous support.

# Adjust salaries

• Continued from P. 1

result of the high cost of kerosene and LPG, the tendency to adulterate fuel with its associated problems, must also be considered.

He said just as the government pursues its development policies upon which the electorate voted the party to power, it would also seek inputs from members of the public and the media for a concerted effort towards development.

The Minister of State (Media Relations), Ms Elizabeth Ohene, said it is important for the media to discuss the situation in which the country finds itself with regard to fuel crisis, so that the public would be informed about the consequences of either a price increase or not.

She said members of the public must, therefore, be informed so that they appreciate the circumstances and also let their views be carried across.

# ACDRs, others

• Continued from P. 1

the GOC, Major General Francis Mahama, took him round.

He led the minister to inspect facilities, including an ammunition depot and a water reservoir under construction among others. The minister also visited the Fifth Infantry Brigade, the Recce Regiment and the stables where the horses of the armed forces are kept.

He advised that in future the depot should be relocated underground to ensure its safety.

Dr Addo Kufour suggested to the various units under his ministry to set aside days where they can interact with their civilian counterparts to improve the military/civilian relations in the country.

He also commended the military for their income generating activities such as the rearing of pigs and the running of schools, among others.

The soldiers, on their part, enumerated their problems which include accommodation and lack of water and electricity in their barracks.

# President

• Continued from P. 1

concerning the continent.

The President, who is expected back today, was seen off at the airport by Vice-President Aliu Mahama, Mr Jake Obetsebi-Lamptey, Minister of Presidential Affairs and Alhaji Alhassan Malik Yakubu, Minister of the Interior.

After the Bamako Summit, the two officials would travel to Tanzania on a similar mission with East African leaders from February 22 to 24.

# Queenmother reacts to allegations

By Vance Azu

**THE queenmother of Adibiawe of the Ada Traditional Area, Naana Balerkie Kpentey I, has reacted to a publication in the *Daily Graphic* desecrating her office and seeking to describe her as a non-existent queenmother.**

Naana Balerkie said she did not impose herself on the people of Adibiawe but was properly elected and installed. She was subsequently introduced to Nene Ada, Nene Abram Kabu Akuaku III, Paramount Chief of Ada and his chiefs and elders at a formal ceremony at the Ada Traditional Council.

In an interview at the offices of the *Graphic*, the Adibiawe queenmother said after her installation, some prominent kingmakers of Adibiawe, led by the late Asaloatsengua Obuampong, took her to the Traditional Council with a resolution signed by all the kingmakers for formal recognition in December 1999.

Naana Balerkie, however, regretted that "a faceless person with ill motives should hide behind an amorphous title of Secretary of the Adibiawe Council of Elders and malign and create an erroneous impression that her position was non-existent.

She contended that whatever their differences were over pronouncements she made on the Songhor Lagoon issuep, she did not believe the media was the appropriate channel for the so-called secretary to injure her reputation.

Naana Balerkie maintains that whatever she said about Songhor was only a suggestion and was not binding on the people of Ada.

She expressed the feeling that in future, issues of this nature should not be treated contemptuously as it appeared in the *Graphic*.

It will be recalled that in the Wednesday, February 14, edition of the *Graphic*, a letter purported to have been written by the secretary to the Adibiawe Council of Elders sort of repudiated the position of Naana Balerkie Kpentey I as queenmother of Adibiawe.

***• Above: Nana Balerkie (middle) during her introduction to the Ada Traditional Council.***


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Daily Graphic

EDITORIAL

# A BOOST TO MEDIA FREEDOM

*THE Minister of State (Media Relations), Ms Elizabeth Ohene, has indicated that the government will not interfere with the work of the state-owned media.*

*She noted that even though the government expects the state media to function in a way so as to help to articulate its vision and policies and in general enhance communication with the people, it was the expectation of the government that this would be done with the utmost sense of professionalism and competence by the media.*

*The assurance of governmental non-interference in the work of the state media was given by Ms Ohene at a meeting with Chief Executives and Editors of state-owned media in Accra yesterday (see report on pages 16 and 17).*

*The GRAPHIC regards the assurances of the Minister for Media Relations as a step in the right direction and, therefore, a commendable move which would contribute to inject more efficiency and dynamism into the state media, facilitate freedom of expression and media pluralism and contribute positively to the forging and sustenance of a healthy partnership between the government and the media for the benefit of the society.*

*We note with sadness and regret recent attempts by some sections of the media calculated to pit the government against the state media and in particular the false labelling of some state media practitioners whose dismissals they openly advocated.*

*But the assurances show clearly the disinterest of the government in the pursuit of such an illegal and heavy-handed agenda, and its faith in the competence and integrity of such media.*

*Whilst we are aware that the 1992 Constitution, the supreme law of land, insulates the state media from governmental interference and control by vesting such powers and responsibilities in the National Media Commission (NMC), we nevertheless find the expressed desire of government not to meddle in matters of the state media (even though it could do so to varying degrees through the back-door) as a mark of maturity and respect for press freedom.*

*We think that if carried to its logical conclusion, such a stance would undoubtedly enhance free expression, plurality of views and opinions representing the broad diversities of society as a whole and consolidate and further advance the nation's democratic culture for which great sacrifices have been made.*

*There can be no doubt about the useful role the state media, in our context as a developing nation, could play in serving as a tool both for relaying government policy to the people and bringing the views and opinions of the people to the government. Whilst the former would almost always find favour with government, the latter might not always be so and indeed would be critical some occasions.*

