

**AN EXAMINATION OF TELEVISION POLITICAL ADVERTISING
BEFORE THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

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ABSTRACT

The study is an analysis of the content of political party television advertisements preceding the 2012 general elections. The study, among others, aimed to find out which of the two major political parties, the ruling NDC and the opposition NPP, relied on negative advertising to achieve their aims. It also sought to find out which issues the two parties focused on. The study was anchored in the functional theory of political campaign discourse. A content analysis of seventy-one television advertisements was conducted. The study found that the NPP relied more on negative advertising whereas the NDC relied more on acclaims. It also found that both parties focused their advertisements on the issues rather than focus on their candidates. A recommendation this study makes is that a trend analysis of political advertisements from the 1992 elections to date should be conducted to give an idea of how political campaign advertisements have evolved over the years.



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, who have always supported me and pushed me to do my best.



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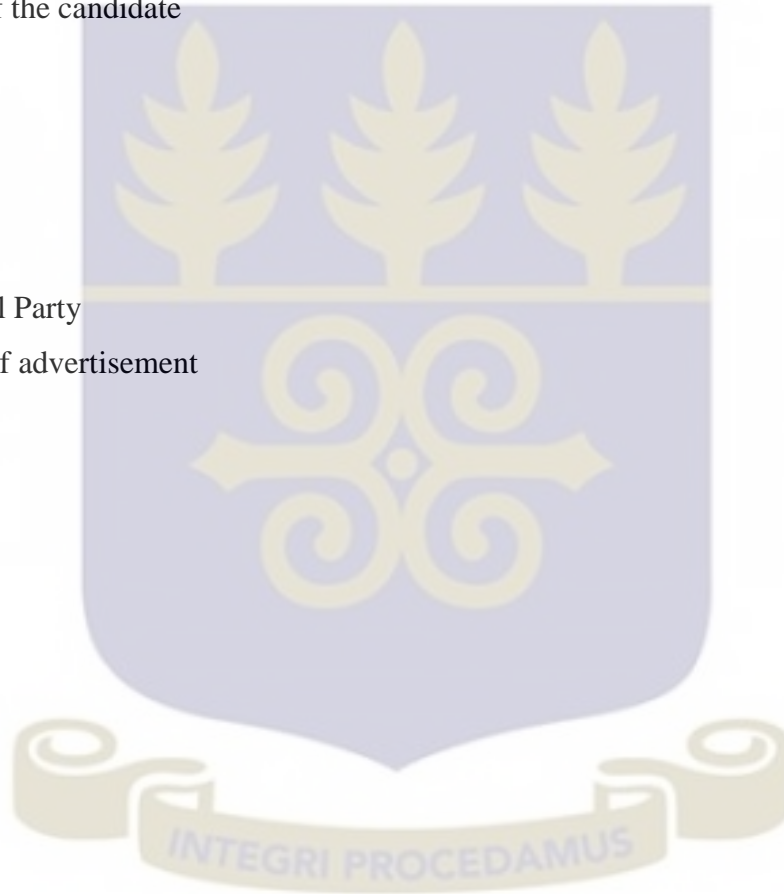
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background

Political advertising is a mainstay of elections. From the lowest level elections through to national elections, candidates spend money to get their message out to convince voters that they are the best candidate for them. Whether in print form, the airwaves or the internet, candidates try to ensure that they are visible to the electorate. Also contained in these ads are messages that inform prospective voters what that particular candidate hopes to offer.

There are various definitions of political advertising. One states that as a concept it is used during elections to inform, educate and set the political agenda using various media formats such as radio, television and print. One way voters gather political information is through political advertising campaigns. Political campaigns all over the world attract much attention and publicity and they have generated lively and sometimes hostile discussions (Mensa-Bonsu, 1979).

Political parties advertising is the structured and composed non-personal communication of information usually paid for and persuasive in nature, about products goods, services and ideas by identified sponsors through various media (Advertising Educational Foundation, 2005). Due to this, advertising is practiced in many democracies. Political advertising is a form of commercial advertising that politicians use to make voters aware of their record, their stand on issues, and ultimately their political vision (Arens & Bovee, 1994). It involves elements of planning, co-ordination and implementation, which would make the advertisement precise unequivocal and convincing; quality implies credibility (Anyimah-Acquah, 2000)

Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo (2014 p.3) state that “advertising which focuses on the marketing of ideas, attitudes, and concerns about public issues, including political concepts and political candidates. The essential task of political advertising is to gain the confidence of the people for their acceptance of ideas and, in the case of political campaign advertising, to influence their vote. Political advertising include a mass communication used for the purpose of appealing, directly or indirectly, for votes or for financial or other support or opposition in any election campaign.” This shows that political parties have taken the basic concept of advertising and moulded them to suit their purposes. Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo (2014) also differentiate between political advertising and commercial advertising “first, the product is a person or a philosophy rather than goods and services and second, the advertising objectives must be met within a specific timeframe.” This shows that the target of political advertising is different as compared to commercial advertising. Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo(2014p.3) also claim that political advertising carries a moral implication, because the results of advertising have potentially far-reaching effects on the population at large. Political advertising raises many controversial social questions concerning the funding of political campaigns, the truth or reality of political claims, and the likelihood of defamatory claims made by political candidates. Political advertising involves the use of advertising by politicians to bring their messages to the masses. Politicians promote their parties to grab the attention of the electorate (Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo, 2014). Unlike commercial advertising where products are promoted, political advertising promotes individual. Political parties' view election strategically. Not only this, they feel that the strategies involved in marketing of products and services by the companies may boost prospects in the election contests. The history of politics is as old as the history of

humanity itself. Politicians have always marketed themselves with an aim to win over their rivals by grabbing more votes during the election season. The primary aim for political advertising is to win over the electorate (Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo, 2014). There are two types of advertising in the context of political advertising- positive and negative advertising. If a party tries to project a positive image of it by highlighting its achievements when it was in power, it is referred as positive advertising. While in case of negative advertising, one party smears another's image by criticizing it. Both positive and negative advertising are the most common types of political advertising according to (Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo, 2014). The technique is frequently employed to tarnish the image of the target party or any particular candidate.

Regular media coverage is called free because it allows candidates and parties to appear in the media without having to pay for it. Because this kind of coverage for example, the news resides within the responsibility of the media and therefore enjoys higher credibility than candidate sponsored activities, political actors try first of all to get into the free media. The downside of free coverage, however, is that the usual journalistic selection and production criteria apply, and political actors cannot influence when, how long, or how they are covered. Paid media, in contrast, allow candidates, parties, and sometimes-other interest groups to decide how they want to present themselves to the voters (Holtz-Bacha & Kaid, 2006). From this, one can see that politicians employ the use of both means to send their messages out to the electorate to make their decisions.

Political advertisements are very important to any political campaign. Whether it is through print, television or online modern means political campaigns rely heavily on them to get their message across to voters (Kaid, 2012). For instance, president Obama in his 2012 re-election spent close to \$400 million. (Confessore and McGinty, 2012).

Politics in Ghana made some progress through the work of the media. The history and development of the mass media in Ghana are 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). The liberalisation of the media landscape in the early 1990's made it possible for political parties to reach a large majority of Ghanaians at all times and in various ways. Be it through television, print, radio or the internet, politicians have been able to bridge the gap between them and the electorate.

Brock (2001) observes that the liberalisation of the broadcast media brought about a boom in advertising and suggests that advertising in Ghana has undergone a dramatic change from what it used to be in the early 1990's. In her opinion, advertising practitioners are more imaginative and innovative in creating awareness about products, services and ideas and political advertising it seems, is no exception. It is also another way in which the public, through mass media is informed about political campaigns and election issues (Brock, 2001).

In addition, the rise in negative political advertising is an issue that seems to be the norm nowadays (Kern,1989). This leads to counterattacks, so that negative advertising becomes a dominant method in many campaigns.

The 2012 general elections was a keenly contested one between the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party. This study sought to discover if their ads focused on the issues at hand or otherwise.

1.1.1 History of television in Ghana

As at the third quarter of 2011, the National Communication Authority had registered 28 television operators in the country with 17 of them being operational. Out of this number, only four, Ghana Television (GTV), Metropolitan Television (Metro TV), Multichoice Ghana and Multimedia Broadcasting Company limited were able to broadcast nationwide. (National Communication Authority, 2011)

Television was introduced to Ghana on 31 July 1965 as part of the operations of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and was known as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Television Service (GBC-TV Service). When transmission first started, only small parts of the country were covered, reaching only the northern part of the Ashanti region and the southern part of the Brong Ahafo region. Transmission in Tamale was rebroadcast 24 hours later from tapes of the previous day's programs in Accra carried by the State Transport Corporation, or in better times, Ghana Airways (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998). Ghana Television took off under the Ghana Canadian Technical Assistance Programme signed in 1961 and the GBC-TV Service came into existence. A television training school, the first of its kind in Africa was established to train staff for the television service. Ghana Television service began transmitting for two and a half hours a week in 1965 (Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, 1985).

Earlier on the television was seen as a tool for education and as part of the ruling Convention Peoples Party socialist agenda because did away with commercialism. All this changed when the capitalist oriented National Liberation Council came to power in 1966. (Ansu-Kyeremeh & Karikari, 1998).

Television since its inception during the 1960's has proven to be a very popular medium through which messages are created for the public to consume. Brock (2001) Points out that over the years, GTV developed strong credibility and therefore gained the trust of its viewers. It is for this reason that political parties since 1979 used that medium to transmit political advertisements

The later part of the 20th century saw the introduction of private television stations in the country. This signaled the end of the monopoly of Ghana Television, which was finally broken on 1st October, 1997 by TV3. The station began transmission with initial coverage in the Greater Accra Region, parts of Central Region, Eastern Region, and lower Volta Region. Coverage was expanded to the Ashanti Region in 2000 and to the Western Region in 2005. Coverage is now nationwide in all regional capitals in Ghana (About Us : TV3, 2015).

The second private broadcaster that launched operations in 1997 was Metropolitan Television. It started transmission and successfully established its brand as Ghana's second largest private broadcasting station, by providing national coverage to all Ten Regional Capitals in Ghana (About Us : Metropolitan Television, 2015)

The third private television station to launch transmission was Television Africa (TV Africa). The station started test transmission in 2002 and was formally launched by the then president of Ghana, John Agyekum Kuffour on the 17th of May, 2003. The station seeks to celebrate Africa's contribution to the world. Television Africa is the first private television station to be owned by a Ghanaian. (About Us : Television Africa, 2015) .

1.1.2 Beginnings of political advertising in Ghana

According to Jake Obetsebi-Lamprey as cited by (Gbeho, 2007) even though television had been operating in the country for fourteen years since, 1965, it was still not readily available to the majority of the Ghanaian population which made it an exclusive medium. Despite its exclusivity, General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong used it to run the famous “*Abaaba se*” meaning, “*They will come back*” advertisement to popularise his UNIGOV campaign in 1978. The first television advertising designed for election politics was undertaken by Lintas Advertising Company in 1979 as part of the Popular Front Party (PFP) led by Victor Owusu. The political advertisement ran for about one month before the July 1979 elections and featured only on Ghana Television, as it was the only Television station at the time. Concurrently the People’s National Party (PNP) also ran political ads on television to introduce their presidential candidate, Dr. Hilla Liman.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The running of political ads on various media platforms takes a sizeable chunk of campaign budget. Candidates and their parent parties spend huge sums of money during elections to convey major themes, make comments about the opposition and discuss each other’s personal qualities. Political campaigns use ideas such as hope, trust and confidence to win over the electorate and they need to come up with messages that appeal to the electorate Awonusi (1996).

This study sought to find the focus of messages put out for voters. The liberalisation of the airwaves in the 1990’s has created an atmosphere where there is fierce competition between rival media houses. This has also made it possible for the political parties to spread their messages to the public therefore making it interesting case study to see what messages the ads contain. The study further sought to examine the political campaign ads of the two major political parties in

Ghana to find out if the advertisements concentrated on policy, acclamations, defense, or personal attacks.

1.3 Research objectives

This is a study about the December 2012 elections in Ghana. The country has seen a steady increase in the use of many forms of political campaign advertising. The mass media are very powerful in their portrayal of political parties and candidates, and as well, as sources for the electorate. The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To find the focus of the advertisements; whether they focused on acclaims, attacks or defense
2. To find out which of the two political parties relied more on negative advertising

1.4 Research questions

- RQ 1: What did the television ads of the two main political parties seek to do, did they acclaim, attack or defend candidates of the two parties?
- RQ 2: What images were reflected in the television advertisements?
- RQ 3: How do these television ads present the incumbent and opposition to the electorate?
- RQ 4: What campaign issues did the two major political parties raise in the advertisements?

1.5 Significance of the study

Ever since Dwight Eisenhower put out his television ads in 1952, politicians have come to accept the necessity of strong advertising support especially on the television. This is also the case when it comes to Ghana as political parties are seeing the need to get their messages out to the electorate. Earlier studies have focused on the influence advertisements have had on voter decisions. What this study hopes to achieve is to find out what messages these ads contain currently, as there is little literature on political advertising and what they focus on in Ghana. The majority of them are of American or European origin. This study hopes to provide an insight into what messages the political parties see fit to put out there for the electorate to base their decision on who to vote for. In addition, the study could contribute to the development of policy guidelines for political campaigning, advertising and the kind of content allowed not just for politicians and political parties but also for advertising agencies and media organizations.

1.6 Scope and justification of the study

This study will examine political ads of the two major political parties in the country, that is, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP). These two were selected as they are the biggest parties in the country and have access to more resources than the other parties thereby giving them the ability to put out more ads for the electorate to view.

1.7 Definition of terms

- Political Advertising: The use of advertisements on television to influence voters.

- Negative Advertising: Trying to win an advantage by referring to negative aspects of an opponent or of a policy
- Political campaign: The process where political parties use their resources to convince voters to elect them into power.
- Electorate : The people who vote during an election
- Acclamation: The act of taking credit for work done
- Defence: The act of refuting an attack or defending policy during the campaign period
- Attack: To criticize the character or policy of one's opponent
- Policy: A deliberate system of principles to guide decisions that will inform the decisions made by the party.
- Chroma Key: The use of special effects to create an artificial background instead of going on location to shoot an advertisement or documentary during the campaign period.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has defined the problem and explored the underlying issues related to political advertising. It also set the objectives and posed questions that were to be answered. The next chapter will discuss related literature and how they influence the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Related Literature and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews related literature from studies that have been done, in both the West and some parts of Africa. However, quite a large number of the studies on the focus of political campaigns come from the West. It also discusses the theoretical framework that will underpin the study.

2.2 Related literature

Isolatus (2011), sought to describe the characteristics of Finnish television advertising by means of the functional theory of political campaign discourse and to critically evaluate the applicability of functional theory to the analysis of Finnish political campaigning. He analysed a debate from the second round of the Finnish presidential campaign 2006. The researcher then transcribed the debate and coded them into themes which found out that both candidates relied heavily on defense, 41% of the defenses were for the incumbent while the corresponding figure for the opponent was 30%. The research also showed that the opposition had nearly as many attacks (29%) as defenses, but incumbent had fewer attacks (27%). However, the candidates used approximately the same number of attacks. The incumbent had acclaims in 14% of her turns and her opponent 18%. The candidates had a similar relation between policy and character topics: one third were character topics and two thirds policy topics.