*This is where the call of the GRAPHIC on the government as expressed by its editor at the meeting yesterday, to tolerate such contrary views and opinions without necessarily seeing them in negative light, comes into focus.*

*By developing a thick skin and a high level of tolerance to take the contrary view points, which we advocate should be done in a constructive spirit, the government would not only pick up useful lessons of where and what it has not done right and thus rectify such mistakes and move forward but also pass the critical test of good governance essential for maintaining the trust of the people and the nation's democratic dispensation.*

*The GRAPHIC sees in this disposition a challenge on all media practitioners and those in the state media in particular to endeavour to let their work be firmly established on the positive attributes of objectivity, fairness, truth and balance which are crucial to their professional integrity.*

*In so doing, we in the media would both be supportive of government as well as putting it on its toes and thus contribute positively to our democracy and to overall national development rather than being unduly adversarial.*

# Open letter to the Minister of Finance

By Joe Amoako-Tuffour

DEAR Honourable Minister, Your job is unenviable. The task ahead of you is daunting, because you have inherited a false economy that has, for long, lived on budget gimmickry. There is much to do, much is expected, yet with limited fiscal capacity

Soon, you have to take some unpleasant policy measures in order to salvage the economy from further downward drift. The great art of finding politically acceptable measures and the good science of identifying economic priorities and accurately assessing tradeoffs between multiple goals are required to manage the economy from where we are to where your government wishes us to be.

The most evident aspects of your difficulties are the high inflation rate, the depreciated cedi, youth unemployment, the budget and current account deficits, the debt burden, the cost of education, and a sick health system over which you find yourself presiding. These are the visible signs of public planning gone wrong which reflects deeper causes and which cannot be stopped without measures bound to be unpleasant.

The unpleasant budget arithmetic can be delayed for a time, but as we know all too well, only by accepting large costs and even more painful adjustments in the future. Your job is made all the more difficult because the previous government chose to ignore the simple truths for no excellent reasons of state.

The previous government was content to cause the budget deficit to rise, then hide it from the "watchful eye" of the IMF/World Bank through unpaid bills and quasi financing which your team is painstakingly uncovering. Official budget measures were flawed so much so that they painted a distorted picture of the true fiscal health of the economy. The Accountant General gave us some idea of the extent of our fiscal illusion. Government's arrears to social security contributions alone amounted to ¢20 billion in 1997.

In addition to arrears, the government borrowed and printed money to pay for the excess of spending over tax revenue. Not too long ago, the Bank of Ghana operated openly as a commercial bank for government agencies. While there may be no limits to how much, and how long money can be used to finance the deficits, the inflation pressures that have come from past excesses have made your work harder.

What is ironic about the debt burden you have inherited is the extraordinary leap in the public debt in peacetime concurrent with unprecedented sale of government assets through privatisation. Privatisation ended up in wealth build-up of the ruling class, and the little proceeds ended up in consumption rather than paying down the debt. Public sector net worth fell as public debt reached 100 percent of national output by 1992 and topped 120 percent in 1998/99. This can easily be explained.

Between 1984 and 1998, the cumulative current account deficit of US$6.232 billion breaks down into a cumulative rise in the external debt of US$5.56 billion and a trickle net capital inflow of US$0.672 billion. The arithmetic and compound interest of the debt have made your work unpleasant and you have to make harsh and immediate fiscal and trade policy adjustments.

I must admit that while Ghana has not yet faced a debt crisis in the likes of Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, Ghana has built up all the conditions and vulnerability for a crisis to emerge. There is one important lesson from these countries. Debt crisis comes as a great surprise; from seeming ease of debt service on one day, the next day the country has no visible means of support. Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University warned that mismanagement of fiscal policy and ill-advised trade policy are what often cause countries to succumb to debt paralysis. One question you must address is whether Ghana can grow and conveniently service its debt without trapping generations in a debt spiral?

Your unpleasant work can be made a bit easier if you have the public behind you. The public's understanding, their willingness to accommodate needed changes, and the prospects for the future are at the heart of the problem you must solve. The great art of politically acceptable moves are required.

The good science of economic planning points in three directions: increase revenue, decrease spending, and accelerate economic growth. Substantial growth in national output will reduce the debt burden and provide additional financial resources through tax revenue. But with economic growth that, in all likelihood will not exceed five per cent, in the near term, the bulk of the needed adjustments rests on revenue and spending management. Your choice is not binary. The best choice is the combination of the two in order to pave way for sound macroeconomic policies.

On the revenue front, first resist the temptation to rely on money printing to pay the bills. Money printing in excess of what is needed to support economic growth will worsen, not mitigate your Herculean task.

Second, except in selective cases, only a few will advocate new taxes in the near term. Short of a comprehensive look at tax strategy, indiscriminate tax increases will do nothing to improve productivity growth. Third, most needed in a hurry is to improve the machinery of the collection of existing taxes, especially corporate taxes, customs and excise taxes. Despite the promising beginning in the late 1980s, incidences of corruption and embezzlement of revenue collected reveal the ineffectiveness of monitoring, auditing and accountability of tax agencies and tax authorities. There is as yet no study about the magnitudes of revenue losses through such avenues, but back of the envelope calculations suggest that this is a huge figure. In the short run this offers the best opportunity in realising more non-inflationary tax revenues.

First, you must focus attention on rationalisation of the composition of government spending, especially military expenditures, the wage bill, and the so-called "Items (2)- (5)." You should consider identifying these items into their separate components for transparency, better accounting, and effective monitoring.