Gbeho (2007) sought to find out what issues were raised in the advertising of the two major political parties in Ghana. She also sought to find out the nature of the advertisements and whether they had an effect on voter decision during the 2004 campaign. She used a content analysis of television ads and a survey of residents of a suburb in Accra to answer her research

questions. From the research, it came to light that the incumbent at the time the NPP were positive in nature and nature and sought to highlight their achievements during their term of office. The NDC on the other hand were more negative with their ads which were issue based backing the claim by (Benoit, 1999) that most often than not political candidates tend to base their campaign strategies on issues. The result of the survey of a 150 people showed that even though 70.9% of the respondents felt that the ads from both parties were truthful it did not have a major effect on their decision on who to vote for during the election.

Boyle (2004) sought to find out how political parties in the U.S. sought to set their agenda during the 1996 U.S. presidential campaign. He compared the content of political campaign advertisements, network news and the press. Results showed that issues were influenced by what was focused on by the media. Boyle's work also concluded that challengers were more inclined to present negative messages focusing on a few select issues to make an impact as the incumbent is usually already in the lead.

Sindane (2010) sought to find out what messages were covered in the political advertisements on television during South Africa's 2009 presidential election. The researcher then utilised a thematic content analysis, document analysis as well as questionnaires as means of a methodology. A purposive sample was drawn from the political advertisements which appeared on national television. The research found that the South African advertisements did not focus too much on images of the candidate but rather on issues.

Alqaseer (2013) sought to find out what were the most common functions in political discourse of acclaim, attack or defense in Kuwaiti political advertisements. The study sought to find out what were the most common policy or character topics in the political discourse of political

advertisements in Kuwait. The study looked out for the policies candidates find most appealing to Kuwaiti voters as indicated by the candidates' political advertisements. Finally the study also looked at character qualities did candidates find most appealing to Kuwaiti voters as indicated by the candidates' political advertisements? The study also wanted to find out what were the differences between incumbents and challengers in regard to functions, and topics used in political advertisements. A content analysis of the country's two largest daily newspapers; *Alwatan* and *Alqabas* was conducted. The findings indicated that Kuwaiti political advertising did not focus on negative advertising, with only one negative utterance during the 2012 elections and no negative discourse in the political advertisements during the 2009 elections. Also the research found out that in Kuwaiti politics character was what the political concentrated on. Economic prosperity was another issue that the parties focused on during the campaign period. Another finding made was that incumbents and challengers use the same strategies when it came to canvassing for votes from the electorate. Finally, according to the analysis, winners and losers did not differ on the use of policy and character functions, as they did differ in the use of negative and positive discourse in political advertisements.

Iyengar, Valentino, Ansolabehere, and Simon (1997) studied how voters view potential candidates in political campaigns based on their campaign messages on television, which are usually influenced by gender stereotyping. They used an experiment to assess the effect of campaign advertising and found out that stereotypical expectations about the strengths and weaknesses of candidates serve as important considerations for interpreting and understanding campaign communication. The findings of Iyengar *et al* suggest that candidates and their parties to play to their strengths and focus on presenting their candidates in a positive light.

Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, (2006) conducted a study to find out if questions of issue and character were also the basis of campaigns by politicians in countries such as England, France, Germany, Italy, Israel, Turkey and South Korea. They conducted a content analysis of political campaign ads from the countries and compared them to the United States of America. The research concluded that most countries concentrated the content of their ads on issues. Korea and Turkey were the exceptions. The study found that political broadcasts across countries were overwhelmingly positive, not negative, in their focus. The United States is the notable exception with 42% of their ads being negative in nature during campaigning for the 2004 elections. The study concluded that despite the emphasis on issues and positive claims, most leaders and parties relied on emotional appeals, rather than logical or source credibility proof, to make their points. Exceptions were France, Britain, and the United States, where logical appeals dominated.

(Damore, 2004), who examined the dynamics of the agenda-setting process in U.S. presidential campaigns, concluded that candidates addressed certain issues because of the importance of an issue to the electorate. The argument is that the agenda setting function of the mass media selects and emphasises certain issues that are perceived as important by the public because attention is directed at those issues. Thus, potential voters, including politicians, would report that there are issues which they focus on because those issues are important to them. This shows that issues in public domain play a key role in the messages put out and determine the tone of the campaign.

Kaid and Johnston, (1991) also studied the trend of growing negative advertisement by conducting a trend analysis of the period between 1966-1988 U.S. presidential campaigns. They found that negative advertising had been increasing since 1970 but held steady from 1980 through to 1988. The study also showed that negative advertising provided more information on issues than positive advertising and in some ways work as a tool for persuasion.

Edegoh, Ezebuenyi, & Asemh (2013) conducted a study to find if exposure to television advertising influenced respondents preference for advertised candidates. Also the study sought to know if television advertising stimulated quicker recall in voters than any form of advertising. The final research question the study wanted to know if television advertising was the best form of political advertising. The objectives of the study were to find whether exposure to political advertising on television would influence respondents' preference for advertised candidates. The study also sought to assess whether television advertising stimulated quicker recall in voters than any other form of advertising. A survey of 400 people was conducted in Anambra state in Nigeria and from it they came to the conclusion that exposure to political campaigns through television could influence respondents preference for advertised candidates. It also showed that the ads stimulated a quicker recall of candidates, meaning that a respondent was more likely to remember a candidate whose ad had been running on television than one whose did not have any ads running on television. Fifty four per cent of the respondents agreed with the notion that television did influence voters to go to the polls whilst 27% felt otherwise. Finally 41% of respondents felt that television advertising was the best medium through which candidates could persuade voter to vote for them.

Daignault, Soroka, & Giasson (2013) investigated the immediate and simultaneous effects of positive, negative, and mixed-content electoral ads from the 2011 federal elections in Canada. They utilised a content analysis of 145 televised electoral ads broadcast during the last two federal election campaigns (2008 and 2011) by the four main political parties, in both French and English. They then conducted an experiment whereby people were randomly selected to watch the ads and had their reactions monitored. After that the participants were made to watch the ads again and this time were told to note down what they felt when they watched the ads. From this

experiment they were able to conclude that negative televised election ads generated heightened attention levels and a higher level of physiological activation in individuals when compared with positive or mixed messages.

Ansolabhere, Iyengar, Simon, & Valentino, (1994) conducted a study to find out if voter turnout was affected by attack advertising. The studies took place during the 1990 California gubernatorial race, the 1992 California Senate races, and the 1993 Los Angeles mayoral race. The researchers gathered their data by randomly sampling views from people who watched television ads. Some watched one that was positive and others watched the negative. Both advertisements featured the same voice and same shots but with different texts. After that the subjects were asked to fill a questionnaire. The results from the questionnaire demonstrated that attack advertising extracts a toll on electoral participation. In the experiments, voting intention dropped by five per cent when participants were shown an attack advertisement in place of a positive advertisement.

Mattes et al (2010) tried to find possible effects on political decisions were made on any other factors apart from competence. The researchers took the images of politicians running for office and made sure that they were of the same gender, ethnicity and quality. From there, the respondents were asked to choose a face they felt to be attractive, competent, deceitful and threatening. Each picture was shown for a second. After viewing the pictures the respondents were then given a sheet with instructions to follow and with four questions on them to answer. The study concluded that attractive candidates were more likely to be dishonest as compared to their less attractive counterparts.

2.3 Theoretical framework

This sub section explains the assumptions of the functional theory of political campaign discourse. This theory will provide the foundation for explaining and understanding the uses of political campaign messages that political parties put out for the electorate to watch and make decisions on. Brock (2001) observes that, “theories help the researcher to conceptualise and explain a particular social or natural phenomenon as well as to allow observations to be used for predicting or explaining events” (p.15).

The functional theory of political campaign discourse argues that campaign messages are functional, designed to persuade voters that one candidate is preferable to opponents. Only three utterances can show preferability by acclaiming, attacking and defending. These three functions can occur on two topics; policy and character. Policy utterances can address past deeds, plans or general goals. Character comments can address personal qualities, leadership ability or ideals. (Benoit, 2008).