Second, paying down the debt will help to reduce the interest cost of the debt. But unless Ghana is granted some external debt relief, the fiscal position gives you no room for substantial action on the debt burden in the short run. Debt relief, however, should not be mistaken as a spell for success in debt management. As the experiences of Brazil, Argentina and Mexico and elsewhere demonstrate, the stresses and strains on public finance will ultimately re-emerge if fiscal and trade deficits are not rectified. At the domestic front, innovations in debt management offer the best opportunity in preventing a debt distress, which can undermine the functioning of the financial sector. Lengthening the maturity of the debt, indexing the principal and or interest payments to price level increases seem the common sense things to do. These measures will do well for the credibility of anti-inflation policy, will be in keeping with the development of the secondary bond market, and will soften the medium-term debt burden on the budget.

Also needed is the rehabilitation of budgeting practices and procedures to ensure efficient expenditure use and effective control and monitoring. To these ends, (a) an expanded role of the Comptroller and Accountant General in the management of government operating and spending functions will be beneficial; (b) a coordinating agency with the responsibility to oversee, coordinate and monitor all debt-financed capital projects across line ministries and departments will be welcoming.

*The good science of economic planning points in three directions: increase revenue, decrease spending, and accelerate economic growth. Substantial growth in national output will reduce the debt burden and provide additional financial resources through tax revenues. But with economic growth that in all likelihood will not exceed five per cent, in the near term, the bulk of the needed adjustments rests on revenue and spending management.*

Budget 2001 must aim at housekeeping, cleaning up the fiscal mess, so that the government can carry on its basic functions without deepening the crisis you have inherited. At the minimum, it must aim to close loopholes in revenue mobilisation, rationalise expenditures, improve expenditure management, overhaul the management of debt-financed development projects, improve domestic food production and post harvest storage, and seek new ways to manage the domestic debt. It must also address ill-advised trade liberalisation measures that have adverse fiscal consequences.

Your predecessor's budgets attracted cynicism because of rosy revenue forecasts and understated deficits, money growth and debt accumulation. He was quick to point to un-disbursed aid and adverse external shock as holding budgets to ransom. Prudent management will serve you well. Ghanaians require a more realistic assessment of our current fiscal prospects, since these indicate the means to address the challenges you face. Giving us a realistic fiscal plan, beginning to clean up the nation's balance sheet, and building confidence in sound management will be worthy and credible message for a budget you have so little time to put together.

In my view, Budget 2002 is the all-important budget you must get right. With the benefit of exhaustive consultations, Budget 2002 must set in concrete terms the agenda for economic growth during your government's mandate. Needed in that budget is multi-year stabilisation programme with the objective to provide good economic infrastructure (energy, water, transport and communication) and good social sector services (education, health and social security). It must point to new directions and priorities in human development, industry, and productivity growth. And just as important, it must seek new directions on rural development issues.

To be effective, such a programme must be homemade — conceived, designed and governed by a set of socio-economic agreements from all parties. It must be a transparent social-economic pact. It must be built by a coalition of the main political parties, with the economics moving far ahead of the politics, and broad agreements among representatives of labour and industry. Together they must agree to (a) the broad guidelines of how to bring the budget under control, how to reduce and to reallocate spending, how to curtail the growth in imports without compromising opportunities for growth, and (b) the sequencing of the guidelines.

These alone may not be enough. Inflationary expectations will always remain in hiding unless some form of incomes and wage policy and exchange rate guidelines become part of the package. There must be at least one spot of stability in the economy. External support will be needed in the interim to soften the degree of fiscal adjustments needed to put public finances in order to anchor the currency, and to help avoid any balance-of-payment crisis. Without these measures the transition from stabilisation to growth can be difficult. And if the political cost is high, the stabilisation programme, like those of 1966-68 and again in 1978-79, will be temporary and ultimately fail.

# Labone flats are in a state of disrepair

DEAR Editor, The bane of most developing countries is the lack of maintenance culture. This cultural inhibition has been the cause of deterioration and destruction of many laudable projects throughout the socio-economic history of Ghana.

One of such laudable projects is the Civil Servants flats at Labone.

These flats and bungalows were put up to provide needed accommodation for civil servants and has served a useful purpose.

However, these flats have been abandoned to the elements of the weather with carelessness. These structures, as far as one's memory can stretch back have not received the attention of the Public Works Department.

There are open cracks running through the pillars and concrete from the ground floor to the top. The paint has peeled off the walls, exposing them to the weather. The electrical wirings are a real danger to life.

The government needs to take action to avert a catastrophe at the Labone flats.

The unfortunate incident that is however emerging is that only the first and second flats are receiving a kind of facelift. This is not hard to explain as some senior public officials are resident within these blocks of flats.

The authorities should put a stop to this selective practice of maintenance and give the whole place a holistic facelift.

A Concerned Citizen
La, Accra.

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## Regional and District Farmers' Day awards

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# WE'LL PROMOTE FARMING

## Vice-President assures

By E. Kojo Kwarteng & Timothy Gobah

**THE Vice-President, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, has stated that government will go all out to make farming a very attractive profession to encourage people to take to it.**

He conceded that it is not just enough to appeal to the people to venture into farming without ensuring that it becomes a worthwhile enterprise.

Vice-President Mahama, who was addressing the 17th National Farmers' Day in Accra yesterday, called on politicians, MPs, journalists and other senior officers to set example by taking to farming because, by so doing, they will appreciate the problems of farmers at firsthand.