Most candidates use their campaign messages to persuade voters to choose them over opponents. Political campaigns matter – because presidents, prime ministers, and chancellors propose and implement vital policies – and Functional Theory can help understand the messages from viable candidates for office. The theory is based on six assumptions, which will be explained.

Voting is a comparative act: When citizens cast their votes, they have straightforward choices: They can choose between a set number of candidates and it clearly involves a reasonable judgment. It is possible that a voter would agree with a candidate or party on many, but not all, issues. So, each person is essentially deciding which candidate seems to be preferable on whatever factor matters the most to that person.

Candidates must distinguish themselves from opponents: Because voting is a comparative action, candidates must tell voters how they differ from other candidates. If a citizen does not see any difference between two candidates, he or she has no reason to prefer one candidate to the other. This means that political candidates who run in contested races must develop clear distinctions between themselves and their opponents. This does not mean that candidates for elective office must differ on every possible point of comparison. For this reason, there would be some similarities in the issue positions of the candidates. Still, if voters are to have a basis for choosing one candidate instead of another, the candidates must make clear to voters some points of distinction.

Political campaign messages are important ways for distinguishing between candidates. Candidates use campaign messages to convey the differences between competitors that they chose to emphasize to voters. Some campaign messages reach voters directly, as they listen to a candidate's speech, watch a television ad, read a political pamphlet, and watch a televised debate. On the other hand, some information from candidate messages (including their press releases) indirectly.

Candidates establish preferability through acclaim, attacking, and defending. It is not enough for political candidates to be distinctive in their messages; they must strive to appear to be different from opponents in ways that will attract voters. Therefore, candidates must be unique from opponents in ways that make them appear preferable to other contenders. The need for politicians to appear as the right candidate to potential voters means that campaign messages have three potential functions; attack, acclaim or defend. First the candidate's message tell voters about the positives of the candidate. This is to make the candidate look presentable in the eyes of the voters thereby swaying their opinion, which will lead them to vote for that candidate.

A second function of campaign messages is to attack the opponent, it is to make the candidates' opponent look undesirable in the eyes of the voters. This is done by identifying the opponents' weaknesses and mistakes made during that persons tenure of office or in another capacity. Many voters say that they do not like defamation but this does not mean it works in the favour of the aggressor. This also means that there is the risk of estranging voters who find such acts unacceptable and would not want to be associated with candidates who rather choose to focus on the negatives of their opponents instead of focusing on themselves. This is not to say that attacks are not an option used during political campaigns and it is capable of persuading voters to change their mind about a particular candidate. Also, attacks are seen as a desperate move by opponents who are trailing throughout the campaign. The third function of political campaign messages is defence, an act that refutes an attack. This if well done can save the image of the candidate and restore his or her preferability in the eyes of the voting public. One should note that a defence also has its drawbacks. It can make the response to an attack look defensive, as if one is trying to defend ones actions. Candidates prefer to look proactive instead of reactive. Secondly, attacks are most likely to bring out the candidates' weakness and in trying to respond the candidate might go off message. Finally, a candidate must identify an attack before refuting it. By mentioning it, the voters might be reminded of the candidate's weakness and might change their mind. This means that it is possible to analyse political campaign discourse into statements that acclaim, attacks one's opponent and defend oneself from an opponent's attack.

Campaign discourse occurs on two topics: policy and character: Candidates have only two broad topics to try to distinguish themselves from each other. They can discuss either two to make themselves look unique. A candidate might try to present himself as competent and decisive. The

other might try to present himself as compassionate or honest. In addition, candidates would like to talk about what they would do for the nation when they are in power. Policy and character are the two general topics on which candidates can try to establish their individuality.

Finally, a candidate must win a majority of the votes cast in an election. One should note that a candidate does not need persuade the entire electorate that he or she is the preferred candidate. It is impractical and unrealistic for anyone to be able to win an absolute majority during an election. One reason is that some policy positions will simultaneously attract some voters and repel others. For instance, in 2012, Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) during his campaign proposed that senior high school education be made free; the then vice president John Dramani Mahama opposed this, saying it was not feasible. Voters were split on this proposal, so it is only realistic that candidates do not hope to win all the votes cast in the election.

2.4 Summary

The review of literature reflected on the context within which the study was conducted. The study sought to look at the specific content of political advertisements in Ghana. It also sought to find which of the two major political parties to engaged in negative advertising. However, there were difficulties in acquiring data to conduct the study due to poor record keeping. Despite this, studies conducted by the researchers quoted in review provided some basis for carrying out this study. Based on the literature reviewed one can assume that opposition parties tend to put out more attack advertisements and political parties tend to focus on the issues during a campaign.

The discussion of the theory throw more light on the framework on which the study is based on. The assumptions of the functional theory of political campaign discourse make it suitable for the study, which seeks to identify how the political parties presented themselves to the electorate and whether they focused on the issues or on the candidate.



CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The study used a content analysis to analyse the messages put out by the two main political parties in the period before the 2012 elections. This chapter will indicate systematically, how the study was undertaken. To answer the research questions, this chapter explains how a content analysis of the political advertisements of the two dominant political parties was used to identify the focus of the ads. Benoit (1999), states that candidates establish preferability through *acclaims, attacks, or defence*. Hence, the use of a quantitative content analysis of the ads to find out which party used any of these three attributes the most.

3.1.1 Content analysis

Content analysis is a research approach that is very popular and frequently used in studies of the media, Wimmer & Dominick, 2011 cite Walizer and Wienir who define content analysis as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information. They also cite Kerlinger who says that it is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. They make note of the fact that content analysis is systematic, objective and quantitative in nature. Traditionally, content analysis has been used as a descriptive tool to identify characteristics of messages.

Wimmer & Dominick (2011) state and explain some of the uses of content analysis. First, it used to describe communication content. Several studies have classified the characteristics of a given body of communication at one or more points in time. For example, trying to find out how

often violent scenes were shown in movies and if they had increased over the years. This is used by broadcasters to get a measure of the trends in television programming. It is for this reason some programmes have age ratings and some are shown at particular times of the day. Also, content analysis is used to assess the image of particular groups in society. A study by Gbeho (2007) sought to find out what voters thought of negative ads broadcast during elections and found out that most voters were not in favour of attack ads during campaign season. Content analysis enables us to find empirical evidence about what the political parties focused on during the campaign period and what the major messages were in those ads run on tv.

This description of content analysis seems to work as the most suitable method for analysing the political advertisements. This method allows for the researcher to identify and describe the trends in communication over a period of time, enabling him or her to make valid and replicable generalisations from the data analysed.

Seventy-one political advertising messages were analysed based on various content categories as indicated on a coding sheet. Two copies of the same coding sheet with the same questions were used to content analyse the NPP and NDC separately. The coding sheet was tested to ensure that all relevant areas are covered so that they answered all the research questions.

The data was analysed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) and from that the research questions were answered. This is a software programme that enables the research derived from the content analysis to be analysed and then certain trends can be noted.

As is with most research there were some challenges that hindered the smooth running of the project. There was difficulty in getting the advertisements from the television stations proved to

be an obstacle as the stations were reluctant to release copies of the advertisements. This made it difficult for the analysis to be carried out promptly.

3.1.2 Population and Sampling

The population to be analysed consisted of seventy-one advertisements, forty-five advertisements from the NDC and twenty-six from NPP. The sample for this study included all available advertisements from GTV. There is no database for accessing television advertisements in Ghana unlike in the United States of America where the advertisements are readily available on the web through sites like livingroomcandidate.org.

3.1.3 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the smallest unit of a content analysis (Wimmer and Dominick 2011). For the purpose of this study, television advertisements from the NDC and the NPP were selected.