The celebration of the day, which was under the theme, "Growing what we eat, eating what we can, and canning what we cannot," was instituted in 1987 to honour farmers and fishermen for their immense contributions to the socio-economic development of the country.

Citing neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire to justify his call, Vice-President Mahama said, "It seems to me that her agricultural miracle was achieved because politicians took up farming. In other parts of the continent, it is normal practice for ministers and MPs to spend their weekends on their farms."

Consequently, he reiterated government's commitment to modernise agriculture to ensure sustainable food security in the country.

He described as unacceptable the situation where the country continues to experience "the hunger season" because "we are unable to harvest, store and process what we grow". The Vice-President told the gathering that, the problems of post-harvest losses, storage, processing, packaging, product improvement and the development of new products and marketing, that have plagued the agricultural sector will be addressed in earnest.

Alhaji Mahama

• Contd on P. 3

• Vice-President Allu Mahama presenting the 17th National Best Farmer prize to Nana Kwasi Bonsu of the Western Region. Picture by YAA SERWAA MANU.

## Excitement all the way

By E. Kojo Kwateng & Timothy Gobah

**IT was all pomp and pageantry when hundreds of people from all walks of life thronged the Ghana International Trade Fair Centre at La in Accra yesterday to witness the celebration of this year's National Farmers' Day.**

As early as 8 a.m., the forecourt of the fair grounds was charged with enthusiastic people amidst singing and dancing, with the Ghana National Fire Service (GNFS) band providing music.

A large crowd, including farmers and fishermen, as well as others of various vocations massed up to grace the occasion.

It was all ecstasy when at 10.15 a.m., the bus carrying the gallant award winners, numbering 71, arrived at the durbar grounds, escorted by police dispatch riders. Beaming with smiles, they were given a rousing welcome by the crowd.

After the arrival of other dignitaries, including parliamentarians, ministers of state, members of the Diplomatic Corps and traditional rulers, the stage was set for the moment of glory for the farmers and fishermen, the first under President J. A. Kufuor's administration.

The Vice-President, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, who was the guest of honour, arrived at the grounds in a beautiful traditional smock, and immediately the Ghana National Fire Service band played the national anthem to herald his arrival as well as the commencement of proceedings

There was a bit of departure from the previous national durbars as the whole celebration was interspersed with drama and musical interludes which depicted the p[illegible]

• Contd on P. 3

# There is great joy in farming — Nana Bonsu

By Timothy Gobah

**THE National Best Farmer, Nana Mathew Kwesi Bonsu, has said there is joy in farming and advised the youth to venture into agriculture to increase food production.**

He said the days when farming was regarded [illegible] the presence of the elder generation as well as school dropouts were [illegible] the only [illegible] to the challenge to make the most [illegible]

"There is more joy in farming and I will spend all my life in this venture for the benefit of the people of this country," he said.

The 51-year-old proud winner of this year's National Best Farmer award told newsmen that he began his profession as a backyard farmer about 30 years ago.

He said he won the district and regional awards some years ago adding, "These awards urged me on to work harder to win the ultimate and prestigious award.

He said he would like the three-bedroom house, which is the ultimate prize, to be put up in Accra to attract people into farming.

He explained that the building, when sited in the city centre, will serve as a reminder to all who visit the city that agriculture has become a rewarding venture.

Nana Bonsu said he will collaborate with the Award Winners Association to set up pilot farms for the training of senior secondary

• Continued on P. 3

Daily Graphic ~~Sun~~ Saturday Dec. 8 2001 p.13

p.3



# We'll promote farming

• Continued from P. 1

said, "we should no longer rely solely on rainfall to feed our farming activities", saying "we are, therefore, promoting widespread use of irrigation

"We believe that farming will remain unattractive for as long as our farming implements remain hoes and cutlasses. Our farming methods have to be modernised and the use of tractors and other modern implements should become the norm," he stressed

He announced that feeder roads in the country will be accorded the utmost priority as part of measures to promote rural development.

Alhaji Mahama said the provision of potable water and rural electrification programme will be pursued aggressively. He added that the telecommunications network will also be updated, assuring that, these will be catered for in next year's budget

He said land acquisition procedures are long and cumbersome and have become a disincentive to would-be investors including young farmers.

He urged financial institutions to invest in the agricultural sector in an effort to promote large scale farming

He announced that the government has secured funding from the African Development Bank for the implementation of the Livestock Development Project under which livestock farmers will be given credit to invest in housing for animals.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture, Major Courage Quashigah (rtd), said the government is shifting from over-emphasis on agricultural production to investment in farm equipment to transform the sector

He cautioned against the packaging of local rice in foreign bags for sale to Ghanaian consumers at exorbitant prices by some farmers and traders, saying the security agencies will be detailed to stop the practice.

He urged investors to take advantage and invest in the agricultural sector to generate employment, income and also enhance food security.

Mr Bismack Doku Nartey, President of the Ghana National Association of Farmers and Fishermen (GNAFF), appealed to the government to revamp the cocoa industry to enable Ghana to recapture its former position as the top most producer in the world.

# Excitement all the way

• Continued from P. 1

-tural products.

Abibigromman, a drama group based at the School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana, Legon, impressed the gathering with its 20-minute performance, which depicted the advantages in mechanical farming and the need for the youth to take to farming instead of looking for "white collar jobs.

The script was said to have been written by the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Major Courage Quashigah.

There was also a musical interlude by a group from Ejura Sekyidumasi, which extolled the importance of breastfeeding. What was unique with the performance of the group was that, they all had their babies

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture, Dr Abdel-Majeed Haroun, who was the compere during the presentation of the awards to the national winners, also added to the excitement.

After declaring the winners for the first and the second runners-up, he paused for awhile when it was time to mention the name of the award winner.

There was dead silence among the farmers and his action caused a lot of anxiety among the crowd until he finally mentioned the name of the proud winner.

It was all joy and excitement as Nana Mathew Kwasi Bonsu, a 51-year-old all-round farmer from Juaboso Bia in the Western Region stepped out to receive his prize

Addressing the farmers, the Greater Accra Regional Minister, Sheikh I. C. Quaye, said the government will continue to honour farmers and fishermen for their role in ensuring food security in the country

He said special attention will also be given to other professions such as law, medicine, teaching, artisans and shop owners, among others, to enhance their contributions to the national economy.

The La Mantse, Nii Kpobi Tetteh Tsuru, who chaired the occasion, commended the government for 'sustaining the awards ceremony, adding that "this is a demonstration of the government's commitment to improve the agricultural sector".

# Let peace prevail at Asere — Nii Amarkai

**THE Dzasetse of Asere, Nii Amarkai III, has appealed to citizens of the area to allow peace and harmony to prevail in the area in the pursuit of development and progress.**

He said a master plan has been drawn up for the development of the 53 towns and villages under the jurisdiction of the Asere Stool but observed that all the efforts will come to nought if the needed co-operation is lacking

The Dzasetse made the appeal when the new chief of Achia, near Amasaman, Nii Achia II, was formally introduced to him at a ceremony held over the weekend.

As part of the ceremony, a sheep was slaughtered to purify his seat after he had sworn the oath of allegiance to the Dzasetse.

On his part, Nii Achia appealed to the people to stop the sale of lands and the degradation of the area

*• Above: Nii Achia (second from left) swearing the oath of allegiance to Nii Shippi Korkwei I, Shippi of Asere.*
*Picture by EMMANUEL QUAYE.*

# I've not fled my region — Sahanun

**From Samuel Kyei-Boateng & George Folley, Wa**

**THE Upper West Regional Minister, Mr Sahanun Mogtari, has described as misleading media reports that following an abortive demonstration against him last Wednesday, he has fled his region and that his whereabouts can not be traced.**

According to the minister, he has since Monday, been in office to perform official duties without any threat to his life.

"I wish to say that on that fateful day, I held two meetings in my office with officials, of Bank of Ghana and some non-governmental organisations," he added.

Mr Mogtari was reacting to a report published by an Accra-based weekly newspaper at a press conference at Wa yesterday.

He advised journalists not to take advantage of the repeal of the criminal libel law to engage in irresponsible journalism.

He said false reports by journalists can spark off violence which could affect the developmental process being pursued by the government.

The regional minister urged journalists to conduct thorough investigations and publish the truth not only to promote peace and stability but also to avoid incurring legal suits and lack of public confidence in the media.

As to what line of action he will take to redeem his image, Mr Mogtari threatened that he will deal drastically with that newspaper as soon as he gets a copy of it.

He explained that the Regional Security Council decided to stop the demonstration because two factions of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) had decided to demonstrate on the same day, which could have led to chaos and anarchy.

Mr Mogtari described as unfortunate, and unfounded allegations made by some members of the NPP at Wa that the recently held regional congress was bogus and fraudulent.

He said all those who walked out were disgruntled members of the party who realised that they were going to lose the elections.

"What is happening is a machination of a handful of NPP supporters at Wa and not the entire eight constituencies in the region," Mr Mogtari added.

The regional minister implored genuine supporters of the NPP in the region to remain steadfast and stand solidly behind the leadership of the party to rebuild the nation.

# 50 Houses, 15 vehicles destroyed in Bawku conflict

**AT least 50 houses were burnt down during last Sunday's ethnic clash between the Kusasis and Mamprusis at Bawku. Also destroyed were 20 stores, kiosks and 15 vehicles.**

The worst affected communities were the Dauri, Misega and Zoko electoral areas, where, sensing danger, most of the people fled.

Food barns were also burnt down, which has resulted in shortage of food in the Bawku area.

The bungalow of the Headmaster of the Bawku Secondary/Technical School, Mr Awudu Agyerimia, was completely burnt down. A computer and its accessories, official documents and his personal effects were also vandalised.

The Bawku East District Co-ordinating Director, Mr Ibrahim Alhassan, who conducted the press on a tour of some of the affected areas, said the immediate cost of damage is not known, but that from every indication, it will run into billions of cedis.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) seeking to bring peace to the area have been organising seminars and dialogue and have brokered peace accords endorsed by the two main factions.

The irony of the situation is that this year's United Nations (UN) Day for Peace and Reconciliation was specially dedicated to Bawku to get the people to appreciate the need for peace.

In addition, the Upper East Regional Minister, Mr Mahami Salifu, had initiated moves aimed at ensuring peace in the area.

Meanwhile, security personnel in Bawku have arrested three suspects for questioning in connection with the death of a 24-year-old man, whose throat was slit at Garu, near Bawku.

The curfew that was imposed on Monday is generally holding and commercial activities are back to normal after the restoration of law and order.

Commercial institutions which were closed down in the heat of the conflict have resumed operations.

First and second-cycle schools are, however, still closed.

Officials of the Ghana Red Cross Society were busy taking a census of displaced persons to enable them to assess their needs.

Though the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital has resumed operations, some of the health workers who fled in the wake of the conflict have not yet returned.