3.1.4 Research instrument

A coding scheme, developed based on the research questions, was used to record the patterns and categories of the data. The coding scheme consisted of variables that coded for the name of the party, focus of the advertisements, issues discussed and image projected.

3.1.5 Data collection and procedure

The data was collected from Ghana Television (GTV). Advertisements from the NDC and the NPP were the only advertisements under consideration. They also had to be from the party themselves and not outsiders. Data was coded to reveal whether the advertisements focused on the issue or on the candidate, issues discussed in the advertisements, language used, duration, what kind of image the party sought to project and whether the advertisement attacked, acclaimed or defended the party and their record.

3.1.6 Inter-coder reliability

To ensure there was little error in the coding, the researcher trained two students from the Department of Communication Studies to test for inter-coder reliability. The students were taken through the coding scheme and the operational definition of variables to code for. After training, the researcher conducted a pilot study by randomly selecting some of the advertisements for the coders to code. Holsti's (1969) inter-coder reliability formula was used to test the pilot study.

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

In the formula, M represents the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed. N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coders respectively Holsti (1969).

Coding for the focus of the advertisements, below was the result:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2(11)}{14 + 14} = 0.78$$

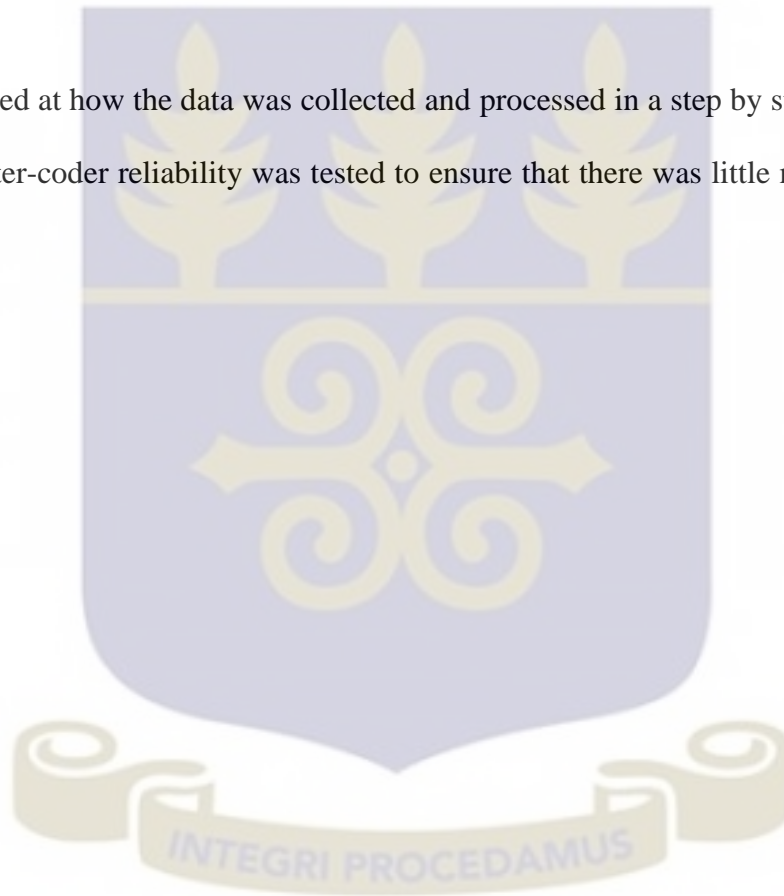
Considering the high level of agreement between the coders, the coding was considered reliable.

3.1.7 Data analysis

After the data had been coded, the researcher transferred the information on the coding sheet into the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) for analysis. Tables and charts were created after which the research questions were answered.

3.2 Summary

This chapter looked at how the data was collected and processed in a step by step manner. It also looked at how inter-coder reliability was tested to ensure that there was little margin for error in the study.



CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings from the content analysis of 71 political advertisements of the two main political parties in Ghana, the National Democratic Party (NDC), and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The results of the analysis are explained. The study undertook a content analysis of 71 political advertisements carried on air between March and December 2012. The results of the content analysis were to answer questions such as what the parties focused on in terms of issues, language use and images reflected. Statistical tables are used to give a better understanding of what this study found.

4.1 Objectives of study

The objectives of the study which were to find out which party focused on acclaims, attacks or defense and the analysis showed that the NPP relied more on attack advertisements with 53.80% or 14 of their advertisements attacking the record of the NDC. The advertisements of the NPP had slogans such as “*Y3 b3 dii bi k3k3*” which translates into English as “*We came to squander some*” This is in reference to the alleged corrupt practices of the NDC. The NDC, on the other hand had a majority of their political advertisements acclaiming their record in office, with 90.9% of their advertisements touting their achievements over the period they were in office. This finding ties in with the assertion by Boyle (2001) that challengers were more inclined to present negative messages focusing on a few select issues to make an impact as the incumbent is usually already in the lead .

The second objective of the study was to discover which party relied more on negative advertising. With more than half of the NPP’s advertisements being negative in nature and the NDC also using a quarter of the advertisements to attack the opposition, Kaid and Johnston’s (1991) assertion that political advertisements since the turn of the 1980’s have increasingly become negative in nature is true. It also buttresses the point by (Meenu, Priyana, & Khusboo, 2014) that parties employ various strategies in negative campaigning. These include attacking the opponents, personality, record, running ads that degrade the opposition party's reputation.

4.2 Results and discussion of content analysis

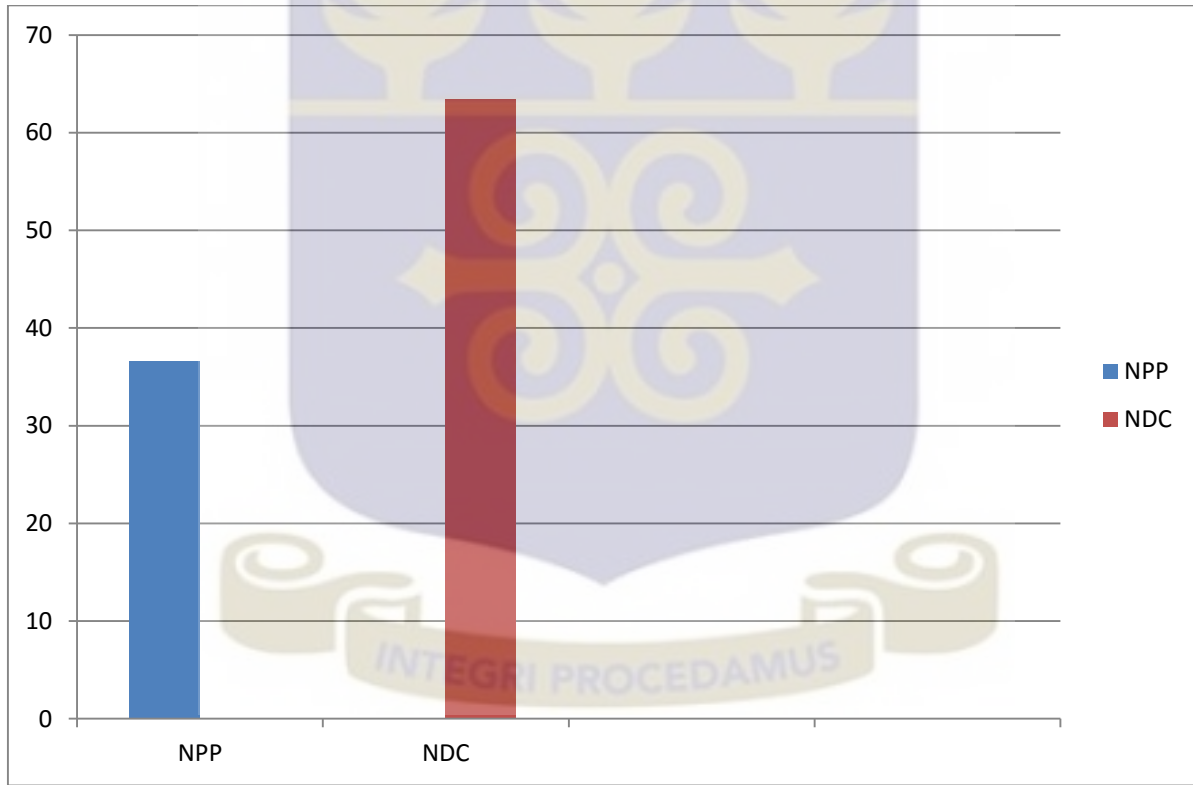


Figure 1: Political Party

The study undertook a content analysis of 71 political advertisements carried on television between February and December 2012. The opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) aired 26

advertisements whilst the incumbent National Democratic Congress (NDC) aired 45 advertisements. The advertisements run between 45 seconds and 3 minutes. The NPP television campaign advertisements make up 36.6% of the total whereas the NDC advertisements made up 63.4%. The number of advertisements that aired during the period shows an increase as compared to Gbeho (2007) which analyzed 28 advertisements.