Patients prefer travelling to Garu, about 18 miles from Bawku, for treatment

The official casualty figure is put at 29 dead, eye-witness accounts say the figure is rather on the low side since those who died on the battlefield and those who were killed in revenge attacks were buried by relatives without making reports

# Joy in farming

• Continued from P. 1

school graduates in agricultural techniques.

He commended the government for recognising the sweat and toil of farmers by rewarding them on annual basis.

Nana Bonsu was carried shoulder high by enthusiastic farmers when his name was announced by the Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture, Dr Abdel-Majeed Haroun, who was the compere for the occasion.

Nana Bonsu has his farming enterprises referred to as 'Bonsu Farms' located at Bensukrom and Yawmantwa in the Juaboso-Bia District of the Western Region.

He started his farming after obtaining his Middle School Leaving Certificate. He currently cultivates 350 acres with the help of 29 full-time employees and 65 casual workers. He has cocoa and coffee plantations as well as vegetables. He has a cattle ranch as well.

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HIPC initiative bears fruits

# GOVT RELEASES ¢117BN FOR PROJECTS

• Mr Osafo-Maafo flanked by Mr Baah Wiredu and Paapa-Owusu-Ankomah at the conference. Picture by EMMANUEL QUAYE.

By Albert K. Salia & Tori Eeles

THE government has announced the release of an amount of ¢117 billion of the Relief Funds of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative to the various Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs).

The funds are to be used to fund infrastructure for basic education, health facilities and community water and sanitation projects.

The Accra, Kumasi and the Shama Ahanta East Metropolitan Assemblies will receive ¢3.5 billion, ¢2.5 billion and ¢2 billion respectively while the Tema, New Juaben, Tamale and Cape Coast Municipal Assemblies will each receive ¢1.5 billion.

The remaining 103 district assemblies will receive ¢1 billion each.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Yaw Osafo-Maafo, disclosed this at a news conference in Accra yesterday to shed light on the status of the HIPC initiative and the benefits so far accruing from it.

The news conference was attended by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mr Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu, the acting Minister of Information and Presidential Affairs, Paapa Owusu-Ankomah, a deputy Minister of Finance, Dr A. Agambilla.

Giving guidelines for accessing the funds by the various assemblies, he said each beneficiary assembly and its chief executive is to submit a prioritised list of proposed projects to benefit from the first tranche of 50 per cent of the approved allocation and upon satisfactory progress on the implementation of the first tranche, the balance of 50 per cent will be released.

He said the prioritised list must be submitted immediately for the funds to be made available to them.

Mr Osafo-Maafo said the identified projects must be submitted through the respective regional ministers, who in turn, will liaise with the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, who, has overall responsibility for the implementation of the district programmes at the national level.

He said HIPC accounts have been opened for all the 110 MMDAs to facilitate the monitoring of the use of the funds.

Mr Osafo-Maafo said the government last week released an

• Continued on P.

## STOP PRESS

*World heavyweight boxing champion Lennox Lewis arrived in the country last night for a 10-day private visit.*

*Lewis, who led a 40-man entourage, said he is in Ghana to attend a friend's engagement ceremony and also hold discussions about his career with trainer Emmanuel Steward and American promoter Don King, who arrived in Accra yesterday morning.*

*The WBC, IBF and IBO champion is scheduled to meet President J.A. Kufuor at the Castle today.*

## Council refused Ya Na's request for reinforcement

By Samuel Kyei-Bosteng & Kwame Asare Sunyani

Yagbonwura Na Yakubu Abdulai told the Commission yesterday that the Regional Security Council (REGSEC) refused Ya Na Yakubu Andani's request for reinforcement when the dua attacked him at the Gbewaa

He alleged that the Tamale Municipal Chief Executive (MCE), Mr Iddrisu Adam, who chaired a REGSEC meeting in Tamale on March 26, during which the request was made, there was no need for reinforcement

• Continued on P. 3

## Help Africa exit debt trap — Amoako

Kojo Kwarteng, Johannesburg, South Africa, & SYG Ghana Chamber of Mines, Gold Fields Ghana Limited

Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA), Dr K.Y. Amoako, has called on rich and developing nations to move beyond the current debt relief effort and devise innovative ways that will propel African countries and other developing nations to exit the debt trap.

He said even though aid is a neccessity to bail African countries from the difficult conditions, innovative financing strategies and guaranteed long-term resource flows are the best means to achieve sustained development.

Dr Amoako was presenting a paper at the plenary session of the on-going World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) at the Sandton City Council in Johannesburg, South

• Continued on P. 3

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# ...urity refused Ya Na's request for reinforcement

...ued from P.1

...was suffi... Yendi ... before the ... probing the ... the 101st ... Na who is ... Vitting near ... he warned ... that if they ... the reinforce... the Ya Na ... you will hear ... do not want to ... idence by the ... the commis... Yaw Wiredu-... Abdulai said ... the Regent of ... Ziblim Abdulai ... that Yendi ... and sent him ... what was hap... the following ... set off for ... one of the wives ... his personal ... another person ... open Omega ... with registra... GR 9699 ... leading counsel ... Nana Obiri ... gested to him ... was no vehicle ... country with that ... number Na ... said his child who ... the number for ... have made the ... Abdulai said on ... Yendi at 9 a.m., ... gunshots from ... of the Bolin... and when he ... the Gbewaa ... met the Ya Na ... ned that he was ... attack by members ... Abudu family. ... Abdulai said, some... called Musah was ... the thigh in his ... front of the ... was sent to the ... al but when ... Mr Wiredu... saw the one ... Musah witness ... the negative. ... next question by ... Wiredu-Peprah ... the people at the ... waa Palace ... gunfire or not ... said no ... Abdulai said the Ya ... to contact Na ... the Regent of ... inform the then ... Minister Prince ... Andani to send ... personnel immedi... Yendi to rescue ... life was in dan...

Na Ziblim went to the offices of the Regional Co-ordinating Council (RCC) the Regional Co-ordinating Director told them that the Regional Minister had travelled to Accra.

Na Abdulai said by that time the REGSEC was holding a meeting under the chairmanship of the Tamale Municipal Chief Executive (MCE), Mr Adam and they had the opportunity to brief the members of the need to send security re-inforcement to Yendi, as the situation was getting out of hand.

Na Abdulai said the council members told him that since there were security personnel at Yendi, as there was no need to send additional men there.

Witness said the MCE asked them to return at 2 p.m. as they were going for lunch.

He said they returned to the meeting place at 1.30 p.m. as they were bent on ensuring that the security personnel were dispatched to Yendi.

Na Abdulai said on their return, the Regional Police Commander confirmed that the situation at Yendi was very serious and needed prompt attention but the MCE insisted that since there was security at Yendi, there was no need to send additional security personnel there.

He said around 5.30 p.m. when there was no sign that the REGSEC will give in to their request, they left.

Na Abdulai who is an Andani, said on March 27 when he and the Tamale Regent went back to the offices of the RCC to find out whether the security personnel had left for Yendi, they heard that the Ya Na had been killed.

Asked by Mr Wiredu-Peprah if he found out the whereabouts of the Deputy Regional Minister when the MCE was chairing the REGSEC meeting, witness said no.

At the instance of the commission, Na Abdulai identified the Tamale MCE in the hall and he was called to the witness box as the 102nd witness of the commission.

In answer to a question by the leading counsel for the Andanis, Mr Charles Hayibor, if he saw any build-up of warriors around the Gbewaa Palace when he went there on March 26, Na Abdulai replied in the negative.

To another question by the counsel whether he saw any securityman at the Gbewaa Palace, he said there was not a single security man there.

Asked how he felt when the REGSEC refused to provide security for the Ya Na, witness said he was very worried.

When Mr Hayibor asked him whether the unfortunate incident could have been averted if security had been provided for the Ya Na, Na Abdulai said even if four of them were available, nothing could have happened.

Na Abdulai flared up when it came to the turn of the counsel for the Abudus, Nana Boahen to cross examine him, compelling Nana Boahen to express concern about his conduct.

As the exchanges between the witness and the counsel were getting hotter, a policeman and a soldier moved to the area to avert any nasty incident. This prompted the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice I.N.K. Wuaku, to intervene and advise the witness to comport himself as the commission has the power to walk him out.

When tempers came down, Nana Boahen suggested to Na Abdulai that he went to Yendi in a Mercedes Benz bus with registration number AS 9604 C together with 31 others to fight for the Ya Na but witness denied it.

He described as untrue a suggestion by Nana Boahen that before they left Tamale for Yendi, they converged at the residence of Lawyer Ibrahim Mahama.

Counsel insisted that on March 25, witness, Ibrahim Diba and others met at Lawyer Mahama's house to adopt the strategy to overcome the Abudus but he denied the allegation.

He also told Nana Boahen that it was not true that in the night of March 25, he saw the Ya Na at Tamale.

To a suggestion by counsel that it was not true that someone known as Musah was shot in his presence, Na Abdulai said it was true, stressing that if it was false, the Quran should punish him.

Asked by Nana Boahen why he did not go to the security personnel at Yendi, but chose to contact the REGSEC in Tamale when he heard the gunshots in Yendi, witness stated that the Ya Na told him that the Yendi police and military were sitting aloof.

When Mr Justice Wuaku drew Na Abdulai's attention to a statement he made to the police in which he said he went to lawyer Mahama's house in Tamale before leaving for Yendi on March 26, he denied that he said so.

To another question by Mr Justice Wuaku to give the distance between him and where Musah was shot, Na Abdulai said he was standing near the pavilion where the Ya Na parked his car.

Asked by the commission chairman if those who shot the Ya Na could have shot him if they wanted, he replied in the affirmative.

When Mr Justice Wuaku asked him to give the security strength in Tamale and Yendi at the time of the disturbances, he said there were no security men at Tamale and Yendi because if they were there, the Ya Na would not have been murdered.

Asked by Professor Kwesi Yankah, a member of the commission, whether it was not dangerous to go to Yendi with a woman at that critical period or not, Na Abdulai said the information they gathered in Tamale was not as serious as what they saw at Yendi.

When it came to his turn to be cross-examined, the Tamale MCE, Mr Adam, rejected the claim by Na Abdulai that the REGSEC refused to provide security for the Ya-Na. He, however, admitted that Na Abdulai and the Tamale regent met with the REGSEC members on March 26.

The MCE said the two chiefs told the REGSEC that the police and military at Yendi were not doing anything to protect the Ya-Na who was under attack by the Abudus so they needed reinforcement.

Mr Adam alleged that the regent threatened that if the REGSEC failed to send the reinforcement, he would mobilise the people of Dagbon to Yendi and defend the Ya-Na.

The MCE said he advised them to exercise restraint as the REGSEC was going to ask the security services to take up the matter and at that point the two chiefs left.