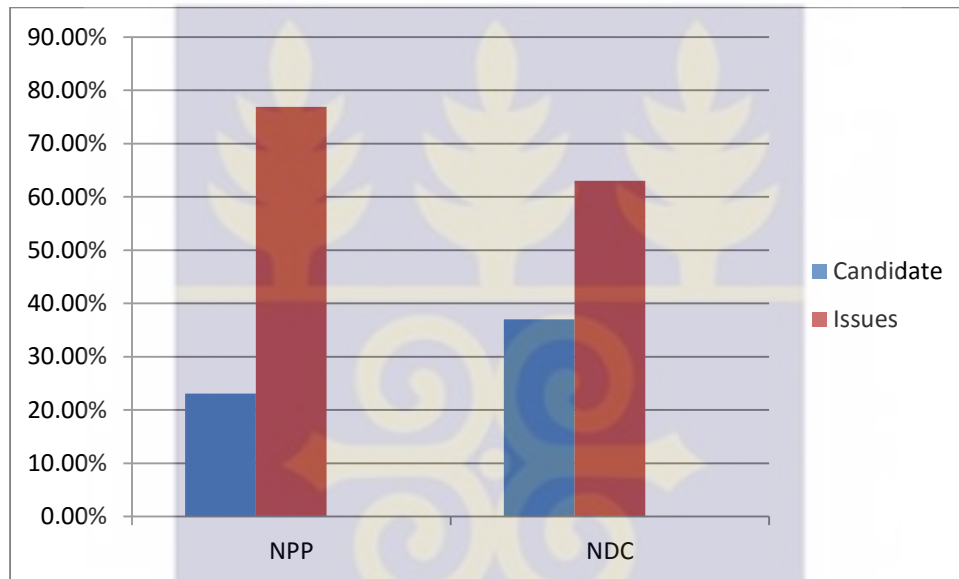


Figure 2: Focus of advertisement

Both sets of advertisements focused heavily on the issues deemed important by the candidates. For the NPP 76.9% of the advertisements focused on issues such as education, energy and corruption, whereas the NDC had 63% of their advertisements also focusing on the issues at hand. The NDC had one - third (37%), of their advertisements focusing on the candidate, using words such as “humble,” “God Fearing” and “likeable.” The NPP also had 23.1% of their advertisements focusing on the candidate, describing him as “the man to lead Ghana forward.” The analysis of what the advertisements focused on, whether on the candidate or on issues corroborates the claim by Benoit (2008) that campaign advertisements sought to focus on two

things, the candidate or the issues that they felt were important to the electorate. The results of the content analysis show that the advertisements were issue-based and supports the literature (Damore 2004). The results of the table corroborate of Kaid & Holtz-Bacha's, (2006) findings that campaign advertisements were issue-based .

PARTY	POLITICS	HEALTH	JOB				CORRUPTION	ENERGY	Total
			CREATION	EDUCATION	ECONOMICS				
NPP	0	1	2	13	1	6	9	32	
	0.00%	3.10%	6.20%	40.60%	3.10%	18.80%	28.10%		
NDC	1	9	13	23	8	4	12	70	
	1.40%	12.90%	18.60%	32.90%	11.40%	5.70%	17.10%		
Total	1	10	15	36	9	10	21	102	

Table 1: Issues addressed in the advertisements

The NPP advertisements focused on education, with 40.6% of the advertisements focusing on that. The NDC also focused on education, with 32.9% of the advertisements also focused on that issue but with a different agenda. Secondly, energy was another issue the NPP focused on, with 28.1% of their advertisements focusing on that whereas the NDC had 17.1% of their advertisements focusing on energy. Health issues was an important point for the NDC as 12.9% of their advertisements talked about the health sector with only 3.10% of the NPP advertisements focusing on health. Corruption was another issue talked about in the advertisements as the NPP had 18.80% of their advertisements focusing on that with the NDC focusing 5.70% of their advertisements on that. Job creation was another campaign issue both parties campaigned on

with the NDC concentrating 18.60% of their advertisements on that specific issue whereas the NPP had only 6.20% of their advertisements tackling that.

Though both parties claimed to bring something different to the table, the statistics show that they both campaigned along similar lines, with both campaigns heavily focused on education and energy. The NDC focused their campaign messages on providing jobs, better health facilities and improving the energy situation of the country whereas a chunk of the NPP advertisements

PARTY	ENGLISH	AKAN	GA	EWE	HAUSA	DAGBANI	TOTAL
NPP	10	18	3	1	1	1	34
	29.40%	52.90%	8.80%	2.90%	2.90%	2.90%	
NDC	19	17	5	4	1	1	47
	40.40%	36.20%	10.60%	8.50%	2.10%	2.10%	
TOTAL	29	35	8	5	2	2	81

focused on providing free Senior High School education.

Table 2: Language used in the Ad

According to the 2010 population census, Akan is the most widely spoken language in the country. This could be a major reason why the NPP had a majority of their advertisements in Akan to reach a majority of the population. Findings from the 2010 population census indicate that the most populous region in Ghana is the Ashanti region, with a population of 4,780,280, (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The NPP had 52.90% of their advertisements in Akan,

followed by 29.40% in English , 8.80% of their advertisements were in Ga followed by 2.9% of their advertisements were in Ewe, Hausa and Dagbani.

The NDC’s favoured language in their advertisements was English with 40.40% of their ads in that language. Akan followed with 36.20% of the advertisements. The party also had 10.60% of their ads in Ga and 8.50% of their ads in Ewe. Hausa and Dagbani had the same percentage of ads at 2.10% .The NPP had 52.9% of their advertisements in Akan, as they did not want to be complacent but still reach out to potentially undecided voters. Both parties had advertisements with the same languages used, and these were English, Akan, Ewe, Ga and Hausa but the NPP relied heavily on the use of Akan as the medium of distributing their message whereas the NDC relied on English to get their message across. The NDC also had four advertisements in Ewe meaning that they did not want to be complacent and neglect their stronghold. Both parties had one advertisement each in Ga. This was to make sure they did not lose touch with the electorate. Ephson, (2003) states that the Ga people are considered the most unpredictable in terms of voting patterns as they do not vote along ethnic lines.

PARTY	60 SECONDS	1 MIN - 2 MIN	2 MIN - 3 MIN	
NPP	11	14	1	26
	42.30%	53.80%	3.80%	100.00%
NDC	9	34	1	44
	20.50%	77.30%	2.30%	100.00%
Total	20	48	2	70
	28.60%	68.60%	2.90%	100.00%

Table 3: Duration of Ad

Both parties had a majority of their advertisements between 1 and 2 minutes long. The NDC and the NPP had 77.30% and 53.80% of their advertisements within the time limit. The parties then used spots that were less than 60 seconds to get their messages out to the electorate. The NPP led the way with 42.30 % of their advertisements being less than 60 seconds in duration and the NDC’s advertisements followed suit with 28.60% of their advertisements being less than 60 seconds in duration. Both parties had one advertisement each between 2 and 3 minutes. This could be because of the high rates charged by the television stations to air advertisements.