He said the REGSEC asked the security services to mobilise their men and reconvene at 4 p.m. that day and when the service commanders came back at the appointed time, the Army Commander said he had mobilised 60 men and two officers.

Mr Adam stated that the police commander also told him that there were 90 policemen already at Yendi while he had given instructions that policemen with "Operation Gong-Gong" in the region be moved to Yendi to help contain the situation.

He said when the military commander complained of a faulty battery for their armoured vehicle, the municipal assembly bought a new one at the cost of ¢1.5 million and also released a vehicle to them to facilitate their work.

Asked by Mr Wiredu-Peprah if he followed to see whether the reinforcement left for Yendi, Mr Adam said that technical aspect was left to the commanders.

Witness said on March 27, REGSEC reconvened to take a security update and in the course of the meeting, the Regional Minister and his deputy came to join them at different times.

He said while they were at the meeting, Na-Abdulai came to inform them that around 3.30 p.m. the police and military reinforcement sent from Tamale to Yendi, fought the Ya-Na, wounded him and was on admission at the Yendi hospital.

Mr Adam said Na Abdulai requested the REGSEC to transfer the Ya-Na from the Yendi Hospital to the Tamale Hospital for treatment.

The MCE said he told the Zobogu Na that the security personnel who were dispatched to Yendi were responsible men and would not kill the Ya-Na.

According to Mr Adam, he heard of the death of the Ya-Na on radio in the night of March 27.

Asked by Mr Yahaya Seini, counsel for the Andanis if he would be surprised to hear that the BNI reported the death of the Ya-Na to their headquarters in Accra in the morning of March 27, Mr Adam answered in the positive.

In answer to a question by the counsel whether the REGSEC would not have sent reinforcement to Yendi if the two chiefs had not made the request, the MCE said REGSEC would have done so because they have other sources of information.

Fuseini Yamusah, a witness who rejected his own statement bearing his thumbprint, made a second appearance at the commission where Mr Justice Wuaku told him that the Police Forensic Laboratory Report had established that the thumbprint was his but the witness insisted that it was not his thumbprint.

Mr Justice Wuaku said the commission has every right to punish him but would not do so because it did not want to add any harm to the injury he sustained during the Yendi disturbances.

Before proceedings closed for the day, Mr Justice Wuaku announced that the commission would resume sitting at the GNAT Hall at the next adjourned date of September 2.

# ...17bn For projects

• Continued from P. 1

...8 billion to three ministries which have met the ... the release of funds under the HIPC initiative ... projects while the applications of three others ... being considered.

...Finance Minister said the government expects to ... a total of $253 million (¢1.973 trillion) in debt relief ...

...$96 million (¢749 billion) will be lodged in the ... account at the Bank of Ghana while $157 mil... ¢225 trillion due for repayment has been deferred ...

...$36.9 million, or ¢288 billion of the amount ... be lodged in the HIPC main account has been ...

...government has decided to utilise 20 per cent of ... approximately $19.2 million or ¢150 billion to ... domestic debt and 80 per cent, the equivalent of ... million or ¢599 billion on poverty-related activities."

...afo-Maafo said it is the expectation of the govern... that the release of ¢749 billion HIPC funds into the ... will immediately create jobs and through that ... poverty especially in the rural areas as well as ener... economy. "At the end of the day, that visionary deci... by the President to take advantage of the HIPC ... has been more than vindicated," he stated.

...said the government expects to reach the completion ... the shortest possible time but not exceeding two ... within which period many Ghanaians would have ... terms with the huge financial benefits to be accrue ...

...afo-Maafo said the government expects about ... billion relief funds to accrue to the nation under the ... initiative next year.

...said since its assumption of office, the government ... borrowed $1.12 billion but said it has a moratorium of ... years before repayment commences.

# Help Africa exit debt trap

• Continued from P. 1

Africa, yesterday.

Dr Amoako called on African countries to strengthen domestic resource mobilisation and attract greater foreign private sector finance and investment.

He said Africa remains the poorest continent, with per capita income of $326.

He said a total of 300 million people are living in extreme poverty on the continent today compared to 200 million 14 years ago.

Four of every 10 Africans live in extreme poverty and subsist on less than a dollar per day, he added.

"If African countries are to achieve and sustain annual growth rates of seven per cent deemed necessary for sustained development innovative financing strategies are needed," he said.

Dr Amoako called on rich countries to fund accelerated implementation of the key agreements reached on climate, desertification and biodiversity.

He said greater political will is required to significantly reverse the decline in aid and maintain predictable support for the future.

He said sustained and broad-based economic transformation is needed to achieve poverty reduction within and across generations.

"The key to realising this sustainability is harnessing the capabilities of individuals and their communities," the ECA Executive Secretary said.

Dr Amoako said the rapid population growth, severity of ill-health, food insecurity and environmental stress are likely to increase.


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**17TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**

**NOTICE IS HEREBY** given that, the 17th Annual General Meeting of Shareholders of the Bank, will come on at the **Presbyterian Chapel, Nankese on Saturday, 14th September 2002 at 10 am prompt.**

AGENDA:

1. To adopt minutes of the 16th Annual General Meeting
2. To receive and consider the Accounts for the year ending 31st December 2001 and Directors Report.
3. To authorise Directors to fix the remuneration of Auditors
4. To re-appoint Auditors
5. To confirm election of Directors
6. Any other matter.

NB: All Shareholders who have not received their notices may call at the various Agencies of the Bank (i.e. Suhum, Koforidua, Asamankese and Nankese office) to receive same.

*By Order of the Board*

SECRETARY