Table 4: Nature of Ad

PARTY	ATTACK	ACCLAIM	DEFEND	Total
NPP	14	11	1	26
	53.80%	42.30%	3.80%	100.00%
NDC	4	40	0	44
	9.10%	90.90%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	18	51	1	70
	25.70%	72.90%	1.40%	100.00%

The two parties took different paths when it came to the focus of their messages. The NDC focused more on acclaims, that is, speaking about their achievements while in office and comparing it to the NPP’s tenure in office. This was evident in the data as the NDC focused 72.90% of their advertisements on acclaims and 25.70% of their advertisements attacking the record of the NPP. Interestingly enough, the NDC advertisements did not contain any defence as

their advertisements either attacked the NPP or acclaimed their record whilst in office. On the other hand, the NPP had 53.80% of their advertisements attacking the record of their opponents and 42.30% of their advertisements acclaiming their achievements when they were in government. They also had one advertisement that represents 3.80% of the total number of advertisements aired by the NPP. These findings tie in with the functional theory of political campaign discourse, where candidates attack, acclaim or defend their standpoint. Also, the data supports Boyle's (2001) claim that that challengers were more inclined to present negative messages focusing on a few select issues to make an impact as the incumbent is usually already in the lead . It also backs the claim by Kaid and Johnston (1991) assertion that political since the turn of the 1980's have increasingly become negative in nature.

PARTY	URBAN	RURAL	CHROMAKEY	TOTAL
NPP	14	4	8	26
	53.80%	15.40%	30.80%	100.00%
NDC	26	7	11	44
	59.10%	15.90%	25.00%	100.00%
Total	40	11	19	70
	57.10%	15.70%	27.10%	100.00%

Table 5: Setting of Ad

According to index mundi, a data portal, 51.9% of the Ghanaian population live in urban areas and this was evident as both parties had a majority of their advertisements set in urban areas to target the electorate in those areas. The NPP had 53.8% of their advertisements set in urban areas, whereas the NDC had 59.10% of their advertisements set in urban areas. The use of Chroma key was evident in both parties' advertisements as the NPP had 30.80% of their

advertisements using that as a setting, The NDC also relied on it with 27.10% of their advertisements making use of the Chroma key background. Both parties did not rely on rural settings as 15.40% of the NPP advertisements were based in rural settings and 15.70% of the NDC advertisements were based in rural settings. Shooting on location with actors and a crew is more expensive and the NPP's use of the Chroma key background may be interpreted as a cost-cutting move.

PARTY	Young men	Middle aged men	Old men	Young women	Middle aged women	Old women	Total
NPP	14	2	8	6	5	2	26
	53.80%	7.70%	30.80%	23.10%	19.20%	7.70%	
NDC	16	24	6	12	5	3	45
	35.60%	53.30%	13.30%	26.70%	11.10%	6.70%	
TOTAL	30	26	14	18	10	5	71

Table 6: Images reflected in the Ad

The NPP targeted young men with 53.8% of their advertisements containing images of young men and 19.2% of their advertisements targeting young women. The major targets of the NDC were middle-aged men with 53.3% of their advertisements targeting that particular age group. Images of young men made up 35.6% of the images reflected and targeted in the advertisements. According to Ghana Statistical Service report women constitute 51% of the population but are the minority in the advertisements. They make up less than half of the people reflected in the advertisements. The NDC had a higher percentage of young women (26.7%) than NPP (23.1%)

in their advertisements. Middle-aged women (19.2%) were the next target of the NPP advertisements whereas the NDC had 11.1% of the ads containing middle-aged women. Older women were represented inadequately in the advertisements, as compared to their male counterparts. For example, the NPP had 7.70% of their advertisements featuring old women whereas their male counterparts made up 30.8% of the advertisements. The same goes for the NDC where old men made up 13.30 % of the advertisements. Women made up 6.7% of those reflected in the advertisements.

Party	Personality	Qualification	Integrity	Image	Ideology	Other	Total
NPP	2	4	7	2	4	6	25
	8.00%	16.00%	28.00%	8.00%	16.00%	24.00%	
NDC	23	9	13	2	2	3	52
	44.20%	17.30%	25.00%	3.80%	3.80%	5.80%	
TOTAL	25	13	20	4	6	9	77

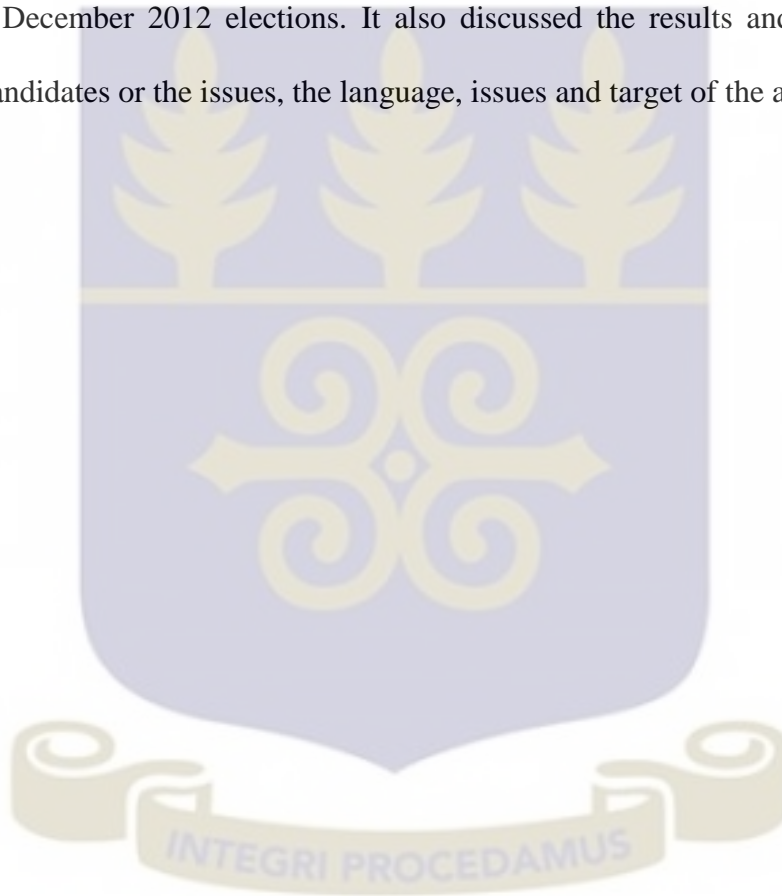
Table 7: Image of the candidate

The two parties tried projecting different images of their candidates with the NDC focusing 44.2% of their advertisements on the personality of their candidate. The NPP on the other hand focused on the integrity of their candidate with 28% of their advertisements focused on the values of the candidate. The NPP had equal amounts of attention directed towards the qualifications and ideals of their candidate, with 16% of their advertisements directed towards those images. The results of Kaid & Holtz-Bacha's (2006) study, to find out if questions of issue and character were also the basis of campaigns by politicians, They concluded that despite the

emphasis on issues and positive claims, most leaders and parties relied on emotional appeals, rather than logical proof, to make their points.

4.3 Summary

This chapter looked at the results of the study of political advertisements aired by the NPP and NDC before the December 2012 elections. It also discussed the results and what the parties focused on, the candidates or the issues, the language, issues and target of the advertisements.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The study set out to identify the content of political advertisements on television by the two major political parties in Ghana, the NPP and the NDC. It also sought to find out which party relied more on negative advertising to discredit their opponent. This chapter is going to answer the research questions put forward at the beginning of the study. The research questions are answered taking into consideration their implications based on the theories.

5.2 Summary of key findings

As a way of summarising the findings of the study, the research questions are restated and answered.

RQ 1: What did the television ads of the two main political parties seek to do, did they acclaim, attack or defend candidates of the two parties?

The analysis of television advertisements of the two political parties revealed the incumbent NDC sought to acclaim the achievements of the party within the short space of time in power. The NPP on the other hand relied on attack advertisements to draw the electorates' attention to the failures of the NDC. The NDC also relied on attack advertisements to discourage people from voting for the NPP. Both parties did not concentrate on defending with the NDC using one advertisement to justify why they pursued a particular line of action. The NPP on the other hand did not have a single ad defending their actions but rather focused on topics such as education, energy, corruption, health issues, job creation, and economic issues.

RQ2: What images did the parties seek to portray in the television advertisements?

In an attempt to gain the vote of the electorate, both parties sought to use a mixture of emotional appeal and the issues. A majority of the advertisements were issue-based and relied little on personality traits to gain votes. The NDC sought to portray the party in a positive light with the advertisements showing the achievements of the party and telling the viewers of the plans they have to improve the life of Ghanaians. The images of the NPP, on the other hand, sought to show how bad the government was and point out the failures of the government. They portrayed the situation as a dire one with the emphasis on their candidate as the man to lead the country out of this period of turbulence.

RQ 3: How do these television ads present the incumbent and opposition to the electorate?

The NDC advertisements sought to present their candidate as a likeable man who was humble and for the people. The NPP sought to portray their candidate as a man of integrity, the most qualified candidate to lead the nation. These advertisements focused more on the candidate's personal characteristics though not as much as concentrating on the issues at hand.

RQ 4: What campaign issues did the two major political parties raise in the advertisements?

The main issues raised by the parties were similar and they were education, energy, corruption, job creation, health and in the case of the NDC politics. The NPP's advertisements placed heavy emphasis on education with 40.6% of their advertisements focused on that issue in particular with slogans such as "free SHS now" to buttress their point. The NDC also placed emphasis on energy in reference to the power rationing popularly known as "Dumsor" and the shortage of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG). Also captured in the advertisements of the NPP was the ailing health insurance scheme.

The NDC further focused on education, debunking the assertion by the NPP that free SHS was possible and rather offered an alternative. Secondly, the NDC touted their achievements in the area of power and how much capacity they had added to the national grid. Also included were the improvements they had made to the health system with one advertisement showing staff of the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital praising the government for the addition of equipment to make their work easier.

5.3 Limitation and suggestions

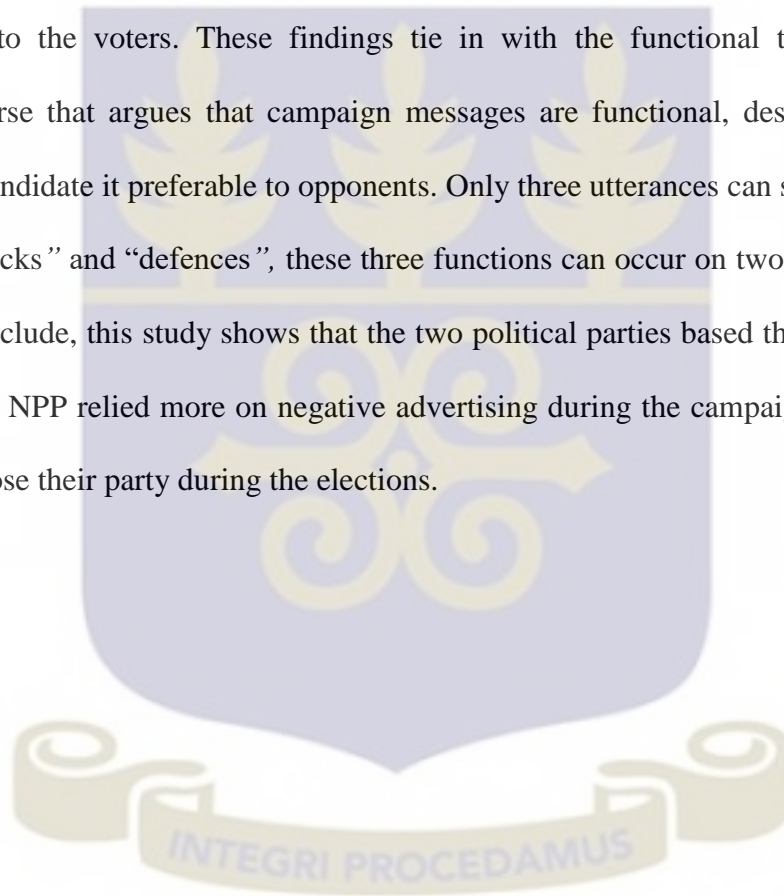
A major challenge the study faced was, the lack of access to the advertisements, which meant that the researcher had to make several trips to television stations and the two main political parties who did not have copies of the advertisements.

The researcher suggests that both political parties keep good records. Furthermore, political parties should make the advertisements available to the general public and interested researchers who would like to use the advertisements for academic purposes. Also a trend analysis of political advertisements from the 1992 elections to date should be conducted to give an idea of how political campaign advertisements have evolved over the years.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This study sought to examine the campaign messages of the two main political parties. It also sought to find out who relied on negative advertising to convince the electorate to vote for them. A content analysis of 71 television campaign advertisements of the incumbent NDC and the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) was conducted to find out what issues did the political

parties focus on and whom the advertisements concentrated on, the candidate, or issues. The findings of the study indicate that both political parties focused their campaign advertisements on issues mainly, education and energy. It also corroborated the theory of functional political campaign discourse that states that political party campaign messages contained attacks, acclaims, or defense. The study further showed that the opposition NPP relied more on attack advertisements as opposed to their opponents the NDC who relied more on acclaims to get their message across to the voters. These findings tie in with the functional theory of political campaign discourse that argues that campaign messages are functional, designed to persuade voters that one candidate is preferable to opponents. Only three utterances can show preferability; “acclaims”, “attacks” and “defences”, these three functions can occur on two topics: policy and character. To conclude, this study shows that the two political parties based their advertisements on issues and the NPP relied more on negative advertising during the campaign period to try to get voters to choose their party during the elections.



5.5 Appendix One: Coding guide

Q1. POLITICAL PARTY: NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY

Q2. FOCUS OF AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	CANDIDATE
2	ISSUES

Q3. ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	POLITICS
2	HEALTH
3	JOB CREATION
4	EDUCATION
5	ECONOMICS
6	CORRUPTION
7	ENERGY
8	OTHER

Q4. SETTING OF THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	URBAN
2	RURAL
3	OTHER

Q5. IMAGE OF THE CANDIDATE

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	PERSONALITY
2	QUALIFICATION
3	INTEGRITY
4	IMAGE
5	IDEOLOGY
6	OTHER

Q6. NATURE OF THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	ATTACK
2	ACCLAIM
3	DEFEND

Q7. LANGUAGE USED IN THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	ENGLISH
2	AKAN
3	GA
4	EWE
5	HAUSA
6	OTHER

Q8. DURATION OF THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	LESS 60 SECONDS
2	1 MIN – 2 MIN
3	2 MIN – 3 MIN

Q.9 IMAGES REFLECTED IN THE AD

NUMBER ASSIGNED	CATEGORY
1	YOUNG MEN
2	MIDDLE AGED MEN
3	OLD MEN
4	YOUNG WOMEN
5	MIDDLE AGED WOMEN
6	OLD WOMEN

5.6 Appendix Two: Coding sheet

CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
POLITICAL PARTY							
FOCUS OF THE AD							
ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE AD							
SETTING OF THE AD							
IMAGE OF THE CANDIDATE							
NATURE OF THE AD							
LANGUAGE USED IN THE AD							
DURATION OF THE AD							
IMAGES REFLECTED IN THE AD							



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